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Dr. SRIDHARA VASUDEVA SOHONI
FELICITATION VOLUME

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, PATNA

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Chief Editor

UPENDRA THAKUR

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EDITOR'S NOTE

It was in 1978 when the Executive Council of the Bihar Research Society decided to bring out a special volume of the Bihar Research Society to felicitate Dr. S. V. Sohani, I. C. S. (Retd) who had been actively associated with the activities of the Society in different capacities for well over thirty years. After his retirement as Lokāyukta, he left Bihar in 1978 and has now settled down in Poona, his home-town. A great indologist and an administrator with rare understanding of men and affairs he will always be remembered by the intelligentsia of Bihar as one of the charming personalities who has left ineffectible impress in the field of research and education. In fact, we consider it a great honour and privilege to associate ourselves with this Felicitation Volume as a token of our regard for the talent and personal qualities of Dr. Sohoni : the man, the administrator and the researcher.

We trust, this Volume will be an invaluable possession of scholarship to all students of Indian lore by virtue of the learned papers contributed to it, and we feel it our pleasant duty to acknowledge the valuable help and co-operation we have received from different quarters in completing this project.

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the learned contributors to this volume, members of the Editorial Board and the authorites as well as the employees of the Society but for whose ungrudging and unstinted co-operation, it would not have been possible to bring our the present Volume.

15th August, 1986

UPENDRA THAKUR

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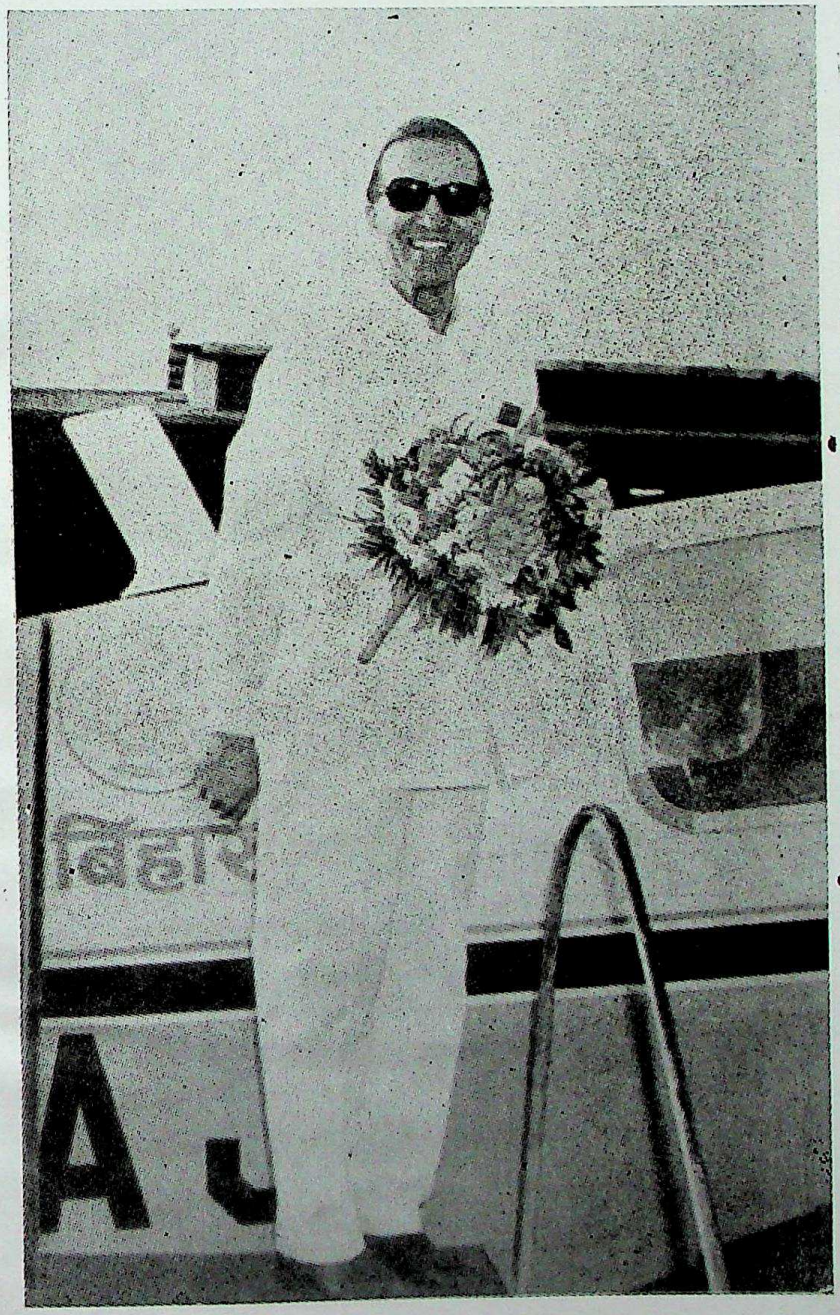

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PLATE No. VI

Dr. Sohoni at a function in the Bihar Research Society

Dr. S. V. Sohoni addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society

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SECTION I

DR. SHRIDHAR VASUDEV SOHONI

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

There have been few scholar-administrators in India who have enriched the various facets of our history and culture through their brilliant findings and researches. The posterity will always remember with gratitude the great contributions of the savants like V. A. Smith, James Prinsep, General Cunningham, George Grierson, Mortimer Wheeler and a few others who have carved out a permanent place for themselves in the history of India. Dr. S. V. Sohoni also belongs to this glorious tradition of scholars who shine the brightest on the firmament of Indian historical research.

Born on May 19, 1914 in an illustrious Brāhmaṇa family of village Agargulen (Taluka and district Ratnagiri) in the State of Maharashtra, the young Sohoni had an exceptionally brilliant academic career. He passed B. A. Honours (1934) and M. A. examinations with Economics (1936) from the University of Bombay, standing first in First Class with distinction in both the examinations. He was a recipient of several coveted prizes and scholarships including Kanade Prize (1930); Bal Dayakonwar Brijbhukhandas Scholarship (1932); Miller Scripture Prize (1934) and Sri William Wedderburn Scholarship, Sri K T. Telang Gold Medal and Prize and Sri Ferozeshah Mehta Scholarship (1936). A unique achievement, indeed for any young scholar.

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After passing his I. C. S. (the coveted Indian Civil Service) examination in 1936, he proceeded to Cambridge where he secured Economic Tripos. He also researched into Indo-Bactrian period of Indian history under Dr. E. J. Thomas and was introduced to numismatic studies by Dr. R. B. Whitehead, the world renowned Indologist of Cambridge.

On return to India in 1938, he held various district assignments under the government of Bihar until 1945 when he was transferred to Orissa from where he returned to Bihar cadre in 1949. In Orissa he worked as Secretary, Political Department, Planning Department, Supply Department, Welfare Department etc. and was responsible for the preparation of the Memorandum concerning the Integration of the former Orissa States with the State of Orissa a model that was used subsequently for the integration of other erstwhile princely States with the rest of India. He was, also instrumental in the establishment of the new capital of Orissa at Bhubaneshwar; setting up of the Rourkela Steel Plant, the Mahananda River Project (on financial side) and the Tribal Welfare Programme. On return to Bihar in 1949, he worked as Secretary to the Government of Bihar in the Departments of Public Works, Public Health, Electricity, Irrigation and River Valley Projects before being promoted to the rank of Divisional Commissioner in 1952-53. He worked as Commissioner of Patna, Tirhut and Chhotanagpur Divisions upto 1964. Thereafter he functioned as Food Commissioner, and Member, Board of Revenue. He was then appointed as chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar in 1967-68 and later as Principal Officer to Governor of Bihar during President's Rule in the State.

Immediately after retirement in 1973 as Member, Board of Revenue Dr. Sohoni was appointed Lokāyukta of Bihar in 1973 for a term of five years—an office which he adorned with great dignity and glory. Deeply concerned with administrative reforms his Annual Reports contained a large number of proposals for effecting improvements in public administration which have engaged the attention of specialised bodies in India and overseas. It was in recognition of his great admmistrative merit that he was made an Honorary Member of the Ombudsmen's Forum of the International Bar Association, which he has been continuing since 1978.

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II

A zealous patron of learning and art, an administrator of unique foresight and understanding, a great patriot and a symbol of liberalism and generosity and, above all, a gentleman *par excellence*, Dr. S. V. Sohoni is one of the few charming personalities whose influence was keenly felt in all walks of the academic life of Bihar. He had become (and is even now) a part and parcel of all academic activities concerning Sanskrit and Ancient Indian history, not only in Bihar but also in other parts of the country and abroad. Though his writings are not always free from speculativeness, nevertheless they contain a solid core of nimismatic and inscriptional evidence. No writer of Ancient Indian history can ignore Dr. Sohoni.

Between 1964 and 1966 he functioned as Honorary Vice-Chancellor of the Kameshwar Singh Sanskrit University, Darbhanga in addition to his official duties and was mainly responsible for building up finances of the University and reorganising it on a proper footing.

He was also Chairman of the World Buddhist Academy, Bodhgaya.

A fine Orator of English, Hindi and Sanskrit and a brilliant conversationalist, Dr. Sohoni has mastered several languages such as English, Marathi, Hindi, Urdu and Gujarati, besides Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali. He has published over 400 research papers in different languages dealing with various aspects of Indian culture and history, especially on the Gupta period of Indian history, Kālidāsa, epigraphical and numismatic research etc. as it evident from the list of publications, printed elsewhere in this volume. He also edited the *Mahāvaṁśa Tilaka* for Nav Nalanda Mahāvihāra and contributed analytical forewords to a number of books in English, Sanskrit and Hindi. At the instance of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the First President of India, he revised the former's book *Champarana me Mahatma Gandhi* for the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna and also wrote its preface.

His active association with and immense contributions to the Bihar Research Society—a historical Society of international fame, in many capacities, for well over 30 years, will be gratefully remembered by those who are keenly interested in historical researches and cultural

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growth. It was his great love for the Society that he preferred to remain in Bihar throughout his administrative career, ignoring the charm to join the Delhi Secretariate for so-called higher status.

Dr. Sohoni edited the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (*JBRS*) for nearly ten years and is also the founder-Editor of the *Indian Numismatic Chronicle* (*INC*)—a journal devoted to the studies of old coins and seals, besides other aspects of numismatic studies, and published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna. He is also Vice-Patron of the Society since 1980.

He has presided over a large number of Conferences and Congress devoted to the study of oriental learning in India and abroad. He was President of the Numismatic Society of India in 1959-60 and 1960-61, and presided over the "*Kālidāsa Section*" of the World Sanskrit Congress in 1981. It was in recognition of his outstanding contributions to Indology that he was awarded the D. Litt. degree (*Vidyā Vācaspati*) by the K. S. Sanskrit University, Darbhanga in 1969; *Vidyāvāridhi* (D. Litt.) by the Nav Nalanda Mahāvihāra, Nalanda in 1970 and D. Litt. by the Vikram University, Ujjain in 1972.

Indology apart, his love for technical and vocational education is no less great, and his life-long association with various cultural and educational institutions speaks eloquently of his great-interest in general education. He is Chairman of the Maharashtra Technical Education Society which has an Engineering College at Sangli, a Degree College for Homeopathy and two hospitals at Pune. He is also the Chancellor's nominee on the Executive Council of the Shivaji University, Kolhapur and is also serving as Honorary professor in History at the Poona University, Pune.

As a visiting Lecturer Dr. Sohoni delivered a series of lectures in the University of Bombay in 1971; L. D. Institute Ahmedabad in 1973, Gujarat Vidyapith in 1979 and 1982; Banaras Hindu University in 1981; Tilak Mahavidyalaya, Pune in 1981; Vikram University, Ujjain in 1980 and 1982 and Gujarat University in 1982. He was also invited to undertake a lecture-tour in Japan by leading Buddhist organisation of Japan in 1971

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During the period of his service in Bihar, Dr. Sohoni promoted well-planned improvements of the famous historical sites at Nālandā, Pāwāpuri, Gaya, Rajgir, Bodhgaya and Vaisāli, and collected a large number of antiquities which are now being exhibited by the Goverment of Bihar as the *Sohoni Collection of Antiquities* in the Central State Museum (Patna Museum), Patna in a separate gallery on the basis of a permanent loan by him. Similarly, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune would exhibit the *Dr. S. V. Sohoni Collection of Books*, on the basis of a permament loan by him.

He was largely instrumental in promoting the research project into the astronomical findings of the Late Shri Venkatesh Bapuji Ketkar, the discover in 1911, of the planet, Pluto (1979).

III

Dr. Sohoni's fame as an objective and profound scholar has gradually become well known. Eminent scholars often call on him at his residence in Pune (Poona), either to clear a doubt or to look up some book at his collection in different languages and on different subjects, apart from several unpublished rare works in Sanskrit on palm-leaves.

Seldom have I seen a bureaucrat or an administrator of these days emphasing *śīla* or character in the manner in which Dr. Sohoni insisted upon when he was in active service. He always respected people with character and learning more than people with mere learning. Another trait Dr. Sohoni values most is discipline, and he set an example himself by the way he has patterned his life. Rising in the small hours of the morning, he can be seen immersed in study long after midnight.

A saintly figure Dr. Sohoni is a staunch believer in god and His inviolable decrees, having firm faith in the traditions of the great ones. Unfailing in his *nitya Karma* (daily duties), nothing could detract him from the respect he shows towards our ancient and time-honoured traditions. Though a great advocate of modern scientific development and technology he never lets go any opportunity to drive home the rationale behind our traditional practices and their utility in day-to day life. He believes in facing any problem with an implicit trust in god, because divine dispen-

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sation, however, cruel and unjust it might appear to the uninitiated, is the most just that any one-human or divine—can think of and it is in accepting it humbly that one's culture and greatness lies. *Prārabdha Karma* (deṣtiny) is something that even the noblest and the mightiest have accepted willingly and ungrudgingly.

A rare and many-faceted personality Dr. Sohoni symbolises the finest tradition of unflinching devotion and selfless dedication to the cause of oriental learning and scholarship. He may justly be regarded as one of the foremost indologists of our age.

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विद्यावारिधि डाक्टर श्रीधर वासुदेव सोहोनी : व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व

श्री उमानाथ

बिहार की महिमामयी भूमि आदिकाल से ही अपनी ऐतिहासिक विभूतियों तथा सांस्कृतिक उपलब्धियों के लिए विख्यात रही है। जनक और ज्ञावल्क्य, बुद्ध और महावीर, चन्द्रगुप्त और चाणक्य, अशोक और अश्वघोष तथा शेरशाह और गुरुगोविन्द सिंह की इस गौरवशाली भूमि ने, अपनी विविध विशिष्टताओं के कारण, प्रायः सभी युगों में, देश-विदेश के ऐसे अनेक विद्वानों को उत्प्रेरित एवं प्रभावित किया है, जिन्होंने न केवल बिहार की प्राचीन विभूतियों एवं गौरवमयी परम्पराओं के गवेषणापूर्ण अध्ययन और विश्लेषणात्मक अनुशीलन में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान किया है, बल्कि अपनी सात्विक सेवासाधना के बल से उसके गौरवपूर्ण अतीत को पुनरुज्जीवित करने का भी स्तुत्य प्रयास किया है। आधुनिक युग के ऐसे मनीषी विद्वानों में, डॉ० जॉर्ज ग्रियर्सन, सर यदुनाथ सरकार, डॉ० काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल, महापंडित राहुल सांकृत्यायन, डॉ० कालिकिङ्कर दत्त, डॉ० फादर कामिल बुल्के, डॉ० ए० एस० अलतेकर प्रभृति विशिष्ट विद्वानों के साथ विद्यावारिधि डाक्टर श्रीधर वासुदेव सोहोनी का नाम आदर के साथ लिया जाता है।

लगभग चालीस वर्षों की लम्बी अवधि (१९३८-७८) में, श्री श्रीधर वासुदेव सोहोनी ने, शासन के उच्चतम प्रशासकीय पदों के दायित्वों का सम्यक् पालन करते हुए, बिहार-राज्य के सांस्कृतिक, शैक्षिक, साहित्यिक एवं सामाजिक जीवन की बहुमुखी प्रगति एवं समृद्धि में, अपनी अगाध विद्वत्ता, असाधारण प्रशासकीय निपुणता, सात्विक सेवानिष्ठा, अद्भुत लगनशीलता एवं अप्रतिम सदाशयता के बल से जो महत्वपूर्ण योगदान किया, उसके लिए बिहार के करोड़ों निवासी चिरकाल तक उनके कृतज्ञ रहेंगे।

प्रशासकीय प्रवीणता

बम्बई और कैम्ब्रिज के सुविख्यात विश्वविद्यालयों के एक अत्यन्त मेधावी छात्र के रूप में, लगभग दस वर्ष तक, राजनीति विज्ञान और इतिहास की उच्चतम शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के बाद, अपनी विलक्षण प्रतिभा के बल से श्री श्रीधर वासुदेव सोहोनी, प्रतियोगिता परीक्षा के परिणाम के आधार पर, १९३८ में, भारतीय असैनिक सेवा (आई० सी० एस०) संवर्ग में प्रविष्ट हुए। तदुपरान्त, प्रायः पैंतीस वर्षों तक, बिहार और उड़ीसा प्रदेशों के अन्तर्गत, शान्ति और व्यवस्था, राजस्व और भूमि सुधार तथा बहुमुखी राष्ट्रीय विकास कार्यों के क्षेत्र में, उच्चतम प्रशासकीय पदों के गुरुतम दायित्वों का पालन वे अपनी अद्भुत कर्त्तव्य परायणता, अविचल अनुशासन प्रियता एवं अनुकरणीय सेवानिष्ठा के साथ सफलतापूर्वक करते रहे। इसी का परिणाम था कि, अप्रैल, १९७३ के प्रारम्भ में, जब श्री सोहोनी 'सदस्य, राजस्व पर्षद्, बिहार' के गौरवपूर्ण पद से सेवा-निवृत्त हुए, तो मई, १९७३ में ही बिहार के महामहिम राज्यपाल महोदय ने उन्हें बिहार-राज्य के सर्वप्रथम लोकायुक्त के रूप में नियुक्त कर, उनकी प्रशासकीय प्रवीणता का यथेष्ट सम्मान किया। लगभग पाँच वर्ष तक (१९७३-७८)

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डॉ० श्रीधर वासुदेव सोहोनी ने, अपने अविश्रान्त अध्यवसाय, निरपेक्ष वस्तुपरक दृष्टिकोण, तथा निष्पक्ष न्याय-विधान के साथ बिहार के लोकायुक्त के विशिष्ट दायित्वों के अनुपालन का जो व्यावहारिक आदर्श प्रतिपादित किया, वह उनके परवर्त्ती प्रशासकों के लिए एक अनुकरणीय आदर्श के रूप में सदैव विद्यमान रहेगा।

सांस्कृतिक नवजागरण के प्रवर्त्तक

शिक्षा, साहित्य एवं संस्कृति के क्षेत्रों में, नवजागरण के अन्यतम प्रवर्त्तक के रूप में, डॉ० सोहोनी ने अपनी विशिष्ट सेवाओं के बल से जो सार्वदेशिक प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त की है, उसकी कीर्त्ति का विस्तार समस्त भूमण्डल विद्वत्समाज में व्यापक रूप से हुआ है। प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, गुप्तकालीन शिलालेख, भारतीय मुद्राशास्त्र एवं संस्कृत साहित्य के निगूढ़तम विषयों से सम्बन्धित डाक्टर सोहोनी के सैकड़ों विद्वत्तापूर्ण निबन्ध देश-विदेश की सुप्रतिष्ठित शोधपत्रिकाओं में प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। गुप्त-कालीन इतिहास तथा कविकुल शिरोमणि कालिदास की कृतियों के विश्लेषणात्मक अनुशीलन के लिए डॉ० सोहोनी अन्तरराष्ट्रीय ख्याति प्राप्त कर चुके हैं। बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी की पत्रिका तथा भारतीय मुद्राशास्त्र पत्रिका का सम्पादन आपने अनेक वर्षों तक जैसी कुशलतापूर्ण निष्ठा के साथ किया, वह सर्वथा प्रशंसनीय एवं अनुकरणीय है। इसी विशिष्टता के फलस्वरूप, डॉ० सोहोनी कैम्ब्रिज विश्वविद्यालय द्वारा अनेक खण्डों में प्रकाशित भारतीय इतिहास के सम्पादक-मण्डल में भी सम्मिलित किए गए हैं।

डॉ० सोहोनी ने हिन्दी और अंगरेजी के अनेक ग्रन्थों की विद्वत्तापूर्ण भूमिकाएँ लिखी हैं, जिनमें जातककालीन भारतीय संस्कृति, 'हुएनस्यांग का जीवन चरित' (अंगरेजी), आर्यभट्ट के 'आर्यभट्टीयम्' तथा देशरत्न डाक्टर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के 'चम्पारण में महात्मा गांधी' (द्वितीय संस्करण) नामक ग्रन्थ विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं। लगभग पन्द्रह वर्ष पूर्व, डॉ० सोहोनी ने 'नवनालन्दा महा-बिहार, नालन्दा' के माध्यम से 'महावंश' नामक प्रसिद्ध पालिग्रन्थ के अभिनव भाष्य का प्रकाशन किया था। आज से लगभग तीन दशकपूर्व श्री सोहोनी ने भारतीय मुद्राशास्त्र परिषद् के अध्यक्ष पद को भी सुशोभित किया था।

विद्यावाचस्पति और विद्यावारिधि

सर कामेश्वर सिंह संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, दरभंगा के अवैतनिक कुलपति के रूप में प्रायः दो वर्ष तक (१९६४-६६) श्री सोहोनी ने संस्कृत भाषा-साहित्य के उच्च गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन की गौरव-शाली परम्परा के सम्यक् संवर्द्धन के लिए जो स्तुत्य प्रयास किए थे, उनसे प्रभावित होकर, सर कामेश्वर सिंह विश्वविद्यालय ने, १९६९ में, उन्हें 'विद्यावाचस्पति' की मानद उपाधि से विभूषित किया। १९७० में, नवनालन्दा महाविहार, नालन्दा ने श्री सोहोनी को 'विद्यावारिधि' की मानद उपाधि से अलंकृत कर, वस्तुतः स्वयं अपने को गौरवान्वित किया। १९७२ में, उज्जैन के विक्रम विश्वविद्यालय ने, श्री सोहोनी की अप्रतिम साहित्य-साधना के सम्मान में, उन्हें डी० लिट्० की मानद उपाधि प्रदान कर अपनी गुण ग्राहकता का परिचय दिया। वस्तुतः, डाक्टर सोहोनी का विद्यानुराग अद्भुत है और शिक्षा, साहित्य एवं संस्कृति के अन्यतम प्रवर्त्तक के रूप में उनकी सेवाएँ चिर-अभिनन्दनीय हैं।

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आदर्श से प्रेरणा

इन पंक्तियों के लेखक को, लगभग तीन दशक तक, आधुनिक बिहार के सांस्कृतिक नव-जागरण से सम्बन्धित विभिन्न प्रकार के अनेकों आयोजनों में, डॉ० श्रीधर वासुदेव सोहोनी के निकटतम सहयोगी के रूप में योगदान करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है। हमारी विनम्र, किन्तु सुदृढ़, मान्यता है कि डॉ० सोहोनी ने जैसी सात्विक सेवाभावना, विलक्षण कार्य दक्षता एवं अप्रतिम कर्त्तव्य निष्ठा के साथ प्रायः चार दशक तक बिहार सांस्कृतिक नवजागरण का सफल नेतृत्व किया है, उसकी सुखद स्मृतियाँ सदैव जनमानस में जगमगाती रहेंगी और भावी पीढ़ियों के कार्यकर्त्ताओं को अमित प्रेरणा प्रदान करती रहेंगी।

जयप्रकाश पथ

पटना-१

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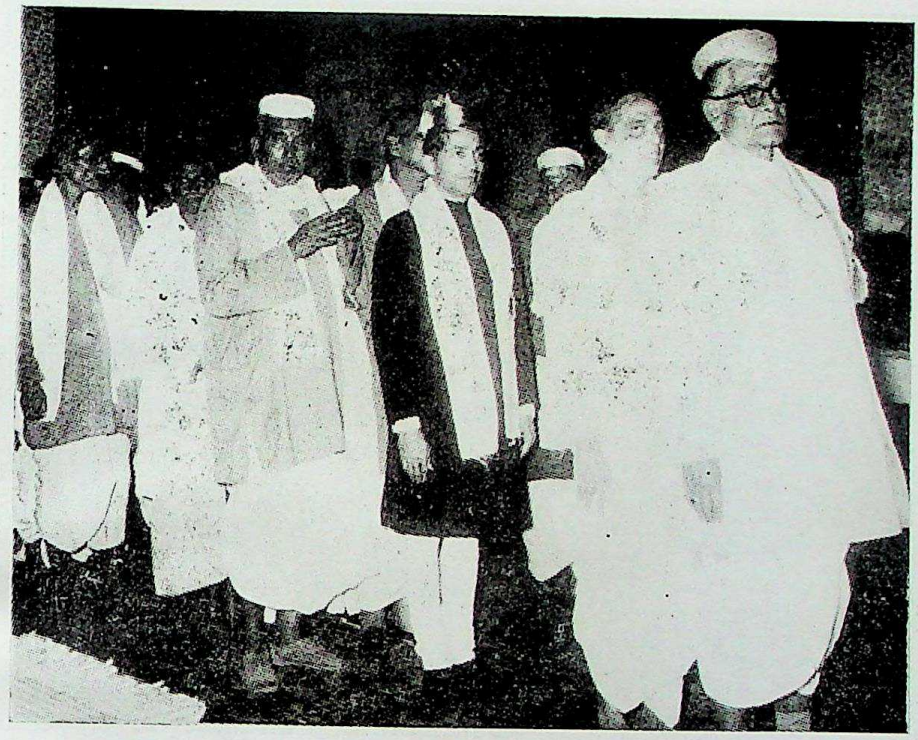

K. S. Darbhanga Sanskrit University Convocation, Darbhanga, 1970

Vikram University Convocation, Ujjain, 1972

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PLATE No. IV

Nava Nalanda Mahavihara Convocation, 1974

Presenting Award to Dr. Mahalingam on the Annual Conference of the Epigraphical Society of India—8th March, 1980, Ahmedabad

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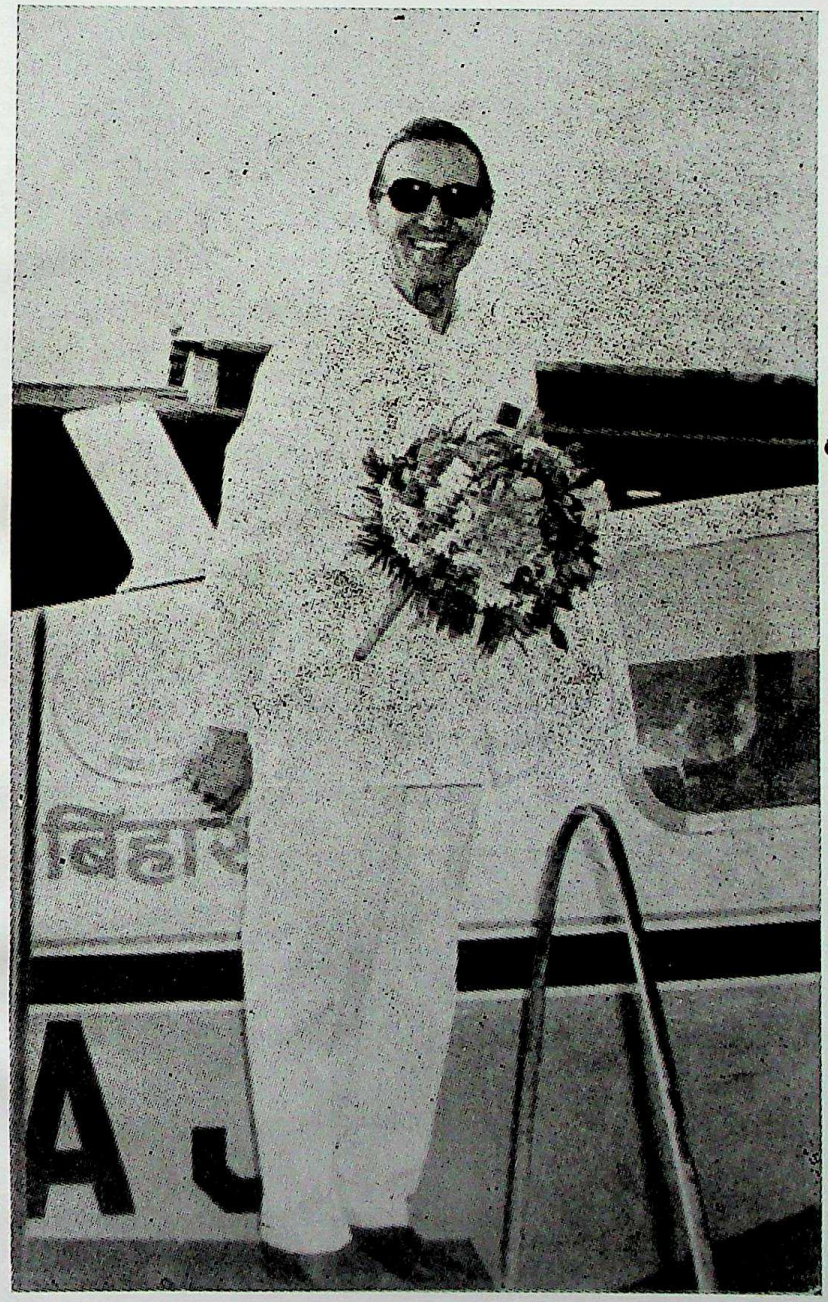

Departure from Patna 22nd May, 1978

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PLATE No. VI

Dr. Sohoni at a function in the Bihar Research Society

Dr. S. V. Sohoni addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society

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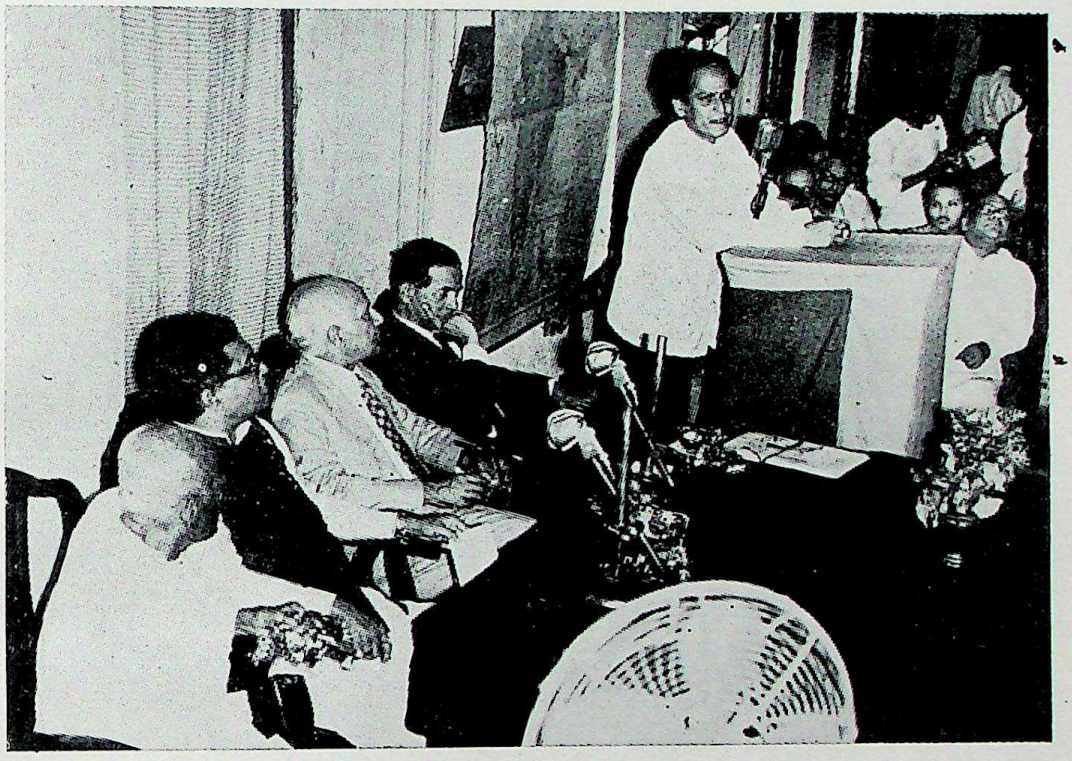

While Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. K: Jha is welcoming the distinguished Guests the late Pt. L. K. Jha, Ex-Chief Justice, Patna High Court, Dr. Jagannath Mishra, then Chief Minister, Bihar, Sri Jagannath Kaushal, then Governor of Bihar and Dr. S. V. Sohoni are seen (from right to left) in the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society.

Dr. S. V. Sohoni receiving Dr. Jagannath Mishra, then Chief Minister of Bihar at a Meeting in the Bihar Research Society.

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SECTION II

DAGGER PENDANTS—A STUDY IN CULTURAL DIFFUSION FROM CHALCOLITHIC TO THE HISTORICAL TIMES

C. MARGABANDHU

Pendant is a material object generally worn round the neck by a person set within a necklace of beads or separately. It is in other words an object which adds aesthetic beauty and is of decorative value. Amidst a cluster of beads in an ornament, a pendant with a simple symbol or shape emulating the concrete features of the environment such as a flower bud, vase, dot or drop, ball, club etc. adds aesthetic charm to the wearer of the object. Pendants were made from various raw materials such as metal, semi-precious stones, shell, bone and ivory and terracotta. They were made from moulds, or hand-modelled or were carved depending upon the nature of the raw material.

Apart from the simple shapes of pendants known in ancient times, there are a number of other types of pendants found, which reveal that they were meant to be used for a specific purpose. In other words they were not just meant to be worn as ornament, but were invested with some symbolic significance. They could be classified broadly as amuletic pendants, "possessing certain qualities or attributes or powers which were beneficial to man."[1] They were in other words endowed with some magico-

1. Wallis Budge, E. A., *Amulets and Talismans, New York*, 1961. pp. xxii-xxiii.

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religious qualities e. g. to cure disease, to beget children, to give strength, to overcome enemies, visible and invisible and above all warding off the Evil Eye.

Such types of specific shapes used in amulets are indeed many. They include religious motif, human figures in relief, various animals, birds, reptiles etc. Many shapes simulating material artefacts and also non-material objects were copied in amulets.

Among a number of such types of motifs fashioned to shapes, one of them is quite significant. It is called "the dagger-shaped pendants." As the name itself signifies, it consists of two parts which are clearly distinguished : the lower portion of flat, leaf-shaped blade (or at times rounded) and the upper portion which is the handle or the hilt joined together.

The general shapes of the pendant has more or less remained unchanged right from its earliest occurrence dating back to the chalcolithic times. Though the handle and the dagger portion are generally of different materials in orginal shape (the blade is of metal, while the handle is made of soft material such as bone, ivory or wood) it is found that some such type is also visualised in the pendants, especially the difference in form of the lower and upper portions. Any way it is quite interesting that in miniature form of pendants, great care has been taken to carve them with details to simulate the original.

It is quite significant to mention that its early occurrence from chalcolithic context is indeed characterised by certain features, which, is also found traceable in later times. A study of them upto the Late Historical times tend to show the generic features of the shape in outline and other details in most of them have some common cultural link, the details of which fill up the religious beliefs of the people in using them for specific purposes. Not much details are available to support the archaeological data effectively by literary descriptions or folk-lore. However, an attempt has been made to study the pendants as reported from the various sites and present them in a chronological order by bringing out the characteristic features, through four millennia of its prevalence and use.

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The material used in the manufacture of pendants is also quite revealing. The largest number of them are prepared from ivory or bone. The shapes are similar, but the decorations on them are plain, in general, quite a few are carved with lines or with designs. But all of them have one or two perforations at the portion of blade (the upper part) possibly for threading. It is not unlikely that the perforations served other purpose also.

The early one so far known is reported from Daimabad[2] in chalcolithic levels (fig. 1.1). It is made from bone or ivory and is divided into two parts : the lower blade and the upper hilt portion. Since it is made of such a soft raw-material, hence it is also decorated with incised lines, horizontally in the blade, within which it bears two perforations neatly made for threading. The lower portion of the blade tapers to a point. What is more important is the hilt portion which is carved in the form of an anthropomorphic figure and rendered more realistically in a natural profile. The angular curves and the ends and solidity to the entire frame. The fullness of the shape reveal a conceptual identity, which itself suggests its use in the form of an amulet, apart from its utility as an ornament of decorative value.

As stated earlier, this is the only specimen so far known from chalcolithic horizons in India. The earliest origin of this type is indeed traced to the Bronze Age civilizations of Western Asia and Crete. Sankalia[3] recalls that it has some connection with the cult of Mother-Goddess and has some close affinity to the 'fiddle-shaped' cult figurines, so characteristic of Crete.

At Daimabad,[4] its find in chalcolithic context is supported by the fact that it was recovered just two metres away from the location of the famous hoard of bronzes testify its significance and cultural identity. Moreover, the carving of the pendant in ivory with natural rendering of the hilt and the blade bespeak of the highly artistic skill of the carvers of the times.

2. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (IAR) 1974-75, pp. 29-31; Pl. XXV. D.
3. Sankalia, H. D., Subba Rao, B and Deo, S. B. : *The excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, 1952-53, Poona-Baroda, pp. 208-10. F. 109.3.
4. *IAR*, 1974-75, p. 31.

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There is a long gap of time that elapses till it emerges and occurs in the Early Historical Period. Its shape and other features more or less remain the same, even though some decorative designs are added depending upon the raw material used for the amulet. It also suggests that the source of inspiration and its main purpose or use possibly motivated the static unchangeability of the shape in the course of its diffusion at so many places.

The variety of raw materials used for its manufacture bespeak of its popularity. It is made from copper, semi-precious stones such as agate, carnelian, chalcedony and lapis-lazuli, faience, glass, shell and bone and ivory. Among them, the popular of the materials are bone and ivory and shell, possibly for the reason that they were better amenable for easy carving. Some of the finer specimens are made from semi-precious stones, whereas an unique one in copper reveals that this pendant has been used by sophisticated people also.

Chronologically the early specimens have been recovered from the fourth-third century B. C. at Taxila. It is not clear whether it had certain centres of manufacture, but it occurs at so many sites from the second century B. C., some of the notable among them include Kondapur, Maheshwar, Nevasa, Prabhas Patan, Ujjain, Maski etc.. where it occurs both in types and materials. However, it is clear that some of them were manufacturing centres as proved by other artefacts made in bone and ivory and shell, the largest of them found so far. Its finding from Taxila in the north-west and Tilaura-kot on borders of Nepal, Prabhas Patan in Saurashtra and Maski in the south delimit its extent of diffusion known so far.

At Taxila[5], this type is made from predominantly of bone and ivory. In addition one each has also been reported in agate and chalcedony. But those made from bone and ivory belong to a class by themselves, since they are identical in shape with decorations incised on them. It is more so because of the amenability of the raw material for easy carving.

Two of them at Bhir Mound[6] (c. 400-300 B. C.) have been made with even shape of the blade and hilt tapering to a point (Fig. 1.4, 5).

5. Marshall, J., *Taxila*, 1951, II. pp. 654-55.
6. *Ibid.*, III, Pl. 199.12-16.

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One of them has been decorated on one side with six incised circlets, one on the handle and the rest on the blade. There is one hole on the handle for suspension. The other one has been decorated on the one side with parallel lines and two circlets. This is a common type of pattern found in most of the bone and ivory specimens.

Contemporary ones made of carnelian and agate[7] have also been found here (Fig. 2.11, 12). The portion of blade and hilt has been separated by a notch with a single perforation, made transversely above on the handle for threading. No decorative features are found. Both of them are known from levels of the third century B. C.

Some pendants[8] (Fig. 1.3, 6) in bone have also been known from levels of the first and second century A. D., almost identical in shape with some difference in decoration. One of them has been decorated with incised lines only one handle and blade, whereas the other has two small holes near base of blade and incised parallel lines on handle and blade.

At Prabhas Patan[9] (c. 200-100 B. C.) a number of artefacts were made in shell among which dagger pendant is quite prominent (Fig. Pl. 1). Along with it has also been found ivory plaques[10] carved with outline of female figure with decorations of incised circlets on them, in addition to a number of points and antimony rods. The dagger amulet is a flat undecorated type and the blade is broad with its lower end slightly cut to give a notchy effect. Two perforations are made one above the other for threading. The hilt is deeply cut to triangular shape with sharp ends. Though it is a plain neatly made amulet, it is quite in contrast to the ivory plaque which is profusely decorated. Quite different is the dagger pendant from Jokha[11] (Distt. Surat) made from a splinter of bone (Fig. 1.7) datable to the pre-christian era. It is broken at bottom, but is richly

7. Beck, H. C., 'The beads from Taxila', *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 65, 1941, pp. 8, 9, 47, 49; Pl. III. 11, 12; IV. 7, 13, 17.
8. Marshall, *op. cit.* III. PL. 199. 15, 16.
9. *IAR* 1956-57, pp. 16-17, PL. XVII. B. 4.
10. *Ibid.*, PL. XXII. B. 5. Dhavalikar, M. K., 'Eye goddesses and their West Asian parallels', *Anthropos*, 60, 1965, pp. 533-40; Nanavati, J. M. 'Ivory figurines from Prabhasa', *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, 4, 1962, pp. 57-61.
11. Mehta, R. N. and Chowdhary, S. N. *Excavations at Jokha*, Baroda, 1971 p. 51, F. 22.5.

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decorated. It is like a small dagger with rectangular decoration around a circle on the top, which represents the portion of hilt. Below it are three horizontal incised lines followed by one incised circle and two holes on its side. At this point is found a cut on the side. Below it are two horizontal lines which are followed by vertical register with alternating rows of four and three dots. This is followed by three horizontal lines, out of which the portion of the third one as well as some others are broken. In full form, it could represent one of the finest decorated specimens known so far. The incised circles in such a large number suggest that it had some specific purpose such as one could be warding off the 'Evil Eye' as represented by the dotted designs. The incised designs (dot in circle) are similar to those found in Taxila[12] specimens.

As Kondapur[13] many dagger amulets are known from the times co-eval to the Sātavāhana period. They are made in semi-precious stones such as chalcedony and lapis lazuli and faience. They consist of small and neatly executed specimens with the handle on top separated by a ringed notch in which is perforated horizontally for threading. (Fig. 2.9, 10). As they are made from stones, the shape is circular and rounded and are quite different from that of the flat ivory and bone specimens.

By far the largest number of dagger amulets have been reported at Maski[14] made in shell from the time-span of c. 200 B. C.-100 A. D. (Pl. 2). They are both plain and decorated. Decorations consist of incised lines, horizontally made in rows ranging from three to seven mostly on the blade portion. The triangular shape of the blade ends in a point. At hilt is made perforation either in loop fashion or bored horizontally depending upon the natural cut shell available. Generally the solid shell has natural proportioned body which could be broken in even sizes as per requirement. This was suitably cut to size and hence the uniform shape of the amulets which have a curved profile. In addition a number of shell artefacts and ornamental pieces were found which emphasize a

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12. Marshall, *op. cit.*, III Pl. 199.12-16.
13. Dikshit, M. G., *Some beads from Kondapur*, Hyderabad Archaeology Series, No. 16, Hyderabad, 1951, pp. 11, 12, 14; Pl. II. 68, 100; III. 132.
14. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Deptt. of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions*, 1936-37, pp. 14-16, Pl. XII. B.

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flourishing shell industry at Maski[15]. Shell and beads have been found in different stages of manufacture. The raw material shell was brought from the sea-coast, the nearest place being 250 km away.

Ujjain[16] (c. 200–100 B.C.) has yielded one of the finest dagger pendants (Pl. 3) known so far in the contemporary levels. It is made of ivory and richly decorated. It bears two perforations, as usual for threading with the decorated portion facing front. The design was made with dot in circle along the entire periphery of the blade in the form of a *hāra* or a necklace. The space inside was also filled with 2 sets of dots in circle forming a cluster of them.

On the upper portion is the hilt which is also quite characteristic. The shape resembles an anthropomorphic frame visualised by the deep curved and angular cuts which divided the portions of the body in a formal outline. This together with the designs on the blade suggest that the pendant was used for some specific purpose.

Apart from these known, there are more number of them have been found, some of which are much finer made from the time of the first century B. C. and the second century A. D. Shell and copper are the raw material used for the pendants. They are also profusely decorated with features which have a bearing on the object and its use. They were perforated with two holes in such a way that the decorative features in front could be prominently visible.

Nevasa[17] has yielded a few pendants made in copper, faience and bone and ivory, of which, one of them in complete form in the last material has some 'cultic' value[18]. It is unlike the other specimens so far found, in the sense that its full shape suggests the outline of a human figure having features of a distinct nature[19] (Fig. 2.13). The parts of the whole

15. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, Pl. VI. (f).
16. *Annual Administrative Report of the Archaeological Deptt. of Gwalior State*, 1938-39, p. 18; Pl. XXV. (e) No. 140.
17. Marshall, *op. cit.*, III.
18. Sankalia, H. D. Deo, S. B. Ansari, Z. D. and Sophie Ehrhardt, *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa* (1954-56), Poona, 1960, pp. 353-54, 373, 414-15, 457; F. 195. 14,15; 167.17, 169.11.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 361, 373; Pl. 169.11.

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body is apparently represented in clear outline. The upper portion has two curves which end with a flat top. Evidently the decorations also support the human features with several incised circles and have some religious significance.

Sankalia[20] suggests that the entire idea of such pendants was perhaps amuletic implying connection with some eye-goddess. In any case the entire frame of the amulet and the decorations suggest that it is quite a different one, than those generally classified in this category.

A number of them have also been reported at Maheshwar[21] datable to the early centuries of the Christian era made in carnelian, shell and bone and ivory. The pendant made in carnelian[22] with a single perforation on top and possess a triangular section. It is similar to those reported from Kondapur and Taxila. Another one in shell[23] has been found with the hilt portion having incised cut decorations and is almost identical to the one reported from Jokha. Unfortunately the lower portion is lost. Similar portion belonging to a bone pendant[24] has also been found here. The hilt bear decorations of incised hatched squares possessing concave under surface.

By far the best and complete specimen at Maheshwar is that made of beaten copper[25] found in levels of c. 200 – 300 A. D., the only one of its kind so far found in this material (Fig. 1.2). It is an intact piece with thin flat leaf-shaped blade, a thin stem crowned by a triangular hilt with a trapesium-shaped outline. The blade has two neat circular perforations just below the projecting top, which is the part of handle. Its size (46 × 26 × 2.5 m) indicate its use as a pendant either separately or fixed in a necklace. The hilt portion which fits in well as a handle (though in miniature) has resemblance to a human shape in outline.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 373.
21. Sankalia, H. D. Subba Rao, B and Deo, S. B. *The Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli* 1952-53, Poona-Baroda, 1958, pp. 186, 188-89, 208.209, 225, 231, F. 109.3, 107.14, 102.18, 114.9.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 186, f. 102.18.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 232, f. 107.14.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 225, f. 114.9.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-10; f. 109.3.

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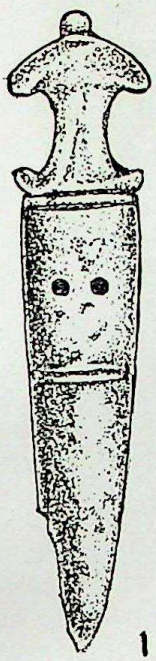

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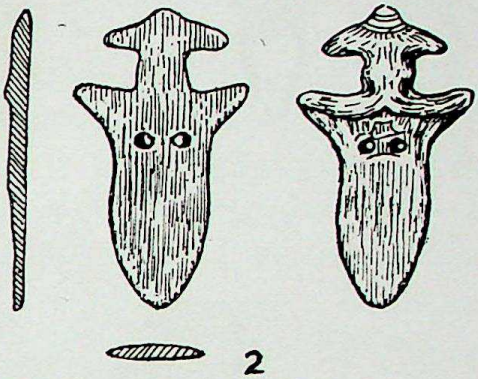

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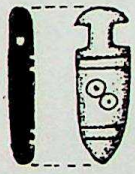

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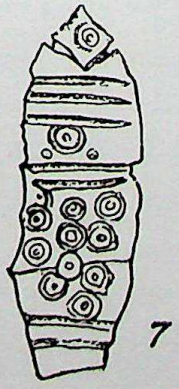

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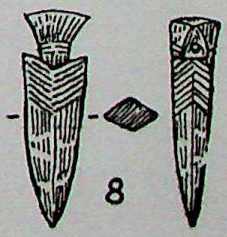

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FIG. 1

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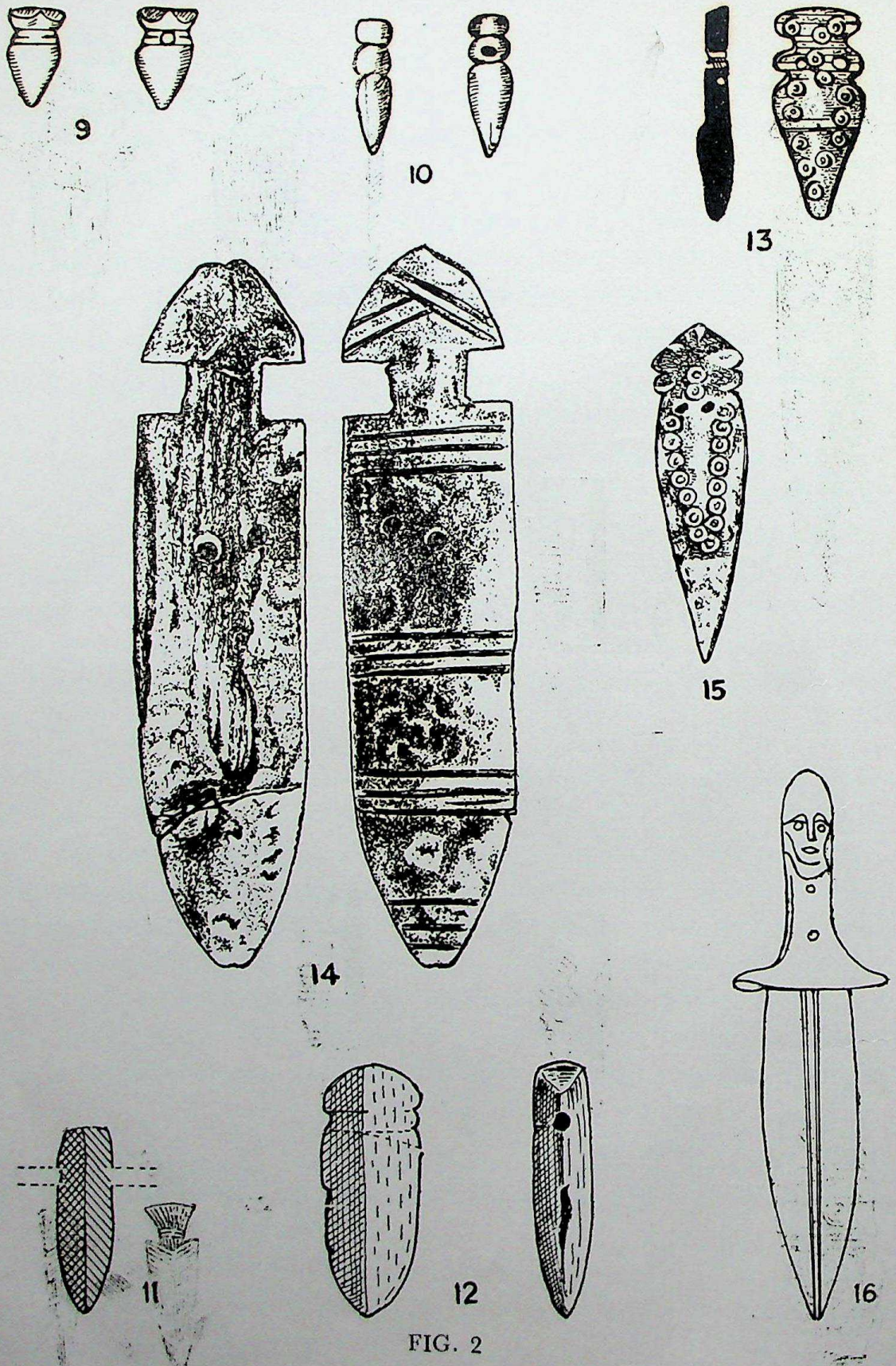

FIG. 2

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The anthropomorphic feature suggest its significant use as an amulet, apart from its decorative value. While discussing its features, Sankalia[26] connects it with the cult of Mother-Goddess. He also compares it with 'fiddle-shaped' cult figures, so characteristic of Bronze Age sites of West Asia and Crete. But the chronological gap between both of them is yet to be resolved. Though it occurs in levels datable to the early centuries of the Christian era, it resembles the one from Daimabad[27] wherein also, the handle is devised with anthropomorphic shape. But the fact that Meheshwar has yielded a number of dagger pendants in shell, bone and ivory and this one made in copper indicates its popular use, as well as its possible early antecedence, even though, so far none has been reported from Maheshwar in Chalcolithic horizons.

Tilaura Kot[28] (c. 200 B. C. – 100 A. D.) has also yielded dagger pendant of a slightly varying type (Fig. 1.8). It is a fine specimen with decorations, consisting of a series of concentric V-shaped incisions making the exaggerated bottom end of the hilt. Its material is not identified—though it is fairly light and of wooden colour—but it is neither organic nor wooden. It possesses an even shape tapering to a point with a roughly diamond-shaped cross-section. It has a slightly varying decoration unlike the dot in circle found on the other pendants. Its handle assumes an utilitarian shape with a single perforation at the portion of the blade and handle.

Singh Bhagwanpur,[29] District Rupnagar has also yielded one of the best dagger pendants in bone with decorative designs incised on it (Fig. 2.15). It was found along with a number of bone objects in the time-span of c. 200 – 300 A. D. It is complete with broad triangular frame of the blade tapering to a point having a V-shaped hilt. It is also richly decorated almost similar to the Nevasa and Ujjain[30] pendants. The decorations of dot in circle forming a pattern along the entire margin of the blade in the form of a beaded single stringed necklace ends above the

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-89; 208-09.
27. *IAR*, 1974-75, pp. 29, 31, Pl. XXV. D.
28. Debala Miura, *Excavations at Tilaura Kot and Kodan and explorations in the Nepalese Terai*, 1972, p. 123, 132-33, 135, F. 26-31, Pl. XLIV. 31.
29. *IAR*, 1980-81, p. 51, Pl. XXVIII. C.
30. Sankalia et al, *op. cit.*, (1960), Pl. 169.11.

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hilt (with two circles on the hilt portion) at which part are two perforations made for threading.

The hilt is made with two deep cuts indicating the division of the frame suggesting a human shape and recalls the Nevasa specimen in respect of schematic uniformity.

Another better specimen has been reported made in bone at Karvan[31] (Pl. 4). It belongs to the Kshatrapa times. It is complete with the blade and hilt clearly demarcated with incised lines made on the front portion. It has a broad frame ending in a triangular shape narrowing to a point, whereas the blade above is of rectangular shape with double perforation on upper portion of blade. The decorations are incised on the blade which has been divided into four parts by three lines (incised) made horizontally, one above the other, upto the edge, over which is the triangular hilt which is incised with double lines slightly slanting and joined making a wide angle.

There is a deep cavity between the hilt and the blade which is quite interesting, since those found earlier have some specific characteristics such as an anthropomorphic form or otherwise. There is a difference in respect of decorations incised on the pendant which consist of straight lines in rows without the dot in circles which is usually found filling up the space in the pendants known from Jokha and Taxila, though the total number of incised lines differ from one and the other. It is not clear whether it is deliberate or otherwise. In any case the dagger pendant at Karvan represent the final outcome in the long process of evolution, ultimately by the early centuries of the Christian era, it emerges in its crystallised form. Apart from the known evidence of the early historic period upto the third fourth century A. D. dagger pendants seem to have been popular in later times also. It is quite interesting to add that even now in the modern bead industry at Cambay the dagger is a very favourite shape for carnelian pendants.

A broad and generalized study of such a nature has its own lacunae and limitations—the reason being dearth of such artefacts from excavations of the sites known so far. Many excavation reports published are piecemeal without the detailed data of the numerous artefacts found. In spite

31. *IAR*, 1977-78, p. 22, Pl. XVI. B.

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of these drawbacks, the collection of the evidence does reveal enough information for study of such type of, though small, yet valuable objects and their significant bearing on the evolution of religious and sociological ideas of the people of the times. Such type of specific artefacts, though in this respect used as a decorative device of a part or full component does also give glimpse of the aesthetic taste of the people in creating them with artistic beauty and charm.

An analysis of the data suggest that dagger pendants do have some intrinsic significance. A review on the basis of details so far considered will be highlighted by emphasising the following aspects :

(A) Geographical range

(B) Shape and decorations

(C) Mode of use

(D) Comparison—regional and external; and

(E) Chronology.

The geographical range of its availability bespeak of its far-flung nature of diffusion as an object of value be it magico-religious or as a decorative device. Its range from Taxila in the north-west and Tilaura Kot in the north-east, Jokha in south Gujarat, Tripuri in east and Maski in down south is quite impressive. Its spread at far-distant places suggest the possibility of, apart from being carried by way of trade as an object of decorative value, it could also be made at local centres of production depending upon the availability of raw material such as semi-precious stones, shell or bone and ivory. As an example Maski and Prabhas Patan are notable centres of shell industry where (at the former site) many of the pendants have been found, apart from bangles, ear-ornaments, etc.

An interesting fact arises out of it, is the shape of the pendant and various decorations made on them. The pendant consisted of two parts : the blade and the hilt (or the handle). It is quite fascinating that the form of the pendant was visualised keeping in view the original shape of the dagger. Hence the division of both parts in miniature with the typical features clearly indicated.

The shape of the blade, in general depended upon the type of raw-material used. In respect of bone and ivory and shell, the blade

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is usually made with a flat face (or oval) so that decorations could be made in the broad surface. This is not the case in regard to those made in semi-precious stones, wherein the pendants were made circular in shape with pointed end. There is a notch or deep cleft at neck which separates the blade and the handle above. In this notch, perforation is made transversely for threading. No decorations are found in stone pendants.

The handles were also fashioned in diverse shapes which also depended upon the nature of the raw material used. The earliest one at Daimabad is shaped in an anthropomorphic form which is quite interesting. Its utility as an ornament infused with aesthetic beauty and its practical use as a handle have been combined together in shape reflects on the expert craftsmanship of the artisans.

The later handles of pendants of early historical times too could be separated into plain and decorated types. This too depended upon the raw material. The handles of the semi-precious stones are chiselled and polished thereby giving it a round shape. Hence they belong to one group. What is more interesting is the creative carving of handles in bone, ivory and shell all of which have some uniformity of features with angular and cut devices indicating suggestive human form in outline. Those from Nevasa, Singh Bhagvanpur, Taxila and Ujjain are near representative of this type. The Maheshwar specimen in copper with a characteristic human-shaped handle is quite similar to the Daimabad pendant.

There are other handles which are of simple and conventional shape. They are triangular, oval or square and are known from Jokha, Maski, Nevasa, Taxila and Tilaura Kot. The shapes do not bear any significant quality. The Karvan specimen is the best of the conventional handles known so far.

The decorations found on the dagger amulets suggest certain chracteristics of an individual nature. Decorations are found mostly on bone and ivory specimen and next followed by shell. Decorations are of two types (a) incised lines and (b) dots in circles of a simple nature and those forming a design. Incised lines in rows of two or three cover the entire surface, as if dividing it uniformly. The early one from Daimabad has two rows of incised lines in the centre in which perforations are made.

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In fact the early historic pendants are better decorated with designs. Some of them have uniformity of a pattern that could be contemporary or culturally connected. At Taxila all these types of decorations occur with some variations. In two of them only incised lines are made; in the other the dots in circles are made bordered by two incised lines; in yet another dots in circles only occur, possibly suggesting a design. It is clear that from about the third century B. C. and after, all these three types of decorations are adopted in fashioning the pendants. But the decorations on a specimen from Jokha is quite unusual. It has no uniform pattern but the dots in circles occupy the portion in cluster filling up the space in between the incised lines. Decorated pendants having a formal design of specific nature is reported from the first century A. D. and after. It is fascinating to state that the dots in circles seem to be the only type of design that is adopted for this purpose. This shape is a *hāra* or in the form of a single stringed bead necklace, an even shape which cover the space of the pendant. In some, the inside space of the necklace is also filled with dots in circles in one or two clusters. It is not too much to state, that this shape of a *hāra* with the handle or hilt in the outline of an anthropomorphic nature suggest certain 'cultic' value to the entire frame of the pendant. This is visualized to a certain extent of the decorations incised on the pendants from Nevasa, Singh Bhagwanpur and Ujjain. Further the Nevasa specimen made in shell has been carved with design and the shape with curved outline suggesting human frame is indeed quite realistic. Herein lies the significance of these pendants, perhaps endowed with magico-religious powers for warding off "Evil Eye", etc. It is quite relevant to continue this line of inquiry with data revealed from contemporary literature.

There is a direct link between the decorations made on the pendants and the mode of its use. As stated, the shape devolves into two groups. Circular (or rounded) and flat-shaped. This was facilitated by the type of material used for making them. Invariably, pendants made in semi-precious stones are circular in shape. They are not decorated and possess single perforation at the notch which separates the blade and the hilt and therefore, they could be used at centre of the neklace or separately. But those in bone, ivory and shell are made with flat surface so that one side could face front. This is quite clear as revealed by two

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perforations closely made, so that the thread could pass through them in such a manner that the required side could be visible in front. Indeed this double perforation is found from the earliest one at Daimabad also. Apart from the incised designs, this is also one more aspect of uniformity found in chalcolithic and early historic pendants. At Maski this similar pendant in shell do not have double perforations, but they were made with loops (of tubular shape) or bored horizontally to facilitate the required portion to face front. This type of perforation seems to be popular here and do not occur at other places. In other words, the mode of use determined the shape with its decorative features which is to be visible in front.

A problem that is posed is in respect of the origin of these pendants in Indian context : whether it has any relevance to those found elsewhere in much earlier horizons.

The earliest one so far known is from Daimabad in chalcolithic levels. It has not been reported in any other proto-historic site and appears again in levels of the fourth-third century B. C. after which it is found gradually at various early historic sites in the north, central and western India.

A predominant fact that is revealed in respect of them right from the chalcolithic times in Indian context is the uniformity of shape in whatever material it was fashioned. Hence it is interesting to trace out its earlier origin, earliest to the chalcolithic context in the region of north-western India and further beyond.

A certain variety of artefacts or ornamental objects have been reported at sevaral sites of the north-west, Iran and Western Asia which have been designated "Eye Goddess" figurines. However, all these are quite far removed typologically from those known in Indian context.[32]

In the north-west India, the proto-historic sites of Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Chanhudaro have yielded a type of ivory objects with a pedestalled base, oblong and tapering bodies, sometimes divided into compartments by notches and curves. They have been incised with lines and decorated in rows of dots in circles resembling 'eye'. What is more

32. Dhavalikar, M. K., "Eye Goddesses" in "India and their West Asian Parallels", *Anthropos*, 60, 1965, pp. 532-40.

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significant is the stylised outline of human shape divided by lines, bands and eyes. However, the features and the shape is quite distinct and indentical in all the sites of the north-west so far.[33]

Another variant in this type of the 'Eye Goddess' figure has been reported in Zarif Karuna[34] in Peshawar valley made in alabaster or gypsum. Two circular pierced holes indicate eyes. The polished and the smoothened front is decorated with five punched holes in angular formation shaped to a human frame in an abstract rendering. This type and its variants have been found in abundance[35] at a number of sites in Western Asia and beyond made in alabaster and bone and ivory. Mallowan[36] reports "in thousands" in the excavations at Tell Brak in the temple premises attributable to the Jemdet-Nasr Period (second half of the third millennium B. C.) which he calls them as "eye idols". They consist of an oblong flat body, tapering towards the top and made to be laid flat. Different types and variants are found. What is significant is "a pair of obliquely set eyes and filled with colour and consequently, they were termed as "eye idols"[37].

Another equally characteristic shape is the anthropomorphic features of the dagger handle reported in the collection of Luristan[38] Bronzes datable to the third millennium B. C. It consists of a dagger with the handle shaped somewhat of a human face with the blade below (Fig. 2.16) In addition a handle[39] has also been found somewhat of the human figure in full form, datable to the later half of the second millennium B. C.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 535-536, see fig.
34. Gulzar Muhammad Khan, "Excavations at Zarif Karuna", *Pakistan Archaeology*, 9, 1973, pp. 62-63, Pl. XIX A.
35. Doughlas Van Buren, "Amulets, symbols or idols", *Iraq*, XII, 2, 1950, pp. 139-46; "New Evidence concerning an eye divinity", XVII, 1955, pp. 164-75.
36. Mallowan, M. E. L., "Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazaar", *Iraq*, IX, 1947, pp. 32-39, 55-59, 150-59, 198-210; Figs. 1-6, Pl. XXV. 1-9, XXVI, 1-13; PL. LI. 1-48.
37. Doughlas Van Buren, *Iraq*, XVII, pp. 164-65.
38. Schaeffer, C. F. A., *Stratigraphie comparee et chronologie de 'l' Asie occidentale* (IIIe et IIe millenaries), London, 1948, F. 263.5; Franco Biancofiore, "Cultural relations between south Italy and the proto-historical civilizations of the Asia Minor and the Aegeum, "East and West, 10 (1-2), 1959, pp. 276-286, Fig. 3. a.
39. *Ibid.*, Fig. 3. b.

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This second type is also called 'fiddle-shaped figurine' has been widely prevalent in West Asia, Troy and Southern Europe. At Tripolye[40] these are made in clay predominantly female and were steatopygous, ornamented with incised spirals, while others are fiddle-shaped, flat and painted. All these have been reported during c. 2300-1800 B. C. Gordon Childe[41] traces their cultural antecedents to south-west Asia.

At Troy[42] the figurines are usually of bone, oblong in shape and decorated with eye motif all over the body. Some of the handles of the knives or daggers are also decorated with eye motif. They belong to various times of the third and second millennium B. C. Similar type of female figurines have been reported at Tepe Hissar[43] made in alabaster and bone datable to the later half of the second millennium B. C. At Susa[44] figurines carved in bone are found in Parthian levels.

Flinders Petrie[45] reports them in Egypt datable to the Roman times and calls them 'onch shaped dolls'. They are made from bone with human shape in outline with dot and circle decoration incised in relief.

A brief review of the evidence reveals the widespread prevalance of a type of "Eye Goddess" cult in West Asia and beyond and the variety of the types among them of eye-goddesses, eye-idols and fiddle-shaped figurines etc. reflect on the complexity of the problem, both culturally as well as chronologically.

In respect of the dagger pendants found in Indian context, it is clear that it differs both in type and shape to those found in north-west, west Asia and beyond. It is also difficult to bridge the chronological and geographical gaps of the occurrence in the levels of the second millennium B. C. and also its absence in the regions south of the Indus. Far in the interior at Daimabad it is found in chalcolithic levels. Hence until such

40. Gordon Childe, V., *The Dawn of European Civilization* 1957, pp. 142; Fig. 75. Bl. 10, B. II. 13 C. 8.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
42. Carl W. Blegen, *Troy ond the Trojans* (London, 1963), p. 226, Pl. 15; p. 227. pl. 26, p. 228, Pl. 30, 36.
43. Erich F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan*, 1937, pp. 191, 193, Fig. 114, No. 3500; Pl. XLVII, 3832, 3500.
44. Girshman, *Iran*, Harmondsworth, 1961, p. 282, Pl. 39. b.

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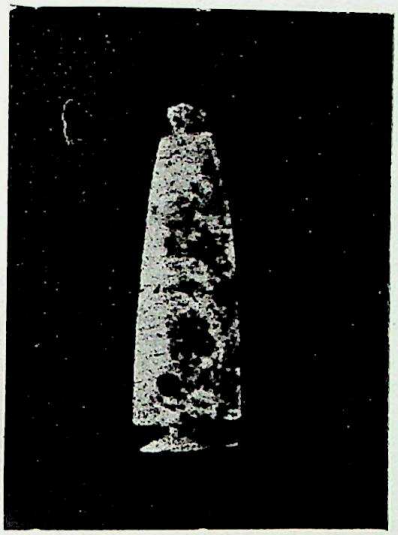

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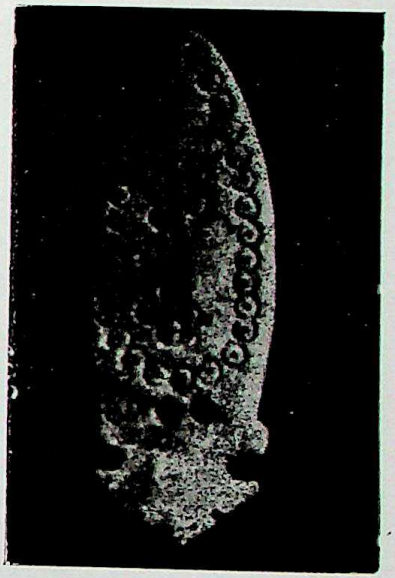

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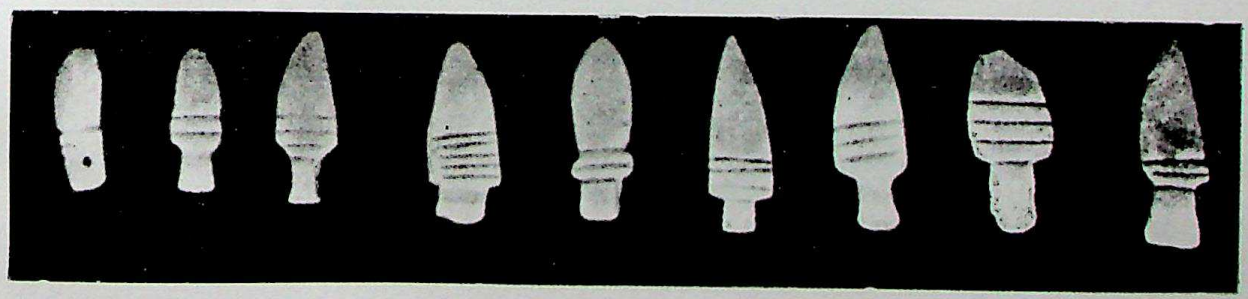

(2)

1. Prabhas Patan Ivory daggger pendant. 2. Maski : Shell dagger pendants.
3. Ujjain : Ivory dagger pendant.

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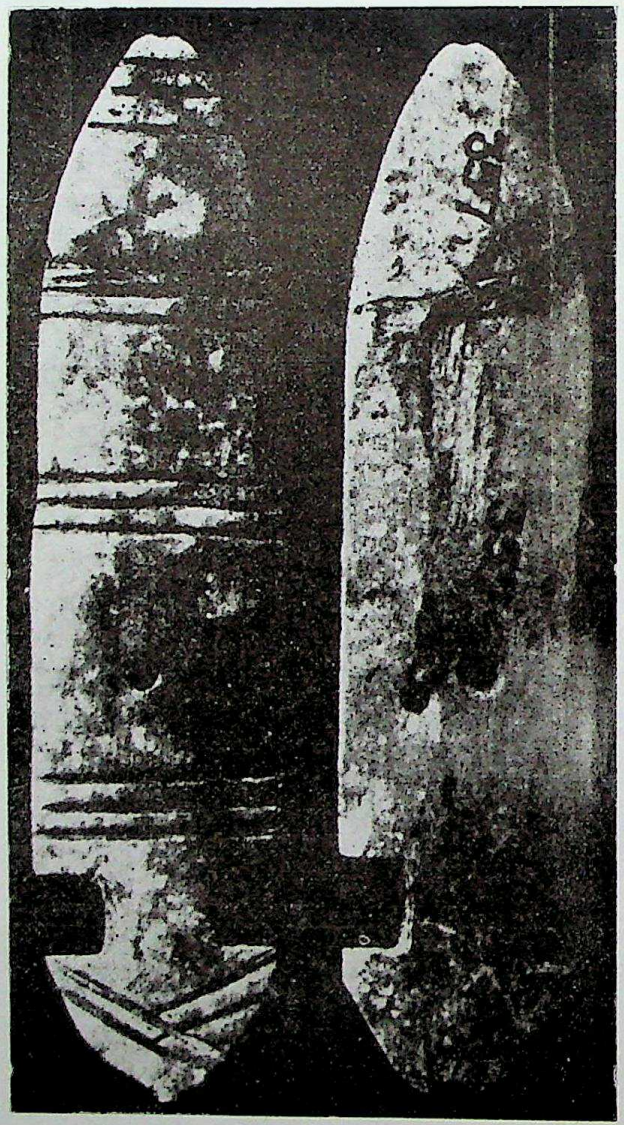
TE PLA No. II



Karvan : Bone dagger pendant.

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time further evidence is available, the contextual significance of the chalcolithic specimen thus stands isolated.

As stated the early historic dagger pendants seem to take a definite form and shape with slight modification depending upon the nature of raw materials. From now on, it occurs at many places revealing its significance as an object of religious wearing, quite apart from its aesthetic significance. This is one more evidence which support the various religious forces that prevailed and dominated the times especially the early historic Period.

Acknowledgements :

The author gratefully acknowledges the help rendered by Sarvashri J. S. Bisht and V. R. Sharma for the preparation of the line drawings; Shri Birbal Sharma, for the photographs—all of them of the Excavations Branch-II of the Archaeological Survey of India. The copy-right of the photographs rests with the Archaeological Survey of India.

Superintending Archaeologist
Archaeological Survey of India
Excavations Branch II
Purana Qila New Delhi—1

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ART OF "WRITING" IN THE ṚGVEDIC PERIOD : AN INVENTIVE INVESTIGATION

L. S. WAKANKAR

Close company with Ṛgvedic scholars and Saṃskṛtists, and exposure to their studies, did not allow me to take at their face value the statements of early European Sanskṛtists, inspite of my respect for them for their sharp intelligence and systematic working discipline, because they had no intimate contact with the traditional Vedic heritage. Through my yearly partcipation in Brahma-Yajñas and Ṛiṣi-Tarpan ceremonies I had realised that their studies about Vedas, with special interest *only* in phonetic speculations were too superficial, lop-sided and their study of grammatic literature was much poor. They, however, carry much influence over the English educated scholars, which has resulted into carrying wrong convictions. The following statements which are incorrect have gained unnecessary acceptancc in the minds of most of the orientalists, viz. :—

(1) The extensive Vedic literature gives no indication whatsoever of the existence of the art of writing in early Aryan India. ....Writing is never mentioned. Among the ancient Indian divinities there was no god of 'writing', but there was Saraswati, the goddess of knowledge, learning and eloquence. ....Only the Buddhist literature gives clear reference to writing in ancient times.[1]

(2) Prof. Max Muller's final conclusion was, therefore, that the art of writing became known to India about 400 BC in the middle of the Sutra period and that, then and even later, it was not applied to literary purposes.[2]

(3) From such facts one would conclude that at the time, that is in the fifth century BC, the idea of possibility of writing books had not yet occurred at all.[3]

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1. David Diringer, *The Alphabet*, London, Ed. 1947, p. 329.
2. George Buehler, *On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet*, 1895,Chowkhamba Series, Varanasi, 1963 reprint. p. 6.
3. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, 2nd Ed., Calcutta, 1959, p. 29.

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(4) There is no mention of writing materials...nor is there any allusion to writing during the whole of Brāhmaṇa period.... The whole of Brāhmaṇa literature, however incredible it may seem, shows not a single vestige of the art of writing.[1]

(5) The beginning of Indian poetry and science goes back to a time when writing was unknown, and a system of oral tradition, such as is referred in Ṛgveda, was developed before writing was introduced....from 2 borrowed Semetic symbols (came) the full Brahmi alphabet of 46 letters....This must have existed by 500 BC, according to the strong arguments adduced by Professor Buehler. This is the alphabet which is recognised in Pāṇini's great grammar of about the fourth century BC, and has remained unmodified ever since.[2]

The hollowness of the above statements will be clear from information produced hereafter in this article and is an evidence of the 'plot'[3] by the imperial Oxford scholars. Many articles in protest have been published in Hindi, Marathi and other languages by G. H. Ojha, S. D. Satawalekar, Lexicographer Y. R. Date, myself and others, but they have, perhaps, not gone home to the English-oriented readers. These Indian scholars had argued that it was impossible to compose even a single hymn of Ṛgveda without counting the sequential occurence of short and long Akṣaras (syllables) and it needed existence of an as-elaborate-a-writing system as is Devanāgarī or its phonogically precise sister-scripts. Much damage has been done by the emphasis on Aśokan Brahmi being branded as the mother of all Indian regional scripts, which it is not. By 1895, Aśokan Brahmi might have been the oldest known Indian writing; after that year many earlier writings have been discovered. Undue stress has been placed on the argument that all knowledge was transmitted '*orally*' in absence of any knowledge of writing

1. Max Mueller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1859, pp. 500-501.
2. Arther, A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1928, p. 16-17.
3. The plot is factually exposed in "*Some doubtful areas in the Chronology and History of India*" by 'Aagastya', Pune 1984.

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in ancient India; the fact is that Sanskritists had long back realised the whatever efforts be made to develope more efficient codes for reflexing human sounds, they will never come anywhere near the performing-capacity of the natural 'Human'-sound-box, and therefore there was the emphasis on learning correct sound by rote and oral transmission, and, in order to preserve the Ṛgveda intact-as-it-was thousands of year ago, Vedāṅgas like Śikṣā (Phonology), Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), Prātishākhyas, Anukramani (index) and exercises in routines of word-text (Pada-pāṭha), step-text (Krama-Pāṭha), Woven-text (Jaṭā-Pāṭha), Ghana-Pāṭha (not expressable in English) with accentuation exercises, were invented.

Every Westerner tried to attribute foreign origin to Brahmi but after the discovery of the Indus sites from 1922 onwards such attributions are arrested. After the 'Indo-aryan' linguistic hypothesis of Jones and Max Mueller. '*Aryan-race immigration story*' was created by Edward Thomas, under the only subject open to discussion under Fourth Head, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Rt. Hon. Viscount Strangford in Chair[1] then 'separate indentity for Dravidianism was created and developed systematically from Caldwell (b. 1814), Father Beschi (b. 1819), Rev. G. U. Pope, Hugen Hultch, Jules Block to Fr. Henry Heras and others, for the benefit of the 'divide and rule' strategy of the imperialist plot of "excessive involvement in Aryan-Dravidian question at the expense of disciplined archaeological thinking", which has put the decipherment of Indus script in a state of permanent confusion. The chronological scale has also been deliberately mutilated.[2]

Limited utility of so-called Brahmi Script

Aśokan Brahmi appears to be of restricted use in Mauryan administrative area where the simpler phonemised Pali-Prakrit language was used. It was also sufficient for the correspondence or accounting of the trading communities, but not for Sanskrit, although some epigraphists like Pt. G. H. Ojha and A. B. Walawalakar have inadvertently used the name 'Brahmi' for the use for Sanskrit of pre-Aśokan period; the script for Sanskrit was Bhārati or Devalipi as very clearly stated in *Padma*

1. Minutes, vide *Journal of R. A. S.* London, New Series V. ff p. 420.
2. See Agastya, *supra.*

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Purāṇa. Langdon, Hunter, BB Chakravorty, and many scholars have suggested connection of Brahmi with the mysterious Indus signary. Diringer suggests, 'It is easier to relate the Hrarappa culture to the history of Sumerian Mesopotamia on the basis of objects of Indus valley origin found in Mesopotamia. More than 30 steatite seals, including a few with inscriptions in Indus valley script have been found in various Mesopotamian sites. Some of them belong definitely to the Harappa Culture, others may be suspected to have had this origin, or to have been made in Mesopotamia under Indian influence.[1] Decipherment of one was done by A. B. Walawalakar.[2]

The traders are called as 'Pani' in Ṛgveda and as Phoenicians in Greek. The Ṛgveda says :

न्यक्रतून् ग्रथिनो मृध्रवाचः **पणीः** अश्रद्धां अवृधाम् अयज्ञान् ।
प्रपतान् दस्यूँरग्निर्विवाय पूर्वश्चकारा परां अयज्यून् ॥ ऋ० ७.६.३॥

Non-sacrificers, broken-and harsh-tongued, non-believer Panis, may Lord Agni drive them away and fall on the non-sacrificing smugglers, Rg. VII, 6.3. To the very small 'Hermitage-dwelling' Vedic people the 'WORD' (वाक्) was a subject of passional devotion and investigation which gave birth to the science of Grammar; it was possibly not so to the (Bania) trading community of the Panis; the language symbols of the Semites have evolved from first letters of different objects by acrophony, like Aleph (ox-head), Beth (House), Gimel (camel), Daleth (door), etc. (but the Vedic script was intelligently designed phonogical script created by Brāhmaṇas-pati-Ganapati to reflex the Maheshwari Sutras-not from any pictographic origin). Now who were the Phoenicians ? They were considered as foreigners by the local Jews of Palestine. 'Their community was not large. For a thousand years from 1500 BC to 500 BC they dominated in a land 200 miles long and 30/35 miles wide near the Mediteranean Sea, where stands Beirut of today. Greek Herdotus (11.44) had noted that the Phoenicians were colonists in Tyfe (as British were in India); Hannibal their famous general marched over the Alps with elephants. They disappeared from history after the 3rd Punic War, with the end of

1. *The Alphabet*, London, 1953, p. 82.
2. See B. S. Naik, *Typography of Devanagari*, Vol. II pp. 627-632.

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Carthage[1] R. B. Pande wrote : 'Under the circumstances there is no improbability about the fact that either the Aryans or their cousins the Asuras invented the Indus script in these parts of the world.'[2]

Invention of Brahmi is attributed to 'Brahmā' by the Jainas, according to A. Weber[3], 'An eighteen-fold order of scripts is taught by Brahmā—

'बंभी रानां लिविरा अट्ठारसविहं लिखख विहाणे पण्णत्ते, तं बम्भी'

Buehler, further, remarks: 'This apparently senseless assertion finds its explanation through passsages of mental Smritis of Nārada and Bṛhaspati, as well through Brāhmanical sculptures and pictures of Brahmā. The Jain list has not been copied from that of the Buddhists, but gives expression to an independent tradition which in all probability is considerably older than that of the Buddhists (p. 25).....*Samavāyāṅga Sutra* includes a detailed abstract of the lost *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the twelfth of the Jain Aṅgas and asserts that, according to this work, the *Bambhi livi* or Brahma alphabet consisted of 46 māuyakkhara (Mātrikākṣara) or redical signs. The commentator Abhayadeva says that this number comes out by deducting from the (in his time sarc. XI) ordinary alphabet, the vowels ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ and the lingual ḷa, but including kṣa (which are also in the Horiuji palm-leaf).. ...It is not consonant ḷa but the group kṣa which ought to be deducted (p. 28)... According to *Lalit Vistar*, Prince Siddhārtha is said to have enumerated Vowels which are only twelve, viz a ā i ī u ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ. G. Buehler (p. 47) praised the Aśokan script thus : 'according to epigraphic evidence the *Brāhmi lipi* was since the beginning of the historic period the paramount Indian alphabet, used from Himālayas to Cape Kāmorin and from the Khyber Pass to the Bay of Bengal, while the Kharoṣthi had always a secondary place only in a very confined territory.'

This Imperial Brahmi went out of use with the decline of the Buddhism in India and the rise of Brāhmaṇism; in its place the Vedic

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1. William A. Masson, *A History of the Art of Writing*, 1920, pp. 287-288; retranslated from quotation from Marathi by K. R. Paranjape, *Marathi Lipi chi ghadan*, Bombay, p. 34).
2. *Indian Palaeography*, Benares, 1957, p. 35.
3. Page 399, quoted by G. Buehler on Brahma Alphabet, Ed. 1960. p. 25.

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'Shambhu-mata' or Māheshwari phonography began to raise its head since Gupta Era. If carefully observed, it will be realised that Aśokan Brahmi is not the real Indian mother-script, but it was one of the passing phases in the evolution of the Indian regional scripts. The 46-lettered Brahmi could never suffice the Prakrit-Sanskrit-oriented developing regional script.

Through the hoary Grammatic tradition

Pāṇini himself pointed to the 'Shambhu-mata' or the Māheshwari 64-charactered script for Ṛgveda (including ḷa) and 63-charactered script for Yajurveda (excluding ḷa) in the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā :—

त्रिषष्टि (63) चतुःषष्टि (64) र्वा **वर्णाः** 'शंभु' मते मताः ।
प्राकृते संस्कृते चापि स्वयं प्रोक्ता स्वयंभुवा (ब्रह्मा) ॥
अष्टौ स्थानानि वर्णानां उरः कण्ठः शिरस्तथा ।
जिह्वामूलं च दन्ताश्च नासिकोष्ठोच तालु च ॥
अनुस्वार-यमानां च नासिकास्थानमुच्यते ।
अयोग वाहा विज्ञेया आश्रय स्थान भागिनः ॥
कण्ठ्यावहा, विचुयशास्तालव्या, ओष्ठजा वु पू ।
सुर्मूर्धन्या ऋटुरषा, दन्त्या ऌ तु लसा स्मृताः ॥
जिह्वामूलेतु कुः प्रोक्तो, दन्त्योष्ठ्यो यः स्मृतो बुधैः ।
ए ऐ तु कण्ठतालव्यो, ओ औ कंठयोष्ठजौ स्मृतौ ॥
—पाणिनीय शिक्षा ॥

(Brahmā has himself said that for Prakrit-Sanskrit, according to the Māheshwara tradition 63 and 64 characters are required. The 8 places of articulation are heart, throat, head, root of tongue, teeth, nasal cavity and lips; from the nose Anuswāras and Yamas, and Ayogavahas are dependents; A, Guttural and h from *throat*, I palatal Y S' from *soft palate*, U labial V from *lips*, R* Lingual R S* from *Hard Palate*, L" Dental L S from *teeth* KU from base of tongue, PU from labio-dental, E AI from Palatoguttural and O AU from Labio-Guttural).

The root of Grammar is found in the Ṛgveda itself which is a treasury of over 10500 Hymns :—

चत्वारि शृंगा, त्रयो अस्य पादा, द्वे शीर्षे, सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीती । **महोदेवां** मर्त्यां आविवेश ॥ ऋ. V, 58.6

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(The personified Grammar 'Vyākaraṇa-Puruṣa' Mahādeva or Maheshwara has inspired the moral men by roaring like a Bull with 4 Horns (नाम Noun, क्रिया आख्यात Verb, उपसर्ग Adjective and निपात Adverb), 2 Heads (सप्-निङ्ग) 3 feet (Present, Past and Future), 7 limbs (विभक्ति declinations) and 3 constrictions (अनुदात्त towards stomach, उदात्त raised and स्वरित tonal).

The Catagories of Sounds (ध्वनि-गण) were given by Maheshwara Śiva to sages like Sanaka and others, when they came to him for protecting the branches (शाखा) which were dwindling; in the interlude (नृत्तावसाने) of his Cosmic Dance at Chidambaram (Tillai) Naṭarāja Śiva-Maheshwara gave 5+9 (=14) Catagories of '*Sound*' by striking his trinklet, namely, Short vowels, Dipthongs, Semi-vowels, Nasals, 4th order aspirates, 3rd order soft consonants, 2nd order asirates, first order hard consonants and Fricates—

नृत्तावसाने नटराज राजो ननाद ढक्काम् नव-पंच-वारम् ।
उद्धर्तुकामः सनकादि सिद्धान् रातद्विमर्षं शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥

Accompanying chart by A. B. Walawalkar shows how these letters are grouped graphically, according to number of crescents from which they were designed.

Chart

What was James Princep to Aśokan Brahmi, A. B. Walawalkar was to the Vedic Maheshwari Script, which was appreciated by the Sanskrit scholar Vidya Varidhi Dr. S. V. Sohoni in following words :

> "Walawalkar's versatile talents deserved far better recognition in his lifetime than he actually received. His innate modesty, habitual use of a restricted forum for presenting his conclusions and a comparatively limited attachment to the mainstream of related Indian scholarship....did not get him the due recognition. ....It was in the area of palaeography that Walawalkar can be said to have achieved the highest flights of his genius."[1]

In 1932 while deciphering the Mathgaon inscription of 1400 AD, Walawalkar discovered the graphic peculiarities that—

(1) Nasal consonants ङ ञ ण न म were created from the 1st order letters क च ट त प of the same phonetic category, by addition of a small circlet.

1. *CALTIS*—84, p. 114.

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(2) A *vertebra* represented in Devalipi the common factor of the inherent 'A–kar' in a consonant as indicated in Geeta (अक्षराणाम् अकारोऽस्मि).

(3) Graphic forms of the top-bar group of letters did not alter much during many centuries of changes in forms of letters छ ट ठ ड ढ द ह.

(4) Apart from the components Vertebra and Headline in Devanāgarī, remaining elements of Letters are made of logical 'Crescents' (अर्धेंदुलसितम्).

(5) Maheshwari Sutras are graphical groups of letters. (See accompanying chart by Walawalker).

(6) All Aspirate forms ख छ ठ थ फ and घ झ ढ़ ध भ were created from the respective in-aspirate letter-forms क च ट त प and ग ज ड द ब by addition of a 'aspirate-crescent' in variant positions to avoid confusion in 'instant-recognition'.

ABW presented his discoveries before the XV Oriental Conference held at Bombay in 1949 and published his notes in 1951 and died before he could write a revised version.

Pāṇini's debt to Śiva-Maheshwara is recorded in a story narrated by the learned Chinese scholar Hieuen Tsang, before his coming down to Punjab when he visited Shalitura Āśrama of Pāṇini on the Banks of river Kabul in Gandhar (Afghanistan). This is confirmed by Indian grammatic Gāthā :—

यान्युज्जहार **माहेशात्** वासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।
तानि किं पदरत्नानि संति **पाणिनि** गोष्पदे ॥
—गोपाल चक्रवर्ती कृत 'चंडी' टीका

(From the Maheshwara's ocean of Grammar, Pāṇini created diamond steps to his small tank of the size of cow-hoof).

The Ode to Pāṇini confirms it :—

येनाक्षर समाम्नाय अधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं, तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥

(I bow to Pāṇini who recomposed the 'old' grammar *obtained from Maheshwara*, for dealing with letters (Akṣara-Samāmnāya).

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The following Grammatic Kārikā appreciates the ingenuity of Pāṇini :—

समुद्रवत् व्याकरणं **महेश्वरे** । तदर्धं कुंभोद्धरणं **बृहस्पतौ** ।
तद्भागाच्चशतं **पुरंदरे** । कुशाग्र बिंदुत्पतितौ हि **पाणिनौ** ॥

(While *Maheshwara's Grammar* was like a vast ocean, *Brihaspati* reduced it to the size of half-a-pitcher, *Indra (Purandara)* reduced it to a hunderedth size, but *Pāṇini* made it like a drop falling from the tip of the blade of a grass). This is why only Pāṇini's grammar survived and others were entirely lost. Indra's Grammar only lives in the memory that Agastya and Tholkappiar were said to be well-versed in Aindra Grammar and Burnell has noted on the 'Aindra system of Grammar'. In his Lexicon, Vararuchi referred to INDRA in the following words :—

पूर्वम् पद्मभुवा प्रोक्तं श्रुत्वेंद्रेण प्रकाशितम् ।
तद् बुधेभ्यो वररुचिः कृतिवान् इंद्र-नामकम् ॥
—रौंद्र निघण्टु

Indra is mentioned in the names of word-scanners, thus :—

इन्द्रः चंद्रः काशकृत्स्न अपिशली शाकटायणः ।
पाणिनि अमर जैनेंद्रा जयन्ति अष्टादि शाब्दिकान् ॥
—Bopadeva's Grammar.

Being mislead by the name of Brahmā, the constructive role of Gaṇeśa as ascribe was neglected. Gaṇeśa taught his art to Prajāpati who made bricks and sacrificial pots for the sacrifices and he had 'incised' the letters after the 'old' Śiva Mantras :—

इदम् **गणेश** कीलकम् कार्यतम् ते **प्रजापते** ।
शिवप्रोक्तं तु मंत्राणाम् **उत्कीलन** करं परम् ॥

Though neglected by modern scholars, Ganapati's Creascental (अर्धेन्दु लसितम्) art was preserved by the school of Gāṇapatyas under the oath that it should not be revealed to a non-initiated (*A-Śiṣya*); if revealed the giver would be a sinner (सा एषा गणेशवंद्या इदम् अथर्व शीर्षम् अशिष्याय न देयम् । यो यदि मोहात् दास्यति स पापियान भवति). Amusingly, the Gānpatyas themselves forgot its meaning !

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Many have argued that Ṛgveda consisting of thousands of Mātrā Chhandas (syllable-counted Metres) could not be composed without prior writing with a script, as exacting-as-the-Devanāgarī script. In his introduction to *Mānava Kalpa Sūtra*, Goldstuecker has contradicted Max Mueler's sweeping statement that writing was unknown to Vedic people (p. 66); he argued that it was impossible to write 'Prātishākhyas' without keeping written books before the eyes. The Jain *Paṇṇvaṇṇa Sutra* mentions 16 scripts including Brāhmi, Kharoṣṭhi, Mahesari, etc. and the *Lalita Vistara* informs that Buddha was conversant with 64 scripts. The absence of concrete proof was the main argument against the acceptance of the possibility, but it was a negative approach. The Ṛgvedic Sages had never thought on the lines of Emperors like Aśoka the Great, to engrave their orders on stone plaques or pillars, because they lead simpler lives in natural cave-shelters or in forest-hermitages and used perishable materials for writing, if they wrote at all. K. R. Paranjape has suggested that they could have used wooden-stylii called '*Samidhas*'; even now in the traditional Vedic sacrificial rites '*samidhas*' are used to dig soft sacrificial 'ground' and for drawing lines, but Paranjape has quoted instances from Upaniṣads (*Praśnopaniṣad* 1-1; *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* 1.2.12; *Chāndogya* 5.11, 7 where the occasions are not of performing Yajñas but of presenting before the Teachers for discourse) when the teacher often orders 'समित्पाणीभव' (use the *Samidha* in the hand), or they go to the Teacher Pippalāda with '*samidhas*' in hand 'तेह् समित्पाण्यो भवंतम् पिप्पलादम् उपसन्ना । स गुरुयेवामिगच्छे समित्पाणिः ॥'

K. R. Paranjape has printed with his article photographs (in halftone) of texts written without ink on Pippal Leaves which preserve written lines for a considerable length of time. Even today, in the Vedic Pāṭhaśālās (cramming schools) the students had to write his text with his own hands and return the original book to the owners. When they had no paper or cloth to write upon, they wrote on 'leaves' of trees of palm, birch or even cloth, thus leaf was called '*Patra*', they were sewn together with strings and books were called '*Sutras*'. One of the oldest recorded MSS on palm-leaf is of 2nd century AD.[1] G. Buehler has mentioned 'they exclusively use for writing words which mean "to cut-Chind, to scratch-likha" (*Brahma Alphabet*, p. 21) but 'Chind' means to destroy or

1. *JRAS*, 1863, pl. 3 noted by R. B. Pandey in *Indian Palaeography*, p. 70.

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break and 'likh' when used means only that it was written by a scribe with some colour and later engraved by stone-cutter; both these roots or their words are not found in Ṛgveda.

The writing was really a marvel in ancient times; no wonder the Scribe was deified in a tradition in which a Teacher is also deified as a God (गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुः गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः। गुरुः साक्षात् परब्रह्म, तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः). The 'inciser' of letters, Ganapati, is deified in Ṛgveda—I. 18.1-5; I. 40.1-2; II. 23.1-2; 24; 25; 26; X. 155.1 *Three outstanding Ganapatis* are mentioned below who have done unique contribution to 'writing' in the Vedic-Purāṇic tradition of Sanskrit. They are :

First Ganapati

The creator of *Forms* directly from the *Sound* categories was *Brāhmaṇaspati* who devised Māheshwarī phonography before the existing Vedas were composed by the Ṛṣis (ऋषयो मंत्रदृष्टारः). The circular shape of the SUN whom they prayed with the Gāyatri Mantra ॐ तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं, भर्गोदेवस्य धीमही, धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् (We adore SUN, the great, the Abode of the God; May he put in our Brain the great Divine Wisdom). The Hymn "रातं मे स्तोनं तना-सूर्येद्युतद्यामानं ना वृधन्न नृणाम्। संवननं ना श्व्यं तष्टेवा न पच्युतम् ॥ X. 93.12", from Mandal X. 93.12 (This composition of mine is of great value (*Mahimā*), with a brilliance, it serves the SUN. As the carpenter creates carefully a chariot to be driven by horses, so carefully I have incised the Hymn which will give prosperity to men). The 'CIRCLE' encompasses the whole universe (अखण्ड मंडलाकारं व्याप्तं येन चराचरम्).

To the *5 places of Articulation* of Human Speech (कंठः the throat, तालुः soft palate, मूर्धा hard palate, दन्तः teeth and ओष्ठः lips), *5 basic crescents* were allotted, obtained simply by *Bisecting* the circle as per *Shiva-Sutra* क-प-(य्) and by *Trisecting* the circle as per Shiva-Sutra च ट त (व्). From these Basic 5 crescents, how all basic letters of Māheshwarī script are constructed is given in A. B. Walawalkar's *Pre-Aśokan Brāhmi* and my *Ganesha. Vidyā* (Bombay 1968). To this Brāhmaṇaspati is dedicated the Hymn :

गणानां त्वां गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनामुपम श्रवस्तमम्।
ज्येष्ठ राजं ब्रह्मणाम् ब्रह्मगस्पत आनशृण्वं नूतिभिः सीद सादनम् ॥ Ṛg. 2-23।

(Oh Master of the Categorised Sounds, Brāhmaṇaspat, I offer you this hymn. Oh, Poet among Poets, Elder than Brahma. Listen to this new composition and protect me Ṛg II. 23.1).

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Second Ganapati

This was the scribe who helped Vyāsa in writing his famous epic Bhārata, after the Mahābhārata War. The contribution of this scribe can be understood from the literary evidence that he might have introduced the Vertebra in every Akṣara to represent the 'inherent A-Vowel' in it.

(1) Mention of Vertebra as 'अ-कारो मध्यमरूपम्' is found in Ganapati Atharva Sīrṣa, which is an Upaṇishad of Atharva Veda, at the time of describing how the Bija-Mantra 'Gaṃ' is to be graphically drawn (एतत् तवम् अनुस्वरूपम्).

(2) In the *Bhagavadgītā*, which is a part of the *Mahābharata*, Kṛṣṇa expresses that 'I am A-kar in every Akṣara' (अक्षराणाम् अ-कारोऽस्मि).

In fact, a vertical line in company of curves makes a letter easily readable; a similar reform was introduced by Emperor Rājarājā and his son Rājendra Chola, by making the older Vaṭṭ-Eḷuttu (roundish) Tamil into new Line-dominant (Koḷ-Eḷuttu) Tamil script. This Ganapati is also deified.

Third Ganapati

The Aśokan Brahmi possessed no 'headline', but it was, anyway, of no use for writing Sanskrit. King Ganapati Naag 'Giraguru' of Padmāvatī (Modern Pawāyā in Central India), whose coins have been found by archaeologists introduced a 'headline (*Shiro Rekhā*) on every Akṣara to make it Devanāgarī, in the early years of the rise of Chandragupta Gupta; he trained a batch of Nagar Brāhmins from Vārāṇasī in his style, which he named 'Devanāgarī' after Kāshī (the Devanagar) which was used for writing of Mahābhārata at Naimiṣāraṇya near Laxmanpur (modern Lucknow). This style of Devalipi-Bhārati was recommended for writing Purāṇas, as mentioned in Padmā Purāṇa, Pātāla Khaṇḍa, Ch. 100, recommending use of the *Shirorekhā* on every letter except Om-Pranava (सर्वक्षरे शिरोरेखा अवक्रा· प्रणवं विना).

From this Devalipi Bhārati evolved the Gupta, Kuṭila, Siddhamātrikā and Devanāgarī-Nandināgarī styles.

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Myself and my younger brother Dr. Vishnu S. Wakankar, 'Padma-Shri', in our visits to Europe in 1962 found some interesting specimens of Indian writings in Western museums and believe that more could be found if more investigation is done. In the Vatican (Rome) archives, I found a cover of *Systema Brahmanicum* (of 1791 A.D.) with a picture of Gaṇeśa with a stylus, the Babylonian Tablet made of clay (No. 31.11.3.66/ 1067-4733) in the British Museum which was brought there in 1882, was first published by Theo G. Pincher with a line of script, the characters of which have been hitherto considered as unknown; the decipherment of the Cuneiform-part of it was published by G. V. Babrinskoy in AOJ. p. 80 in 1936. This line in the 'unknown' script was evidence of pre-Aśokan Māheshwarī script of India; the text '*Akkhezarākh nu Auharmnubhyaḥ dadātu*' an endorsement of a contract made in 6th century BC, was deciphered and published by A. B. Walawalkar in *JBBAS*, Bombay, Vol. 29, Pt II, pp. 62-65 and full photograph was printed in my *Gaṇeśa Vidyā* (1968). Djokha Seal found in Pre-Sargon layer (3000-2400 B.C.) was read and published by Walawalkar in B. S. Naik's *Typography of Devanāgarī*, Vol. II, 1971 and Brahmi writing on a potsherd in Cairo Museum were found by my brother (published in *Gaṇeśa Vidyā*).

Investigation of Pre-Aśokan Writing

For many years investigation about pre-Aśokan writings had haunted me. I checked the validity of Walawalkar's hypothesis with many scholars, who conceded that systematic logical writing system must have been there for Sanskrit but absence of physical proofs was the problem. Vedic Pandit Hari Ramchandra Divekar, who wrote "*Ṛgveda sutra Vikas*" was inclined to accept Walawalkar's approach, as literary evidence was definitely in favour of such possibility. When H. R. Divekar was studying in France under Prof. Sylvan Levy he had shown to Prof. Levy the following passage from *Taittarīya Saṁhitā* :

वाय् वै पराची, अविआकृता अवदत् । ते देवा इन्द्रमअब्रुवन् **'इयां वाचं विआकुरु'** इति । सोऽब्रवीत् वरं वृणे 'मह्यं चै वैश वायवे सह गृह्याता' इति । तस्मात् रौद्रवायव सहगृह्यते । ताम् इन्द्रो मध्यतो अक्रम्य विआकरोत् । तस्मात् इयं **विआकृता वाक्** उद्यते ॥

तै० सं० ६–४–७–३

(Speech used to Vanish by going away and away. It was not caught in some kind of FORM, it was said. So the Gods asked Indra to give FORM

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to the SPEECH. In return Indra asked the favour of sharing the offering with AIR (Vāyu) and, thus was born Aindra-Vayava. Then Indra, holding it in the middle, gave to it FORMS and since then it is known as VISIBLE SPEECH. Dr. Divekar himself had thought of crescents which matched with shape of forms in the parts of the Mouth.

In 1979, a review of the state of things in epigraphic area was taken by groups of epigraphists and archaeologists, when a lead-paper on 'invention-theory' of creation of Brahmi by Aśoka himself with aid of 'Brahmins' was circulated and views of others were solicited and printed together. Prof. T. P. Verma remarked : "In the present condition of our knowledge we cannot ascertain the exact nature of the sacred script which was used for writing Sanskrit and Vedic language. But we can say it confidently that this script must have been complicated one, because we know the amount of emphasis given to correct pronunciation of the Vedic literature. A wrong pronunciation (it was feared) would kill the Yajamāna (the host). It is said that some letters were pronounced in several ways with different emphasis; thus the necessity of a complicated script cannot be ruled out. We do not know which script it was but it can be suggested that it must have been used with several determinative signs."[1] The different emphasis was there in Ṛgvedic and Yajurvedic mode of recitation, about pronunciations of 'Jña', 'va', etc. The fear about wrong pronunciation is expressed in *Patañjali Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, as under :

दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो **वर्ण**तो वा, मिथ्या प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
सवाग्वज्रो राजमानो हिन॒ँति, यथेंद्र शत्रुः स्वरतोऽपरायात् । इति ॥

पतंजली व्याकरण महाभाष्य

(Mistaken pronunciation, in sound or in written letters, by not following its meaning, results in striking of Thunderbolt by Indra on the Host, due to wrong vowel pronunciation).

Generally, the term current for 'writing' is 'Lekhana' from the root '*likh*'; all confusion has arisen because no word derived from 'likh' is found in *Ṛgveda*; it was perhaps due to this, that orientalists considered that writing was unknown in Ṛgvedic period. They never dreamt that alternative word could be there.

1. *The Origin of the Brahmi Script*, Delhi., 1979, pp. 109-110.

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The word 'Likhita' was found in Yajurveda, *Taittarīya Saṁhitā*, quoted by lexicographer Y. R. Date in *Vidyā Sevaka*, Pune, October 1926 :

(i) यस्यामार्द्रायां इष्टकायां त्रिपुण्ड्रवद्रेखात्रयं क्रियते से अयं व्यालिखिता। तत् व्या लिखितं देवानाम् चिह्नम् ॥ तै. सं. ४.२.९ ॥ प्रतिलिखिते तस्यै खलति (=केशनाशः) अपभारी (=पुत्रदुर्मरण)'— इति सायणः

'ārdraya' was mistranslated as 'in mensus' which should ordinarily mean 'raw or wet brick'; so also Sāyaṇa's interpretation of 'drawing pictures on wall' is farfetched (प्रलिखिते भित्तौ चित्रादिकं करोति—सायण); the simple direct meaning can be 'writing of letters'.

(ii) *Taitta. Saṃ.* 5.2.11 and *Vājasaneyi Saṃ.* Index. 23.33-37, mentions marking with metal styluses : रजता हरिणीः सीसा युज्यन्ते कर्मभिः अश्वस्य वाजिनस्त्वचि सूचिभिः शिम्बन्तु त्वा, on which Sāyaṇa comments रजता रौप्याः हरिणी हिरण्मयाः सीसेन लोहमयपाः युजो लेखनकर्मयोग्याः सूच्यः अतएव वाजिनोत्र हेतोरश्वस्य त्वचि कर्मभिर्लेखनादि व्यापारि युज्यन्नेतादृशीभिः सूचिभिर्हे अश्व त्वां कुशलदेवतां शिम्बन्तु लिखन्तु ॥

—सायण ॥

Coming to Atharva Veda, Pt. Shripad Damodar Satawalekar published in *Vividh jñān-Vistar*, Vol. 54, V & IX, the following references :

(1) Ath. Sam. 12.3.22 यद्यद्युक्तं **लिखितम्** अर्पणेन ॥

(2) Ath. Sam. 19.68.1 क राषां कर्करी **लिखत्** ॥

(3) Ath. Sam. 19.68.1 ताभ्याम् उद्धृत्य **वेदमयकर्माणि** कृण्महे ॥

(4) Ath. Sam. 19.71.1 यस्मात् कोशात् उदभराम वेदं तस्मित्रत अवदध्म रानम् ॥
कृतामिष्टं ब्रह्मणो, वीयेन तेन मा देवास्तपसाव तेह ॥

'Akṣara' in Ṛgveda and Yajurveda

The word "Akṣara", appears in Vedas in different meanings, out of which those for 'indelible' LETTER appears in following hymns; some critics ask that Akṣara can mean 'written' or 'spoken' both and, therefore, its mention does not exactly specify 'written letter' :—

(1) गौरीर्मिमाय सलिलानि **तक्षति** एकपदी द्विपदी सा चतुष्पदी ।
अष्टापदी नवपदी बभूवुषि सहस्त्राक्षरा परमेव्योमन् ॥ Ṛv. I. 164.41

(2) गायत्रेण प्रतिमिमिते, अर्कमर्केण साम, त्रैष्टुभेन वाकम् ।
वाकेन वाकम्, द्विपदा चतुष्पदा, अक्षरेण मिमते सप्तवाणी ॥ Ṛv. I. 164.24

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(3) ऋचो **अक्षरे** परमे व्योमन् यस्मिन्देवा अधिविश्वे निषेदुः ।
यस्तत्र वेद किम् ऋचा करिष्यति य इत्तत् विदुक्त इमे समासते ॥ Rv. I. 164.39

(4) सहस्रपाथा **अक्षरा** समेति ॥ Rv. VII. 1.14

(5) धति भिः उपाक्षरा सहस्रिणीः ॥ Rv. VII. 15.9

(6) पंचपदानि रूपो अन्वरोहं चतुष्पदी मन्वेभि व्रतेन ।
अक्षरेण प्रतिमिम एतामृतस्य राभावयि संपुनामि ॥ Rv. X. 13.3

(7) उतत्वः पश्यन् न **ददर्श वाचन्** उतत्वः शृण्वन् न शृणोत्ये नाम् ।
उतोत्वसौनन्तं विवस्त्रे पत्ये उशसि सुवासाः ॥ Rv. X. 71.4

(8) ऋचा ँ त्वः पोषमास्ते पुं पुष्वान्गायत्रंत्वो गायति शक्वरीषु ।
ब्रह्मा त्वो वदति जातिविज्ञां **यज्ञस्य मात्रां** विमिमीत उत्वः ॥ Rv. 71.11X.

Akṣara in Yajurveda

(1) अग्रं नवत्सुपदि **अक्षराणामच्छारवं** प्रथमा जानाति गात ॥ Shukla Yaj. 3.37

(2) शतमक्षराणि ॥ 23.57-58

(3) अग्नि**काक्षरेण,** अश्विनौ **द्व्यक्षरेण,** विष्णुस्त्र्य**क्षरेण** सोमश्चतुरक्षरेण.. ....उञ्छेषाम् ॥ 9.31-34

"अक्षर पंक्ति छंदः" appears in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.* A clear mention of the grammata and different number of Akṣaras appears in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* II-2.4 and in many Upaniṣads also[1].

Following are few references to 'Lekhaka' in Mahābhārata—

काव्यस्य **लेखनार्थाय गणेश** स्मर्यंताम् मुने ॥ आदि पर्व, १.७४ ॥
लेखको भारतस्यास्य भव त्वं गणनायक ॥ आदि पर्व, १.७७ ॥
शत्रुत्व चापि मित्रत्वं न **लेख्यं** न च मातृका ॥ सभा पर्व, ५५.१० ॥
वेदविक्रयिणश्चैव वेदनांचैव दूषकः । **वेदनां लेखका** श्चैव ते वै निरयगामिनः
॥ अनुशासन पर्व ६२.२८ ॥

"Atakṣan" for 'incising' shows the way

From the day I saw the Māheshwarī letters incised on the Babylonian tablet (mentioned earlier) in the British Museum, at the back of mind it was always there; a few years back when I read the following

1. See B. S. Naik, *Typo of Devanāgarī* I, 26-28).

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line in Rgveda I, 62.13, the Word 'atakshat' registered in my mind as the key to art of writing in Vedic period. The text is सनायते गोतम इंद्र **नव्यम्** **अतक्षत्** ब्रह्महरियोजनाय ॥ ऋ. १.६२-१३ ॥

(Oh, Horse-riding Indra, the members of Gautama group are 'incising' this new hymn in your praise, I. 62.13)

When I discussed this find with my scholar friends they said this word alludes to carpentry, so with the help of my friend R. S. Nagarkar, I searched for this word in complete Rgveda and the result is here :

Concerning carpentry of Chariot it was found in following hymns : I. 20.3; I. 51.10 (toothsaw); I. 111.1; I. 121.3; I. 127.4; I. 162.6; II. 19.8; III. 54.17; IV. 33.8; IV. 36.3; V. 31.4; VI. 125; VII. 64.4; VIII. 102.8; IX. 112.1; X. 49.4; X. 53.10; X. 101.10.

Concerning Sqeezing of Juice it was found in IV. 35.6; IV. 36.8-9.

For Ascention to Higher World it was found in VII. 104.4

In connection with 'INCISING' Hymns, it was found in Rgveda I. 62.13 (already given above)

I. 164.24 गायत्रेण प्रति **मिमीते** अर्कमर्केण साम, त्रैष्टुमेन वाकम् ।
वाकेन वाकम्, त्रिपदा च तुष्पदा **अक्षरेण** मिमते सप्तवाणी ॥

By counting syllables-Akṣaras Hymns are composed for Rg and Sāma in Gāyatri Metre, Hymns in Trishtubha Metre, with 2 or 4 lines; this 7 seven metres are counted by syllables.

I. 164.31 ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन् यस्मिन्देवा अधिविश्वे निषेदुः ।
यस्तन्न वेद किम् ऋचाकरिष्यति यइत्तद्विदुक्त इमे समासते ॥

Know that the syllables hold highest place even in Heavens where Gods take support. Those who cannot understand them and their importance, how can Hymns help them ? One who can appreciate them is benefitted by them.

I. 164.41 गौरीर्मिमाय सलिलानि, **तक्षति** एकपदी द्विपदी मा चतुष्पदी ।
अष्टपदी नवपदी बभूवुषि सहस्राक्षरा परमे व्योमन् ॥

Like the Lightening which is sparked by the water-bearing clouds; the great sky is full of 1-line, 2-line, 4-line, 8-line, 9-line-composed thousands of letters.

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I. 164.45 चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः।
गुहात्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ती तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति॥

The Phonetic sound comes through 4 places for articulation (*Para*-inspirational, *Pashyanti*-Naval, *Madhyama*-Lungs and *Vaikhari*-mouth through throat (the Human sound-box) as is known to brilliant Brahmins. The first three are invisible in the cave and the fourth is what men speak out.

I. 164.46 इन्द्रम् मित्रं वरुणं अग्नि आहुः अयौ दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान्।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति अग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः।

The ultimate light is the great SUN with bright rays, named variedly as Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Fire. All is one only, but good sages name them differently as Fire, Yama, Mātariśva.

III. 38.2 इनोत मा पृच्छ जनिभा कवीनां मनोधृतः सुकृतः **तक्षत्** अद्याम्।
इमा उ ते प्रण्यो वर्धमाना मनोयाता अधनु धर्णिरमन्॥

How the poets are born is known to the Elders (fathers) who by their mental conception and good composition have 'incised' these poems. The hymns composed in your praise, Oh Indra, have grown large and flow like swift wind.

V. 74.10 इमा ब्रह्माणि वर्धनाश्विभ्याम् संतु शंतमा।
या **तक्षाम** रथाँ इव वोचाम बृहन्नम्॥

We develop hymns for the Brahmā, to increase thy fame; we incise them like how the carpenter creates a chariot. May their recitation grow.

VI. 32.1 अपूर्व्या पुरुतमान् यस्मै महे वीराय तवसेतुराय।
विराशिने वज्रिणे शन्तमानि वचां स्यामा रक्षविराय तक्षम्॥

Never realised earlier, the oldest, great, heroic, praised, Thuderbolt-holder, OH INDRA, we have incised poems as the carpenter carves his chariots.

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X. 93.12 इतं मे स्तोमं तना सूर्ये द्युत द्यामानं वा वृधन्त तृणाम् ।
संवननं नाश्व्यं **तष्टेवान्** अपच्युतम् ॥

This composition of mind is of great value. With a brilliance it serves the SUN. As the carpenter creates carefully a chariot to be driven by horses, so carefully I have incised the Hymn which will give prosperity to men.

'Lipikaar', I. T. R.

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CONTRIBUTION OF MITHILA TO VEDIC CULTURE

M. D. AQUIQUE

Mithilā is one of the most ancient landmarks in Indian history. It continuously led India in all spheres of life through the ages. The ancient Maithilas (the inhabitant of Mithilā region irrespective of religion, caste and creed are generally called as Maithilas) and their kings were as renowned for their love of learning as they were feared for their prowess in arms. They were as rich in their material possessions as in their mental and spiritual endowments. Their name today stands for culture and wealth just as it did in ancient days.

In the present note an attempt has been made to investigate the elements contributed by Mithilā to vedic culture, the region of which is a combination of certain distinct cultural units like the erstwhile modern districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Camparan, Saharsa, Purnea, north Monghyr and north Bhagalpur, as well as the Terai under Nepal lying between the district and lower ranges of the Himālayas.

The *Atharva*[1] and *Yajus*[2] *Saṃhitās* divide India into four quarters, viz., North, South, East and West, and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[3] one of the oldest of the *Brāhmaṇas* avers that the rulers in the East were designated '*Jamrāt*', 'suzerain lord', holding sway over 'sāmrājyas' or empires, evidently more powerful and more extensive than the simple rājyas of the Midland. That this was historically true is proved by the fact that in Brāhmaṇa age we find Janaka of Mithilā addressed as '*Samrāṭ*' by the great sages assembled at his court. What we know of the administrative system of the Mauryas under Chandragupta and his grandson, Aśoka, tells us plainly that it was imperialistic that provinces after conquest were incorporated in the empire, and governed by Viceroys sent from the imperial capital, and not by the scions of those killed in war or removed from the throne. Imperialism was thus the gift of Mithilā to Indo-Aryan culture in the Vedic Age, as early as the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas. It is

1. *Av.* iii. 27, xii.
2. *Ts.* iv. 4, 12.2; *Vāj S.*, xv. 10-14.
3. *Ait. Br.*, viii-4.

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possible that 'Emperorship' (*Sāmrājya*) had been in India even earlier, in the *Ṛgvedic* Age itself : because the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of empires in the east in amplification and explanation of a Ṛgvedic passage[4] which reads 'Niṣasāda dhṛitavrato Varuṇaḥ pastyāśvā/Sāmarājyāya Sukratuḥ' and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[5] amplifies it thus—'Niṣasāda dhṛitavrato varuṇaḥ pastyāśvā Sāmrājyāya, bhaujyādhipatyāya, svāvaśyāyātiṣṭhāya Sukraturiti'. Here we observe that in place of the single 'Sāmrājya' of the *Ṛgveda* the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* introduces the names of all the forms of government that were in existence in the various parts of India, and it adds in explanation that the '*Sāmrājya*' form of government was a characteristic institution of eastern India.

The *Mahābhārata* tells us of one very important thing contributed by Mithilā to Vedic culture, viz., the compilation of the śukla or purified *Yajurveda* by Yajñavalkya. The *udyaga parva* (chapter 108) records that Suparṇa was narrating to the sage Gālava the special merits of each of the four quarters of India, divided as in the vedic *Saṁhitas* and Brāhmaṇas, taking his stand, it seems, about Prayāga which was on the partition line Śravatī-Ayodhyā—Prayāga between western and eastern India. Among many of the special contributions of eastern India to vedic culture, Suparṇa asserts that in the east 'was recited to the chanters of the vedas the savitri by savitā, the sun-god, and here also were given the yajus by the Sun'. The authorship of Yājñavalkya to the *Śukla-yajurveda* is too well-known to require much demonstration; it is asserted by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* itself : 'The Śukla (Pure) Yajus verses coming from Aditya have been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya vājasaneya'.[6] That Yājñavalkya belonged to Mithilā appears from other parts of the same Brāhmaṇa. Here we may note that the *Śatapatha* is the only Brāhmaṇa work mentioned by name in the *Mahābhārata* which also quotes it (xii. 3+2, 13-14), and the story of the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā* and the *śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by Yājñavalkya is narrated in the *Śāntiparva* in detail (Chapter 318-19).

The predominance of the Vasiṣṭhas in Mithilā is amply demonstrated by Buddhist literature. The great Lichchavis of Vaiśātā are addres-

4. *Rv*, I. 25, 10.
5. *Ait. Br.*, viii. 13.
6. *Br. Up.*, 6. 4, 23.

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sed as Vasiṣṭhas in the *Mahavastu Avadān*[7] and Kshatriyānī Triśulā, the mother of Mahāvīra, belonged, the *Jaina Sūtras* tell us, to the Vasiṣṭha gotra.[8] Moreover, the *Vanaparva* places the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha at the confluence of the Kosi, evidently in Mithilā.[9] Here *Udyoga Parva* (108, 13) tells us that the Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha was born, won his renown, and met with his death, all in Eastern India.

The important group of Ṛgvedic seers, intimately connected with Mithilā with Aṅga-consists of the ancient Ṛṣi Dīrghatamas, his son Kakṣīvān, and the latter's daughter, Ghoṣā; these three together contributed a fairly large number of hymns to the *Ṛgveda* With reference to an obscure hymn contributed by Dīrghatamas to the *Ṛgveda* (I. 158), Saunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* (iv. 21-24) shows how the hymn refers to events in the seer's own life, and without a knowledge of these facts the hymn would be unintelligible. Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramani*[10] refers to it in his own cryptic way. Dīrghatamas, in the story told by Saunaka and amplified by *Ṣaḍguruśiṣya* in his *vedārthadīpikā*[11] was rescued from a watery grave in the waters of the ganges by the king of Aṅga who honoured him and gave him a habitation and a home. The Ṛṣi took to wife a Śūdra woman, Usiji, a seer well-known in the *Ṛgveda*[12] as the author of a number of hymns. The *Vanaparva* (ch. 21 & 84) of the *Mahābhārata* places the residence of this great seer at Rājagṛha, the Magadh capital, where he had evidently settled. Ghoṣā, the daughter of Kakṣīvān, appears from her own statements made in hymns contributed by herself to the *Ṛgveda* (x. 39-40), to have remained unmarried to a pretty advanced age owing to some physical defect, and then by the favour of the gods found, rather late in life, a husband and a home.

Other sons are said to have been begotten by Dirghatamas according to the *Mahābhārata* (I. 104) and the *Purāṇas*, for the childless king of Aṅga, and these partitioned their father's extensive empire among themselves, giving their names to the provinces they ruled—Aṅga, Vanga,

7. Ed. Senart, Vol. i, p. 283
8. *SBE*, xxii, pp. xxi, 193
9. *Mbh.* iii. 84
10. *Anie. oxoniensia*, I, Ch. iv. p. 9
11. *Ibid.*, p. 93
12. *Rv.*, i. 18. 1

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Kalinga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma (*Mbh.*, I, 104). Evidently in this legend is preserved a tradition of historical value, showing that in vedic times the Aṅga empire included Bengal and Orissa in its domain, and such '*Sāmrājyas*' were common in Eastern India, we are told by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

If we take the story narrated by Śaunaka and the *Mahābhārata* as correct, then the number of hymns of the *Ṛgveda* composed in the region of Mithilā becomes considerable, and there is no reason why we should not believe the tradition recorded by them. Aṅga were certainly very well-known to the *Atharva-Veda*, a hymn in which sends *Takman* or fever to these countries, apparently referring to the swamps of the lower Gaṅges. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. 9) also speaks of Aṅga.

There was a school of Prāchya or Eastern School of the Padapāṭha of the *Ṛgveda* side by side with the rival school of Pañcāla, and besides, with the fact noted in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ch. 99), while dealing with the history of the propagation of the *Vedas* that the *Sāmaveda* had an East Indian School, that of the *Prācya-Sāmagas* with 500 variations, distinguished from the Udicya or northern *Sāmagas*,[13] go to show that the *Vedas* were very closely studied in Eastern India.

Now we refer to the story of King Videgha Māthaṽa and his Purohita, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, carrying Agni Vaiśvānara to Videha, which is narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 4.1, 10-20) and has been taken by scholars to tell the story of the propagation of Vedic culture to Eastern India from the west. But it does nothing of the kind, telling only of the introduction of a particular sacrificial rite, it was ritual that prospered most in the Vedic Midland. But even in ritual Māthava Videgha's purohita, Gotama Rāhūgaṇa, is credited, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI. 4.3, 20), with the discovery of the Mitravindā sacrifice, which is further said to have been revived by Emperor Janaka, through Yājñavalkya. Besides, earlier still, Nami Sapya, King of Videha (Vaideho Rājā), is held up, in the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* (XXV. 10, 7) as a memorable example of a monarch who successfully performed elaborate sacrifices and thereby reached heaven. As this king appears in several passages in the *Ṛgveda* (VI. 20, 6; x. 48, 9; I. 53, 7) he belongs to a very early period in the

13. *Mat. P.*, Ch. 49; *Bhāg P.*, ix. 21.

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development of vedic culture in India; the last passage referred to here (*Ṛv.*, I. 53, 7) says that Namī was the friend and associate of Indra in quelling the Asura Namuci and the first Ṛv., VI. 20, 6) says that in the fight with Namuci Indra protected Namī Sāpya.

In the light of above stated facts, it can safely be said that Mithilā, had made no mean contribution to the growth and development of vedic culture in India. This remark will suggest a fruitful line of investigation for unravelling the history of the origin and development of Indian culture, by a study of the *Vedas* in the light thrown upon many an obscure passage by the *Epics* and the *Purāṇas*.

Post-graduate Department of
Indian & Asian Studies
Magadh University
Bodhgaya (Bihar)

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CREATION OF TOWNS IN THE EARLY RECORDS OF EASTERN INDIA

D. C. SIRCAR

The existence of a king's residence, a fort for the maintenance of peace and the protection of a territory from attacks, an office of the administrators, collectors of tolls and others stationed in different parts of a kingdom, a port and market-place as well as some other centres of business or trade, the headquarters of a banking or trading corporation, a religious establishment and place of pilgrimage, etc., are some of the elements that usually witnessed the development of townships and cities. In some cases, the rulers founded towns for various purposes. According to Indian convention, gift of land in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas was a source of great religious merit and the gift of a township was especially so.[1] There is epigraphic evidence of the creation of a township not only for the purpose of making it the subject of a gift but also around temple complexes.

There was also a convention that a person responsible for the creation of a rent-free holding out of land purchased from the state was entitled to five-sixths of the religious merit accruing to the act while one-sixth of the merit would go to the king of the country because the latter was theoretically regarded as the lord of all land. The charters often mention that the grant was being made for the acquisition of the king's *dharma-shaḍ-bhāga*, i. e. one-sixth of the religious merit accruing to the gift of land; but the real gain of the state was that the new owners of what was often vast areas of waste land, who now became privileged tenants

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* With regrets we have to inform our readers that Prof. D. C. Sircar, one of the greatest names in the world of Indology, is no more with us. This article is the last contribution by Prof. Sircar to any journal in India or abroad. With the publication of this article we pay our humble homage to the departed soul.—Editor

1. Cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, 1965, pp. 114, 170 ff.; also below. It is well known how Lakshmana claimed to have given away to the Brāhmaṇas many groups of townships (*pattana-gaṇān*). *See N.G. Majumdar, Ins. Beng., Vol. III p.* 86, *verse* 10.

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or zamindars, were expected to try their best to develop it by settling tenants and arranging for cultivation, by creating parks, market-places and business centres, by raising buildings, temples and townships and by excavating wells, tanks and canals. With the development of some such areas as profitable properties, the land in the neighbouring regions became easy to develop so that its prices automatically went up and it was possible for the government to settle tenants there on more favourable terms.[2]

A large number of copper-plate grants of the Gupta age show that wide areas of Bengal were waste or fallow land earning little revenue income for the state. Such land could be easily purchased by the pious people willing to earn religious merit by creating rent-free holdings in favour of gods for the maintenance of their worship and for the repairs to their temples as well as in favour of the Brāhmaṇas particularly for the purpose of settling them as householders on their return from the *guru-gṛiha* after completing their studies. The gift land in such cases was sometimes a big plot. Thus the Gunaighar plate[3] of 507 A. D. speaks of the creation of a rent-free estate of fallow land measuring eleven Pāṭakas each equal to forty Droṇavāpas thus making 440 Droṇavāpas in all. As the Droṇavāpa of the Gupta age was roughly about 18 acres of land, the above plot of 440 Droṇavāpas was near about 8,000 acres in area.

However, the Paschimbhag plate[4] issued from Vikramapura by king Śrīchandra (c. 925-75 A. D.) of South-Eastern Bengal speaks of the gift of a much bigger area that covered three *vishavas* which were like the Parganas of late medieval India and covered a large part of the present Sylhet District of Bangladesh. The gift land in this case is stated to have consisted of the *vishavas* of Garalā, Pogāra and Chandrapura together with a part of Veḍikā, all within the *maṇḍala* or district of Śrīhatta (Sylhet) belonging to the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana. Among its boundaries, we are told that the Kosiyāra-nadī was flowing by its

2. See Sircar, *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphical Records*, 1969, pp. 6-9; *Aspects of Early Indian Economic Life* (reprinted from *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, 1979), pp. 16-17.
3. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 340 ff.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, 289ff.; Sircar, *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*, 1973. pp. 19ff.

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north, and this is the modern Kusiyara running through the Sylhet District. The inscription says that the whole area was transformed into a Brahmapura or Brāhmaṇa settlement called Śrīchandrapura-śāsana which was divided into three blocks. The first of these measured 120 Pāṭakas or 1,200 Droṇas and was granted in favour of a *maṭha* or temple of the god Brahman for the repairs to the temple as well as for the maintenance of the following people associated with it : one teacher of the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa* and five students of the subject, five guest Brāhmaṇas, one accountant, one scribe, four florists, two oilmen, two potters, five players of small drums, two conchshell-blowers, two players of big drums, eight players of kettledrums, twenty-two servants and cobblers, one dancer, two carpenters, two blacksmiths and eight maid servants. It is interesting to note that in the above list of peoples there is mention of a Brāhmaṇa who was allotted a Pāṭaka of land because he was responsible for building the *adhishṭhāna* which may be taken to have been the town around the *maṭha*. It was possibly this person who was mainly instrumental in the creation of the Śrīchandrapura-śāsana.

The second block of the above gift land consisted of 280 Pāṭakas or 2,800 Droṇas and was granted in favour of the four gods, viz., Vaiśvānara (Agni), Yogeśvara (Vishṇu), Jaimani and Mahākāla (Śiva) worshipped in four *maṭhas* belonging to the Vaṅgālas and also in another four *maṭhas* founded by outsiders. The details of the distribution of the 280 Pāṭakas of land mention the repairs to the temples as well as to the maintenance of the following people attached to the two groups of *maṭhās* : eight teachers of the four Vedas and forty students of the subject, eight florists, eight barbers, eight oilmen, eight washermen, sixty-four servants and cobblers, sixteen maid servants, two Mahattara-Brāhmaṇas dealing with the disputes among the workers of the two groups of temples and two Superintendents of the temple groups, two scribes, two accountants and two physicians.

Besides the area of 400 Pāṭakas or 4,000 Droṇas of land allotted to the above huge religious establishments which seem to have been the centre of a town, other than the *adhishṭhāna* mentioned above, the remainder of the gift land was allotted, apparently in equal shares, to six thousand Brāhmaṇas who settled around the temple complexes. Compared to this, the township created by the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III

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(1211-39 A. D.) of Orissa appears to be quite small in size as we shall see below.

The copper-plate grant[5] of Anaṅgabhīma III, with which we are concerned here, was discovered at the village of 'Nagarī' (literally, 'the town') about fifteen miles from Cuttack. The findspot of the record is no doubt the settlement called *nagara* in the inscription which says that, on the occasion of Makarasaṅkrānti on the 26th of December, 1130 A. D., the Gaṅga monarch granted a township covering thirty Vāṭis of land (about 375 acres) to the Brāhmaṇa Saṅkarshaṇānandaśarman in accordance with the prescription of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. Of the thirty Vāṭis of gift land, twenty Vāṭis of agricultural land lay in the village of Pūraṇagrāma and the remaining ten Vāṭis of homestead land lay in Jayanagaragrāma. The township is stated to have contained four houses resembling royal residences and endowed with walls, *mukha-maṇḍapas* and *madhya-maṇḍapas* and also thirty other houses inhabited by a number of citizens. The inhabitants of the township included a good number of merchants and artisans such as a perfumer, a worker in conchshells, a silk-weaver, a goldsmith and a brazier. There were also three sellers of betel-leaves, one florist, one maker of sugar, two milkmen, two weavers, two oilmen, two potters and three fishermen. Besides the above, there were also a barber, some craftsmen and a washerman. We notice here an attempt to develop a rural area as a sort of trade centre among the villages around, and although there is no mention of any arrangement for its protection from thieves and robbers, its development as a wealthy place would have soon necessitated the erection of a surrounding boundary wall for protection as well as the establishment of an outpost of policemen for the same purpose.

In connection with the settling of Brāhmaṇas, mention may be made of the settlement of East Indian Brāhmaṇas elsewhere in India and that of the Brāhmaṇas of other parts of India in the eastern regions. The Brāhmaṇa settlers, who hailed in large numbers from particular cities and towns may have tried to give an urban look to their new settlements. We know that many Brāhmaṇas of the *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra* of Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) settled at Cuddalore in the North Arcot District of Tamil Nad

5. For the Nagari plates, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

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so that their settlement became known as Pāṭaliputtiram.[6] Likewise the Brāhmaṇas of the learned centres of Uttar Pradesh such as Śrāvasti, Tarkāri and Kreḍāñja settled in Bengal in sufficient numbers and thus the name of Pāhuniyojana in the Hill-Balurghat region of North Bengal was changed to Śrāvasti and a place of the same neighbourhood became known as Tarkāri and another not far away became Kroḍañji.[7]

There are cases in which the cities from which the kings issued their charters are described in the records. Two such epigraphs are the Kailan plate[8] of Śrīdhāraṇarāta and the Tippera (Comilla) plate of Bhavadeva, both issued from Devaparvata, the capital of the Samataṭa country, the first about the third quarter of the seventh century and the second about a century later. Unfortunately the information offered in the epigraphs about the city and the life therein is rather meagre. The Kailan plate merely says that Devaparvata was *Sarvatobhadra* probably meaning that it was rectangular in shape and had a gate in all the four directions and that it was encircled by the river Kshetrodā. The city stood on the modern Chandimura peak at the Southern end of the Mainamati hill near Comilla in Bangladesh while Kshīrodānadī is the present Khirnai. The description of the Kshīrodā suggests that it was then a bigger stream than it is now. We are told that it had many bathing Ghats where hundreds of rutting elephants used to take their bath and that numerous boats adorned its banks. It is difficult to say whether the boats belonged to the royal navy or to the various merchants.

The description of Devaparvata on the Kshīrodā river in Bhavadeva's plate[9] is a little more elaborate. It speaks of the high buildings, of the Buddhist religious establishments in the city, of the innumerable horses and elephants moving on its roads and of the increasing prosperity of the city.

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6. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, p. 918-19, p.25 ; Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1971, p. 297 note.
7. Cf. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 294 ff.
8. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIII, 1947, pp. 221 ff. ; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 36 ff.
9. *Journ. As. Soc., Letters*, Vol. XVII, 1953, pp. 83 ff. ; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 244 ff.

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The temporary capitals of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihar, whence their charters were issued, have been described in the inscriptions in a stereotyped passage showing that they were all situated on the river Bhāgīrathī. These include well known cities like Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna in Bihar), Mudgagiri (modern Monghyr in Bihar), and Rāmāvatī (near Gaur in West Bengal). It speaks of the fleet of boats on the Bhāgīrathī, the king's numerous war elephants, the great number of horses received by him as presents from the rulers of the North and the foot-soldiers of the various kings of Jambudvīpa assembled for serving the emperor.[10]

There are similar descriptions of the royal capital in a few records of ancient Assam. Thus the Tezpur[11] and Parbatiya[12] plates of Vanamālavarman (ninth century A. D) describe the reyal city of Haḍappeśvara standing on the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in a lengthy passage ; but the lengthiness of the description is due to a large number of epithets applied to the river while the information regarding the city is poor. The Bargaon plate[13] of Ratnapāla (tenth century A. D.) describes the capital city of Durjayā, also standing on the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra, and offers us such interesting information about the city as that it was being guarded by a large number of elephants and soldiers, that it accommodated many *mahājanas* (bankers), that its roads had high buildings on both the sides, the grandest among them being the royal palace looking like Mount Kailāsa and that there were hundreds of pleasure-seekers and many scholars among the inhabitants. The mention of the banker is interesting because, when the currency of a territory was the cowrie shell (as in the case in Assam) or a varīety of stamped or unstamped coins of various wrights and metals and of different ages and areas (as in most Indian kingdoms), trade, especially with foreign businessmen, was carried with his help throughout the ages in the whole of India.

We have more interesting information about royal cities in the description of Pāṭaliputra, capital of Chandragupta Maurya (c. 324-300

10. See, e. g., A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 14, 38, 60, 95-96, 153.
11. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 54ff.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 145ff. ; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II. pp. 16ff.
13. P. N. Bhattacharya, op. cit., pp. 89ff. ; cf. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. X, 1976-77, pp. 120-21.

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B. C.) as left by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes which is available to us from quotations in works like Arrian's *Indika*.[14] The city stood at the junction of the Hiraṇyavāha (Śoṇa) and the Gaṅgā. The inhabited part of it stretched 9½ miles in length and 1½ miles in breadth. A ditch 606 feet in breadth and 30 cubits in depth encompassed it all round. The surrounding wall was crowned with 570 towers and 64 gates. The number of cities in India was exceptionally large, of them those standing on the river or the sea were built of wood and not of brick while those founded in commanding places, lofty and raised above the adjacent country, were built of brick and mortar.[15] According to Strabo, Pāṭaliputra was shaped like a parallelogram and was surrounded by a wooden wall which had holes through which arrows could be shot. The trench in front of the wall was used both for defence and as a receptacle of sewage flowing from the city.[16]

However, the Indian cities generally followed the pattern of the royal cities described in the epics. The epic city had around it high and probably concentric walls with watch towers on them and massive gates with strong doors. Outside there was a bridged moat filled with crocodiles and armed with palings. The city was laid out in several squares, the store-house being built near the rampart. The streets were watered and lighted with torches. The king's courtiers and the traders resided in the city while the farmers lived in the country outside, the districts of the country being guarded by forts or towns developing around them or modelled on the capital city. Outside the towns and villages lay the common land sometimes converted into public gardens. In the royal city, there palaces for the king, princes, chief priests, ministers and military officers. There were also bigger and smaller dwelling houses, gambling halls, courts of justice and the booths of traders, goldsmith's shops and artisans' work places. The arsenal was probably near the king's residence. There were many pleasure-parks and also dance-halls attached to the royal palaces. The number of city-gates ranged between four and eleven, and

14. Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 1972, pp. 243ff.
15. H. C. Raychaudhuri, loc. cit.
16. R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age of India*, 1960, p. 262.
17. See E. W. Hopkins, 'The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India', *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, 1888, pp. 174ff.

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they were guarded by single wardens or squads of men. There were door-keepers for guarding the palace as well as the city-gates. Capital cities were supplied with necessities required for withstanding a siege such as from elephants and horses to doctors for the wounded as well as with foods, grains, etc., and combustible materials like resin, pitch, etc. for the purpose of throwing at the attacking enemy. The gates had two doors and cross-bars while the walls had loopholes and were defended by heavy machines placed over the gates for the projection of large shafts at the advancing enemy or for the dumping of rocks upon the latter. Hopkins points out that, although the *Mahābhārata* mentions *sopāna* or stais, the *vīthikā* and *alinda* terraces in the houses and the many-storied buildings to adorn cities are known from the later Bṛihatsaṁhīta (sixth century A. D.).[18]

18. This note is based on an address delivered as Chief Guest at a Seminar organised by the Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta, at 51/2 Hazra Road, Calcutta-700019, on January 28, 1983.

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PATALIPUTRA : ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DECAY : A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

S. M. KARIMI

Evolving Settlement Site

The place, where Pataliputra developed, is said to have passed through many vicissitudes of human settlement. The environs of the place has always remained fertile because of its location in the flat alluvial plain. It was self sufficient as regards food resources and where other amenities of life were also available. In such a geographical setting it grew in a natural way as a well established settlement site forming the pivot of all activities in its own region.[1] With the advancement of time and broadened view of human knowledge such as the extended use of metals, application of wheels to transport and making of potteries etc., the economy of this little cultural centre as of other such sites in the other localised areas of the country became sound and prosperous. Local surplus produced by intensive agriculture and ease of transport, as Smailes[2] thinks, gave a great impetus and formed the basis of a few larger agglomeration of dominant character. The scene of this phase in India was more especially the areas of irrigation agriculture as established in the Indus Plain, the lower Kaveri region and the well watered Ganga valley. Harappa and Mohanjodaro (now in Pakistan) in the Indus valley, Kanchipura[3] on the Pala river in south India and many of the gama and grama settlements although of later dates such as Nardigrama and Pataligrama etc. in the Ganga Plain, were cultural centres where people gathered in large number to organise and discharge special services in their respective regions. Although all of these centres cannot be lined to belong to the same period, they were certainly places of significant character in the distant past (prior to C. 900-700 B. C). But such gama or grama settlements were not necessarily mere villages of the present age. These were

1. Strabo's Geography, Chapter XV, Page 19.
2. Smailes, A. E. : Geography of the Towns (London 1979), p. 10.
3. This place is now called Conjeewaram, a town about 100 kilometres distance to the south of present Madras City of Tamil Nadu State.

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cultural centres of some significance and as Kautilya[4] puts it, were self-sufficient and had great charms in them. Ayodhya is referred at many places as grama, while the capital of Kosala Desa initially was called Nandigrama and even Pataliputra at a time was Pataligram where about 10,000 people lived.

Thereafter a time probably came (C. 700 B. C. to 5 0 B. C.) when political efforts were made to unify large areas so that urban or cultural centres of higher hierarchical order emerged. Ancient India at this stage appears to be divided into various 'Janapadas'. Bihar plain fell to the lot of a number of caste clans. These classes of people which could by sword or intellect subjugate the neighbouring population, established themselves to the most favourably located lands and laid the foundation of different kingdoms of varying extent such as Kosala, Karusha, Magadha and Anga etc. A number of towns in this way originated as strategic politico-social centres of such empires as Visaya or Bhukti (Desa's) headquarters or became the Raj capitals. It appears that Pataliputra in course of its evolution and growth probably passed through the different phases of such hierarchical urban order to become "nigama" (i. e. a market town of moderate size) and then was 'nagara' meaning a large town (i. e. Srinagar)[5] as the headquarter of Nagara Bhukti, the smaller fiscal units of a kingdom.[6]

The place was ultimately politically selected for further development by King Ajatsatru, son of Bimbisara (i. e. Serinika) of Magadh who ascended the thrown in 491 B. C. He ordered for the construction of a

4. Kautilya's 'Arthshastra' Chapter II, page 11.

5. Which in sanskrit meant only a large town. The Nalanda seal found in excavation confirms that Pataliputra at a time prior to its rise or after it had decayed during the days of the Pala rulers was called *Srinagar* or simply *Nagara.*

6. It is said that the Magadhan Empire, whose capital was Grivraja or Rajagriha, was divided into some well defined 'Desas or Bhuktis'. The lower South Bihar Plain (i.e. North Magadh Proper) from Varanika village about 50 km. west of Arrah in the present Bhojpur district to eastward upto the Kiul valley facing Hiranya Parbat (i.e. Kharagpur Hills) was Nagara Bhukti whose headquarter was Pataliputra. See Karimi, S. M. : 'Origin and Evolution of Towns in Ancient Bihar", Journal or Bihar Research Society, Vol. 59 (Patna, 1979) p. 7[9].

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fort at this site in commemoration of his victory over the Kosals and of the extension of his sphere of influence in the whole of North Bihar. Gautama Buddha while crossing the Ganga on his last journey from Rajagriha to Kusinagara via Vaisali could himself watch the two ministers of Ajatsatru busy in organising the construction of a fort at this site. It was built as a check upon the people of Vrijji.[7] The great saint had then predicted that the place in course of time might develop into a great city. Buddha thus stated : 'Here, Ananda, I see with clear vision that many gods will take up their residence and it will become the chief city and a centre for inter-change of all kinds of wares'[8]. The fort of Ajatsatru was further added with a new city of Pataliputra in C. 450 B. C. by Udaya Bhadra (i. e. Udayan) grand son of Ajatsatru. It was again Udayabhadra as confirmed both by Vanya Purana and the Gargisambhita, who transferred his headquarter from Rajagriha to that newly built fortress town.

Uitimately the place became the urban centre of the first order to be called Pushpapura or Kusumpura, the city of the Sweet Scented flowers so famous in the eastern legends. The place was so named due to 'Kusum' or 'Patali' flowers that were so abundant in or around the city. Major Wilford and Francis Buchanan[9] also agree to it. Vanya Puran mentions the city as Kusumapura which literarily means a city of flowers. The other name Pushpapur is Synonyms of the same name. The modern name 'Phulwari' of the western suburb of the city as Patil[10] points out is obviously a survival of the ancient name.

It was under the Mauryans as is suggested by many of the modern Historians that the name Pataliputra of the city was more commonly used.[11] Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese traveller who visited the city in February, 637 A. D. states, 'In the far past when men lived for countless years, it has

7. Cunningham, A. : Ancient Geography of India (Varanasi, 1963), p. 352.
8. Lal, R. B. : Glories of Bihar (Patna 1963), p. 18.
9. Buchanan, Francis : *The city of Patna*, Section 1, Division 1, Vol. 1, An Account of the district of Bihar and Patna, Patna (1811-12), p. 66.
10. Patil, D. R. : "The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar", Historical Research Series Vol. 4 (Patna 1963), p. 373.
11. 'Pataliputra', was same as Polibothra of the Greeks. It was so mentioned by Megasthenese (the Greek Ambassador of Saleucus during Alexander the Great) who visited the court of Chandra Gupta Maurya.

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been called Kusumapura from the numerous flowers (Kusum) in the royal enclosure. Afterwards when men's lives still extended to millions the name was changed to Pataliputra city.[12] Kalidas, the court poet of Vikramaditya and the most famous of all sanskrit poets of the Gupta period refers about the city on many occasions in his work *Rughuvamsa* and *Kumaravambhara* and he calls it either Pushpapura or Pataliputra.[13]

In the evolution and growth of this place some significant phases may therefore be marked. Initially the flourishing economy of the region was responsible for its origin as a cultural site acting as servicing centre in its own localised area. This is followed by a prosperous economy to make it a large gama settlement (i. e. Pataligrama) serving as a distinct cultural centre. Later on during the days of the state feudality the place flourished to become an administrative centre of a part of Magadhan kingdom and was either the Visaya headquarter or the Bhukhti or Desa capital. It then gradually rose to become the Raj capital of Magadhan Kingdom itself. Again in course of time, the city was associated with religious and educational activities as well. It was reputed for its educational institutions. The phase of urban revolution in this way was followed by a phase of URBAN HIERARCHY, so as to attain a high distinction as an urban centre shows well developed functional structure in it. It was graded as the city of first order and became the great metropolis and a hoary capital of a world renowned Magadhan Empire and contained as per estimates of Megasthenese some four lakh people. Some of the urban centres, observes John Christian, have suffixes like pur, puri, nagar, nagari, nigama, grama, and gama and are of sanskrit origin. He goes on to say further, 'there must have been some distinction in the use of these terminals in the earlier period'.[14]

Geographical Advantages of the Site and the City's Significance

The selection of the site owed to a number of geographical advantages.

12. Beal, S. : "The Buddhist Record of the Western World (Hiuen Tsiang) London 1891, See also Ghosh, M. 'Pataliputra' (Patna 1919), p. 21.
13. Diwakar, R. R. : Bihar Through the Ages, (Patna, 1959), p. 297.
14. Christian, John : 'On some names of places in Bihar : their origin and history, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCII (Calcutta, April, 1891) p. 54.

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Political strategy of the place :—For the rising growth of the great Magadhan Empire, the place was more centrally located than Rajagriha. It was actually the ideal strategic site as a base of operation agains the strong Lichchavi vlass across the Ganga. It was also politically a better place for contact with the adjoining states of Kurusha, Kosala and Anga etc.

A Ripirian Site Cammanding River Traffic :—The place owed also to its natural advantage of riparian site along the confluence of a number of rivers. Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller who visited the city in 406 A. D. confirms about it. "Four Yojana on from this place (Vaisali)..... brought the traveller to the confluence of the five rivers..... Having crossed the river.....(the traveller) came to the town of Pataliputra".[15] These five rivers referred to were the Ganga from the west and flowing downward towards the east the Sadanira (i. e. the Gandak) the Saryu (i e. the Ghaghara) and the Hiranya baha or the Sona (i. e. the Sone). The site in this way commanded the river traffic in five directions—the Ganga in the west and the east, the Gandak in the north, the Sone in the south and the Saryu towards the north-west. All these rivers afforded cheap and easy water transport to it.

At the Cross Road af Significant 'Mahapaths' :—The place was again the key point with respect to roads in rather the entire Great Indian Plain of Northern India. The royal highway from Rajagriha, the old hill girt and capital of Magadh crossed across the Ganga through a ferry at Gautamaghat at this place. The same road then took one to Vaishali in North Bihar and thence to Janakpur (Now in Nepal), in Mithila in the north east; to Kusinagar (in Gorakhpur district of U. P.) in the north-west and to Kathmandu in Nepal in the north. This road and the south Ganga side road running east to west from Kankjol neer Pakaur (Santhal Pargana) and Champa, the capital of Anga in the east to Kashi and Kausambi in the west, actually crossed each other at Pataliputra. The western road beyond Kausambi lead to Kabul, in Afghanistan. From Kausambi on this road, yet another road further extended upto Broach to provide Pataliputra a direct link to the Arabian sea in the south-west. All of these roads, as Kalidas mentions, were called 'Mahapath'.

15. Ghosh, M. : Pataliputra (Patna 1919), See Appendix Page 11.

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The Place as a great trade emporium :—Sited at the confluence of nevigable rivers and being located at the cross roads of important caravan routes leading to all the four cadinal directions, the place developed to become the principal river port and a great trade emporium for the entire region. Boats laden with goods manufactured or collected at Pataliputra moved up and down the rivers and sailed to far off places and even to Lanka and Indonesis, then known as Swarnabhumi.[16]

It may be noted what the selection of the site for the construction of a fort, addition of a new city and the transfer of the capital of Magadh from Rajagriha to this place was made in keeping with the general administration, safe site and suitable place to control and keep watch over the adjoining territories. Political geography in this way played a vital role in determining the location and layout of this ancient capital city. Its forts, walls of the city, the gates and the roads leading to the citadel or palatial sections, all spoke of the city's strategic political significance and metropolitan character. Next to administration Pataliputra was moulded by religion. The city was hallowed by the feet of religious references like Lord Mahavira and Gautama Buddha. The activities of these saints were responsible for the addition of park like suburban sections containing temples, stupas, chaityas, rock edict pillars and caves.

Again if the Mauryan period was the age of the construction of such sacred spots, Gupta and Pala periods can well be considered as the age of monasteries (i. e. Viharas). These were the seats of philosophical thinking, preaching and learning, something like the modern college or university. The Hinayana and Mahayana monasteries constructed at Pataliputra contained about 400 monks who were specially taught sanskrit grammar as a preliminary step to their monastic life. The city had the previledge of being associated with literary personalities like Kautilya. Arya Bhatt, Patanjali, Moggalipaths Tissa, Sailabhadra and Kalidas etc. Kautilya (i. e. Chanakya, the Prime Minister of Chandra Gupta Maurya) although an inhabitant of Taxila passed part of his life at this city and wrote his famous treatise 'Arthasastra' at this place. Arya Bhatt a resident of Magadh propounded his theory of law of planetary motion, wrote his book Aryabhattiyam in A. D. 499 and convened a meeting of scientists of

16. Diwakar, R. R. : op. cit., p. 181.

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the age at this city. The famous teacher Sailabhadra, the chief abot of the Nalanda University was born and brought up at this old city. Fa Hien, the first Chiness traveller who visited the city in 406 A. D. is said to have spent three years time to learn Sanskrit and copied the manuscript of the sacred texts from this city's monastries. In the 'Antiquities of Patna'. Dr. Bimal Bihari Majumdar significantly remarked, 'Patna occupies the same place in the history of Indian culture, and civilization as was occupied by Athens in the history of the Greece.' He further goes on to say 'If Rome is the Eternal City of the west, Patna is the immortal city of the East.'

Factors Causing Decay of the Great City

After the death of Ashoka, India was subject to internal turmoils as well as foreign invasions. One of those who came to invade India after Alexender the Great was Demetrics. He captured Sialkot and invaded Panthala, Saketa and Mathura and even reached Pataliputra. From the Vaya Purana Section of the Gaya Sakuhita, it is learnt that Pataliputra was besieged for sometimes in the first century B. C. The great battle fought against the Greek caused great destruction in the capital and the Mauryan pillared hall and other monuments of the city of Pataliputra were set on fire then.[18] The city for more than 500 years after Mauryan rule and prior to the Guptas remained insignificant due to decay of empires and Indiawide destructions caused by Scythians, Andhras and others. But the place assumed once again a gay appearance when Chandragupta-I, the first of the Gupta rulers, who coronated at this site on March 8, 319 A. D. During the reign of Chandragupta-II known also as Vikramaditya (373-413 A. D.), the place is said to have regained some prosperity.[19]

The later Gupta kings (from the 5th Century A. D. onwards) shifted their capitals to places like Ujjaini, Ayodhya and Kanauj etc. in the west, so that Pataliputra became neglected. The growth and decay of the old administrative towns, it may be noted, owed much to the choice of the feudal lords to select them or to abandon them for certain

17. Lal, R. B. : op. cit., p. 17.
18. Diwakar, R. R. : op. cit., p. 202.
19. 'Bihar', Publication Division Series, (New Delhi, 1963), p. 15.

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purposes. The shift of the capital was sure to lead to growth in one case and desertion in the other. Girivraja, the city within the hills in the Saraswati Plain was left deserted when Ajatsatru selected a new site outside the Rajgir hills for his *'New Rajagriha'*. Rajagriha was also deserted when the principal seat of the Magadhan Empire was transferred to Pataliputra in 430 B. C. Again Pataliputra too was left to flourish only as a staggering town when the capital was shifted to Kanaj in U. P. or when the Pala rulers selected Odantapuri as their headquarters. 'Of Pataliputra' Buddha himself had earlier remarked, 'there will be three sources of danger—from fire, from flood or from feud (internal dissensions).[20] Buddha's prediction about the destruction of the city as stated in Buddha Ghosa's commentary appeared to be fulfilled. It seems, observes Shasbtri[21] that in the 3rd and 4th century A. D., there were destructive fires, destructive inundation and internal strifes which is very possible in periods of anarchy. The burnt wood structure (ash funnel etc.) excavated at Kumhar by Dr. Spooner shows the effect of fire and flood.

The decay of the city was eminent when Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller visited it in 406 A. D. for he spoke very little about the city itself. As a place venerated to Buddha, it was however, even then visited by eminent priests from all over the world. By the time Hiuen Tsiang another Chinese traveller visited it in 637 A. D., the place was in a bad state of neglect and was lying mostly in ruins. Its population then was estimated to be hardly more than 5,000. Hiuen Tsiang in a melancholy strain states, 'Of the city the long lapse of time had left only the old foundation (outer wall of the city which King Ashoka built), monasteries, deva temples and topes (towers, stupas, etc.), there were hundreds of ruins, but only 2 or 3 of the structures survived'.[22]

Earlier in 530 A. D. a terrible earthquake also took place at this place, while according to various Chiness sources, in 647 A. D. (ten years after Hiuen Tsiang had left the place) a great convulsion destroyed the greater part of Pataliputra. Again according to Jain work 'Titlohogali Panniya', a great flood on account of the Sone occurred in about 575 A.D.

20. Lal, R. B. : op. cit., p. 18.
21. Shashtri, H. P. : "The Eternal Cities in the Province of Bihar (Pataliputra) and Orissa (Tusali)", J. B. O. R. S., Vol. 6, 1920, (Patna 1920), p. 32.
22. Ghosh, M. : op. cit., p. 11.

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The river Sone had then engulfed the entire town causing much distress to the inhabitants. Alexander Cunningham is of the opinion that three-fourth of a Kilometre of the depth of the city on the bank of the Ganga was washed away by that flood.[23] Later on in 786 A. D. according to the Chinese writer Matalin, a portion of the town was once again destroyed on account of the river Sone.[24]

Thus when the closely built Empire of Magadh fell into disintegration, the city of Pataliputra too became gradually deserted. The sacking of it by the Huns in the 6th century A. D. actually snatched its former grandeur. The less of royal patronage towards the end of Gupta and Pala periods and the rising influence of Hinduism and growth of new Brahamanical centres were serious blows to many of the Buddhistic sites (e. g. Nalanda) and the monastic sections of many ancient cities including Pataliputra. The period between the 6th and the 10 Century was in this way marked by a dark age in the urban history of the old city. There appeared no indication of any incentive at least for sometime to rebuild the city which was sacked, set on fire and even washed away by flood waters of the Sone and the Ganga.

University Professor of Geography
Depart of Geography and Director,
Centre for Development Studies
Patna University, Patna.

23. Cunningham, A. : Report of a tour through the Bengal Province in 1872-73 ; Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. 8 (Cal. 1978) : see also Patil, D R. 'Antiquarian Remains in Bihar' (Patna 1963), p. 379.
24. Smaddar, J. N. : Glories of Magadh (Patna 1922), p. 50.

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AN ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF VIṢNU IMAGES IN THE BHAGALPUR MUSEUM

AJOY KUMAR SINHA

Viṣnu is one of the gods of the Hindu trinity famous for well-being of the created. He took a number of incarnations to protect the world from evil efforts of the demons[1]. During the Vedic period, he was known as Āditya and was ranked next to Indra (*Upendra*)[2]. Later on, he became prominent and during the Gupta period (*circa* 4th to 6th Century A. D.) the cult of Viṣnu gained tremendous ground and he superceded all Hindu divinities. He acquired the name *Atindra*[3]. His different forms, described in the Epics, Purānas, Āranyakas, etc., became popular among the people's and once having recognised, they emerged with such an enormous force, that it dominated the entire sphere of the Hindu world, its thought, culture, religion, mythology, art and literature. It is not strange, therefore, to note that more than half of the Indian niceties in art, architecture, religo-mythical or purely classical literature deal with the popular theme of Vinsu and his various incarnations.

The Viṣnu images in the Bhagalpur Museum have been discovered inside the district of Bhagalpur which was once seat of famous kingdom of Aṇga.[4] During the Gupta period, this district played a vital role in the history of sculptural art. The rock-cut sculptures of Sultangunj[5] and Paththarghata[6] and seven and half feet high bronze icon of Buddha[7] testify the fact. Fa-hien[8], the Chinese pilgrim who visited the kingdom of the Imperial Gupta during 405-411 A. D., found on the southern bank of

1. *Bhāgvatgita* : iv. 7.
2. Rao, Gopinatha : Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. I, (Varanasi, 1970 reprint), pp. 74-75.
3. *Viṣnu-Sahasranama* : Verse 30 (Gorakhpur Edition).
4. Roychaudhury, P. C. : Bihar District Gazetteer-Bhagalpur (Patna - 1962), p.
5. Patil, D. R. : Antiquarian Remains in Bihar, (Patna - 1963), pp. 555-57.
6. The Bengal List : pp. 422-424.
7. Smith, V. A. : A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylone (Oxford - 1930), p. 171, fig. 118.
8. Legge, J : Travels of Fa-Hien, (Oxford-1886), p. 100.

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river Ganges the great kingdom of Champa. During the period of post-Gupta kings of Magadha, it was under their patronage which is well evident from the Mandāra Hill inscription of Ādityasena.[9] But when Hiuen-Tsiang[10] visited this place he found most of the Buddhist monasteries in ruins. He saw some twenty Deva temples here. The district of Bhagalpur again became prominent during the rule of the Pālas of Bengal.[11] The images of Viṣnu under consideration belonged to between early 4th century to 10th century A. D. and only ten in numbers. Only three of the nine are somewhat intact while rest are either broken or mutilated. But all of them give iconographic details.

The earliest one belonged to the early 4th century[12]. It was unearthed from a well (dug for cowdung gas plant) at local Sahibgunj Church,[13] near Nathnagar. The church itself is about two hundred years old and situated on the bank of river Ganges. Discovery of an Hindu idol inside the campus of a christian church created panic among the local Hindus but the author of this paper settled the issue cleverly and got this most valuable antiquity for the Bhagalpur Museum. The figure of Viṣnu which measures 40 × 22 cms. is completely blurred. It can only be identified due to the standing posture and the *chakra* as Viṣnu. The deity is standing in *ābhaṅga* pose which is typical to the Kushana sculptural art. He is decked with an ekavali and round Kundala. The *atāmukuta*, though blurred, seems to be flat topped. He has four hands. Two of the lower hands rest upon his waist while holds *chakra* in his upper left hand. The emblem in upper right hand is not clear. The figure is carved out in red sand stone. Absence of *vanamāla* is a noteworthy feature in this image. The stella behind the image is plain and shows a non-geometric design. The halo round the head of Viṣnu is also absent. All these features noted above indicate its dating in the transition period between the Kushana and the Gupta art. It is similar to the

9. Fleet, J. H. : Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarrum, Vol. III, (Calcutta-1888), pp. 211-213.
10. Beal, S : 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' Vol. II, p. 191.
11. Majumdar, R. C. : History of Bengal, Vol. I, (Dacca - 1943).
12. Please see the illustrated photograph, Bhagalpur Museum, Arch. No. 241.
13. Roychoudhury, P. C. : Bihar District Gazetteer-Bhagalpur, (Patna 1962), p. 118.

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Patna Museum's[14] Viṣnu in respect to the standing posture, while with the Mathura Viṣnu image[15] in other iconographic details. If a comparative study of this image with the Sultangunj rock-cut Viṣnu will be made then we find a clear cut demarcation between them. The Sultangunj images[16] are in *sthānaka* pose, standing with great gravity and are well decorated as well which are undoubtedly a mark of iconographic evolution from the Sahibgunj church's Viṣnu in Bhagalpur Museum.

An interesting image of Viṣnu riding the human faced Garuda[17] was donated by Sri Satyendra Narain Agrawal, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur to the Registering Office (Antiquities), Bhgalpur which was subsequently handed over to the Bhagalpur Museum for its display. *Garuda*, one of the most powerful birds was attributed to Viṣnu as his *vāhana* (vehicle). A few sculptures showing Visnu riding the Garuda have been reported from the province of Bihar. The rode sculpture of Viṣnu riding Garuda at Pathargatha[18] belonged to the 4th-5th century A. D. Viṣnu has been shown sitting astride the back of the *Garuda* and a number of divine personages have been represented on his either side to witness the god flying through the sky. The *Garuda* is very remarkable. Treated just like a bird with two outstretched powerful wings, he has also the face of the bird with its typical nose. This Patharghata image is followed by the Sultangunj rock art sculpture[19] and a stone sculpture from Rajgir.[20] In both of these sculptures, the *Garuda* is in anthropomorphic form, i. e. entire body like human being with two wings coming out from hehind. Another similar image from Bihar is preserved in the Cleveland Museum[21] (U. K.). The

14. Sinha, C. P. : Early Sculptures of Bihar (Patna - 1980), p. 76, plate 27.
15. Joshi, N. P. : Prachin Bhartiya Moorti-Vigyan, (Patna - 1977), p. 77, plate 48.
16. Sahai, Sachchidanand : Four Rare Sculptures of Visnu from Sultangunj, Patna University Journal, 18 No. 1, (Patna - 1963), pp. 142-47.
17. Please see the illustrated photograph. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum Arch. No.
18. Agrawala, R.C. : Unpublished Sculptures of Garudarudha Visnu from Eastern India, *Lalit Kala*, No. 12. pp. 46 ff.
19. Sahai, Sachchidanand : Some Brahmanical Rock Sculptures from Sultangunj, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. Xlix, (Patna - 1963), pp. 140-41, fig. 4.
20. Sinha, C. P. : *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 42.
21. Archaeological Survey of India's *Archaeological Review*, 1930-1934, pt. II, plate Xiib.

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Bhagalpur Museum's Viṣnu riding *Garuda* is a broken one. Body of Viṣnu from his waist onwards is missing. The wings of *Garuda* are partially broken. But the face of *Garuda* is almost similar to Rajgir specimen. Another similar sculpture with this iconographic features is displayed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[22] The locks of hair hanging from the Garuda's head and the *ekāvali* in its neck are typical of the Gupta style from iconographic point of view. It is carved out in black stone and measures 53 × 52 cms. This *Garudālidha* Viṣnu image has not been published earlier.

Two beautiful images of Viṣnu in *sthānaka* pose were acquired from the Mandāra Vidyapeetha[23], Mandāra (Barka, Bhagalpur) by the author of this paper in the year 1977. Both of them are made of black stone and datable during *circa* 7th to 8th century A. D. They are almost intact and in good condition of preservation. They were collected by Sri A. S. Madhavana, the founder Chancellor of the Mandāra Vidyapeeth from the ruins at Mandāra Hill. First one small in size measures 36 × 18 cms.[24] Viṣnu, standing in *sthānaka* pose, has four hands, all hanging down (*pralambāhu*). His lower hands touches the *chakra puṛusa* and *Gadā Devi* while in the lower left hand there is a conch. His lower right hand is broken. A long *vanamāla* is hanging upto the knee. He is wearing a dhoti and *janeu*. He is decked with *ekāvali* and round *kuṇdala*. The prabhavali behind him is quite simple. The half closed eyes of Viṣnu and a round urn mark on forehead indicates about his godship. He is wearing a flat *mukuta* almost similar to that of Sultanganj rock sculptures. Iconographically, the image is pre-Pāla period and may be placed in 7th century A. D.

Next image of Visnu is also standing in *sthānaka* pose and measures 48 × 26 cms.[25] It is well carved. This four handed Visnu has both *chakrapurusa* and *Gadā Devi* in human forms on his either side. He is

22. Asher, Frederick : The Art of Eastern India, (Minnesota, U. S. A. - 1980); pl. 189. It is from Begampur, Patna. It's accession no. is I.M.A. 25167.
23. Roychaudhury, P. C.; *op. cit.*, p. 498.
24. Please see the illustrated photograph. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum, Arch. No. 165.
25. Please see the illustrated photograph. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum, Arch. No. 166.

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holding a *chakra* in his right upper hand while the *gadā* in left upper hand. It is, however, an unusual feature in the *sthānaka* Viṣnu images. He is keeping the *sankha* in his left lower hand while the right lower hand is in *varada* pose. He is wearing a long decorated *vanamāla* hanging upto his knee and a *yajnapavita* also. Two devotees in *anjali* pose are kneeled down by the side of Visnu's feet. He is decked with necklace anklet, wristlet, armlet, waistlet, round ear lobes, etc. His eyes are open. There is an urn on his forehead. He is standing upon a hallow chiselled lotus flower. Likewise, the *prabhāvali* is also quite simple. This image is very interesting from iconographic point of view. The *chakra* in right upper hand and *gadā* in left upper hand is attributed to *Vāmana*—Viṣnu according to the *Rupamandan*[26]. But the image under discussion is not of *Vāmana avatāra* of Visnu. It seems that the sculptor, who carved out this image was quite ignorant of the Silpa texts. He perhaps only knew the *Viṣnu-Purāna*[27] and the *Viṣnu-dharmottara*[28] in which Visnu is said to keep the *sankha*, *chakra* and *gadā*. It is understood that the fourth hand should be in *varada* pose. Whatever the fact may be, this sculpture which belonged to *circa* 8th century A. D. on stylistic grounds is one of the rare pieces.

A bust of Viṣnu, discovered from the *Saṇkha-kuṇda*[29] on the Mandāra Hill, is also adoring the Bhagalpur Museum. It was acquired by the author of this paper for the Bhagalpur Museum in the year 1977. It is a fine piece of the pre-Pāla period. It is carved out in jet black stone. It measures 40×26 cms. The round halo[30] behind the head is similar to the Benisagar[31] Visnu image. He is wearing a *kiritamukuta*, a highly bejewelled crown assigned to the god. The *prabhāvali* of the *saṇkha-kund's* Viṣnu bust is much decorated with flowery designs. He is decked with necklace, round ear-lobes, armlet etc. The eyes of the god

26. *Rupamandan* : 36.21-28.
27. *Viṣnu-Purāna* : 1.9.67.
28. *Viṣnu-dharmottara* : 104.34.
29. Patil, D. R. : *op. cit.*, p. 257.
30. Please see the illustrated photograph. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum, Arch. No. 184.
31. Gupta, P. L. (ed.) ; Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities, (Patna 1965), plate X.

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are half closed and there is a urn mark on his forehead. Locks of hair are hanging from his head over the neck. It can be dated in the early 8th century A. D.

Further, an image of *Varāha*-Viṣnu[32] in the Bhagalpur Museum is of great iconographic importance. It was acquired by the author of this paper from the Mandāra Vidyapeetha in the year 1977. It is made out of the schist stone. It measures 42 × 22 cms. The *Varāha*-Viṣnu is standing in *alidha* pose upon the *ādishesa* whose figure is mutilated. This Nṛ. Varāha is *dvibhuja* (two handed). He is putting on a long *vanamāla*. He is decked with necklace, wristlets, armlets, anklets, earlobes besides *yajnapavita* (sacred thread). His right hand is hanging over his right thigh while the left hand upon slightly bent up left knee. The goddess Earth is shown seated on the elbow of the god. She is wearing a *sāri* and decked with all sorts of ornament. Her *jatājuta* (hair style) is attractive. The god is looking at the goddess sitting over her shoulders with great concentration and high hope. This feature is quite uncommon with the other images of Varaha-Visnu reported so far in the province of Bihar,[33]. Secondly, there is an inscription engraved on the Mandāra Hill[34] which informs us that one *Bālabhadra* installed an image of *Varāha*-Viṣnu on the Hill. This image was discovered by Sri A. S. Madhavan, the Founder Chancellor of the Mandāra Vidyapeetha from a ruined temple on the Mandara Hill. The author thinks that the image of *Varāha*-Viṣnu under consideration is original image installed by Balabhadra during the reign of king Ādityasena, a late Gupta ruler, of Magadha. A torso of Visnu in standing pose was received from late Chand Mishra (Sri C. S. Jha) of the Champanagar by the author of the paper in the year 1977 for the Bhagalpur Museum.[35] Its head and legs below the knee are missing. It is carved out in black basakt stone, Locks of hair and *ekāvali* of Viṣnu dates it in the eaily Pāla period. He is wearing a long decorated *Vanamāla* and a *yajnapavita*. It measures 60 × 38 cms.

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32. Please see the illustrated photograph. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum, Arch. No. 164.
33. Sinha, C. P. : "Varāha-Visnu in Art and Epigraph of Bihar Journal of Bihar Research Society, Vol. Lvi, Pts. I-IV, (Patna - 1972), pp. 54-60.
34. Bloch, T. : Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of India, 1903.
35. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum, Arch. No. 198.

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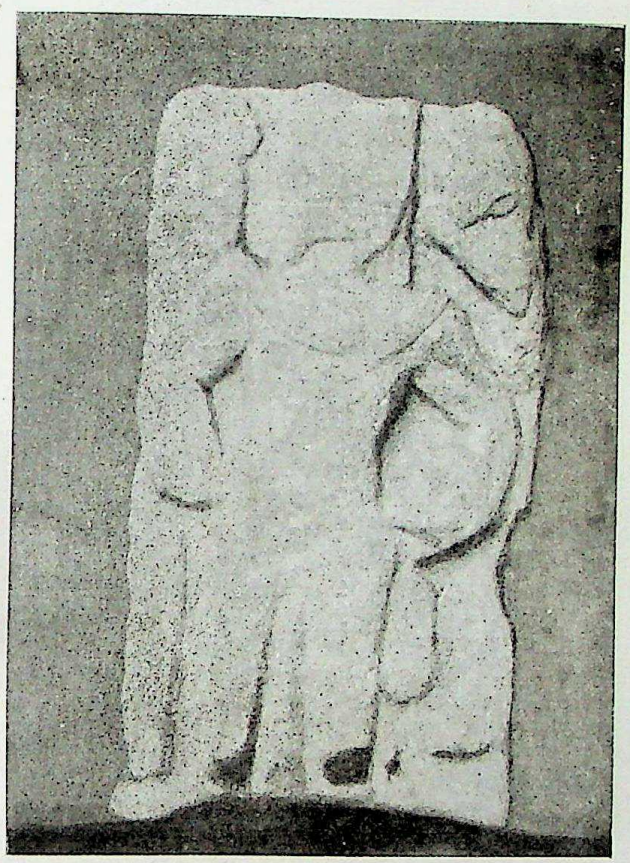

Viṣnu Image from Sahebgunj Church, Bhagalpur

Garḍārūḍha Viṣṇu from Bhagalpur

PLATE No. IV

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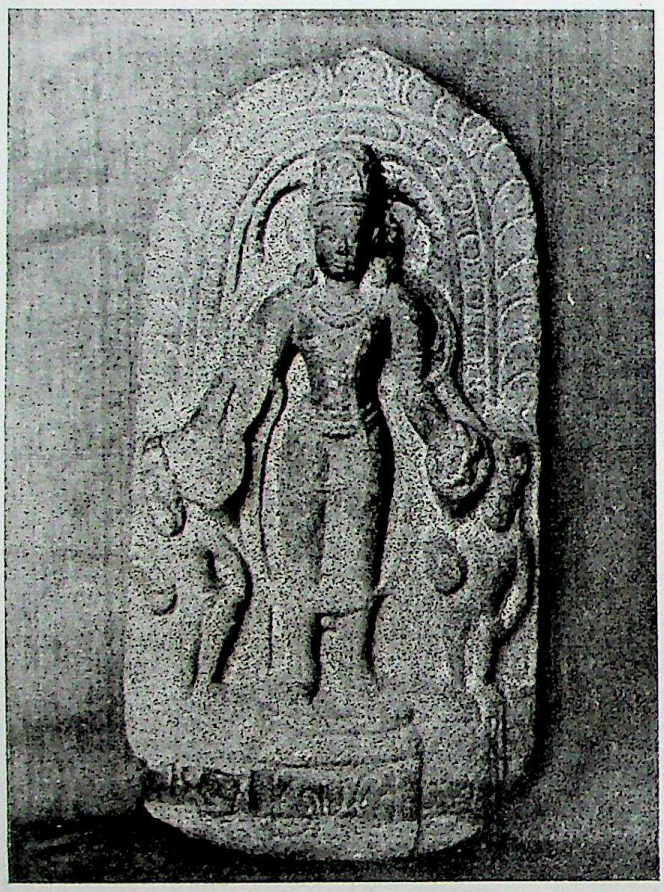
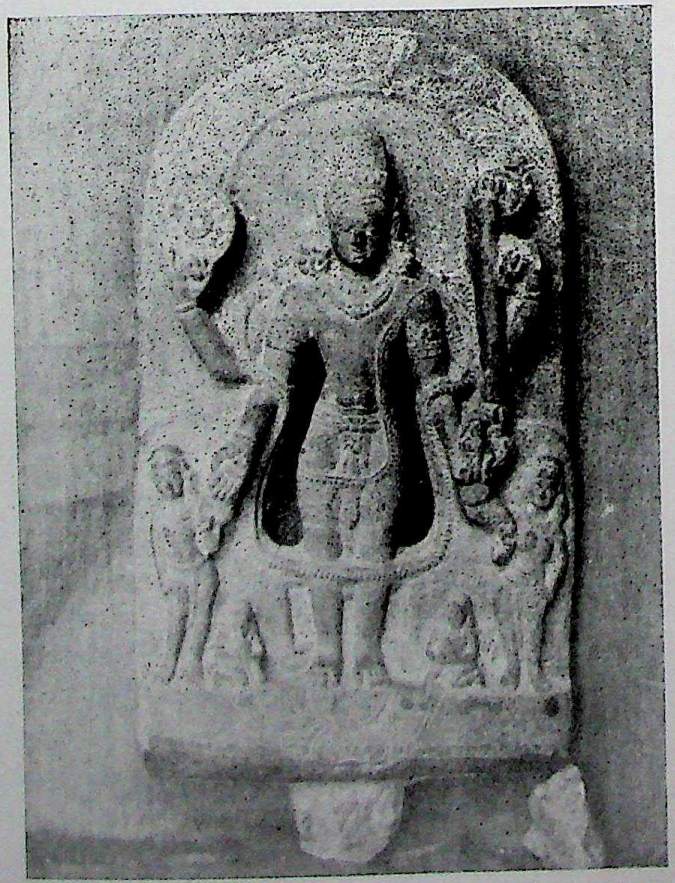


Viṣṇu Image from Mandāra
Vidyapeetha



Viṣṇu Image from Mandāra
Vidyapeetha

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Viṣṇu Image from Mandāra Hill

Varāha Viṣṇu from Mandāra
Vidyapeetha

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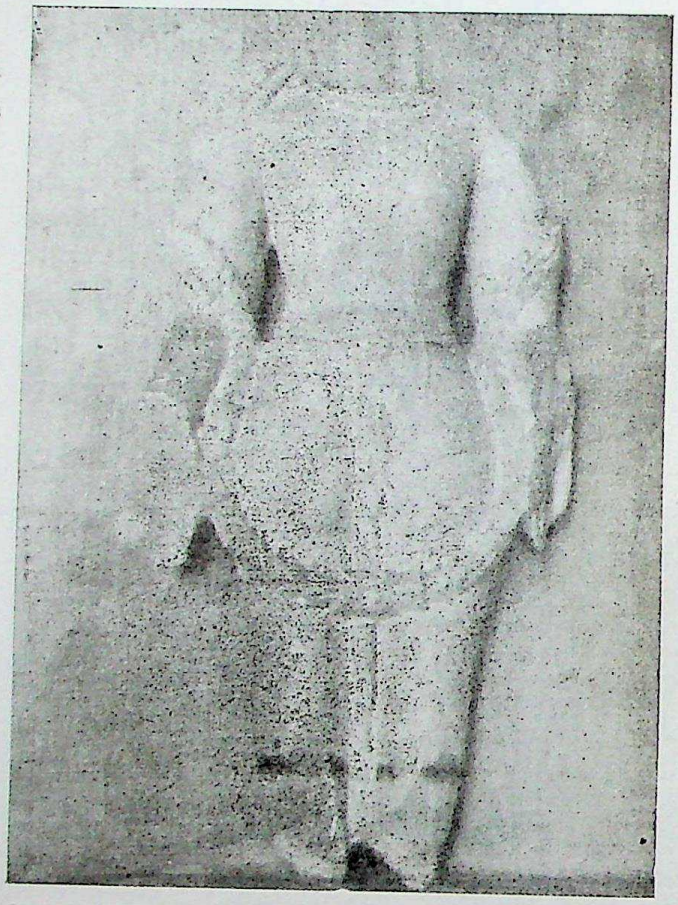
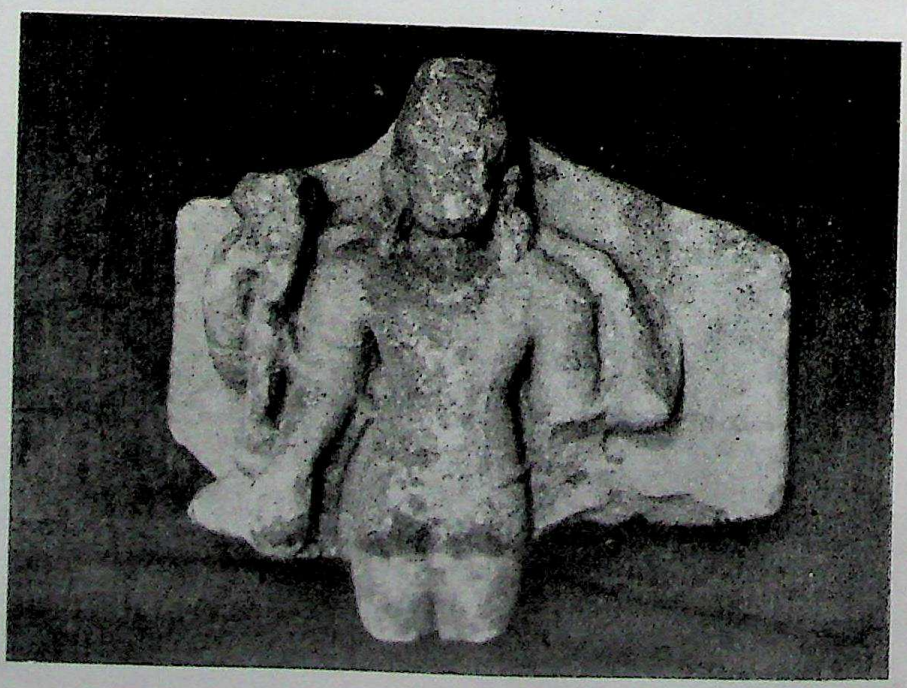
PLATE No. VI



Viṣṇu torso from Champanagar



Viṣṇu Image from
C. M. S. School,
Bhagalpur

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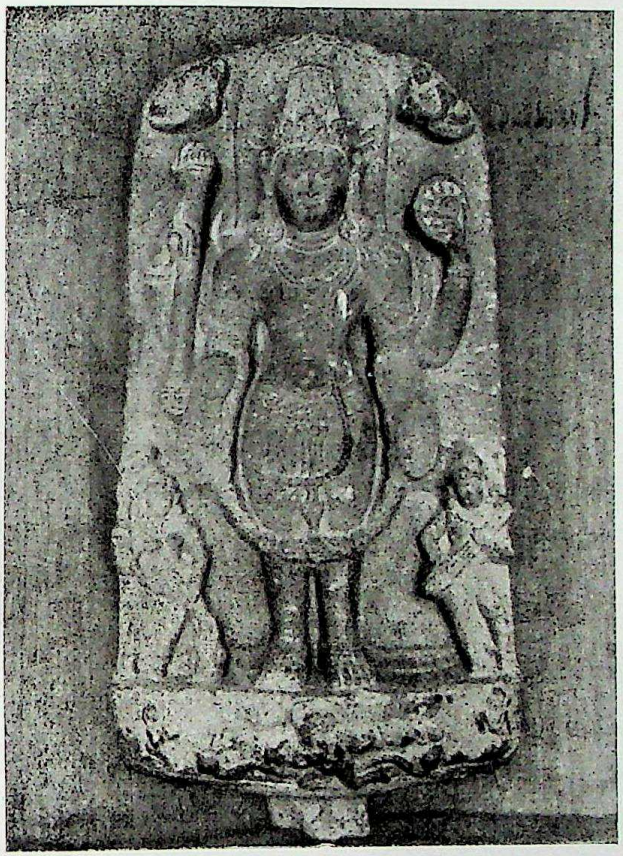

Viṣṇu Image from Amarpur

Daśāvatāra Panel

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Yet another bust of Viṣnu[36] has been displayed in the Bhagalpur Museum. It is a mutilated piece. Viṣnu is putting on a *karaṇdamukuta* (flat toped crown) over his head. He is decked with *ekāvali* (a simple necklace) and rouud ear-lobes. His upper hands are going upwards (*udvāḥu*) in which he is holding a mace (*gadā*) in right hand while a wheel (*chakra*) in the left hand. Halo (*prabhāvali*) behind the god is not clear. It is carved out in sand stone which is heavily weathered. It measures 29 × 32 cms. It may be dated in the early-Pala period. It was donated by C. M. S. School, Bhagalpur in the year 1978.

In the year 1977, a most beautiful image of Viṣnu was discovered in a paddy field at Amarpur[37] (Bhagalpur). It was seized under the Treasure Trove Act, 1868 by the then District Magistrate of Bhagalpur, Sri Gopal Pillai Krishnan, I. A. S. who handed over it to the Bhagalpur Museum. It is quite intact except two lower hands broken below the elbow.[38] It is carried in black stone and measures 58 × 30 cms. He is *chaturbhuja*. He is holding chakra in upper left hand and mace in upper right hand. His lower hands, however, are broken but we may presume *saṇkha* and *padma* in the broken hands of Viṣnu. He is wearing a long decorated *vanamāla* and *yajnapavita*. He is decked with necklace, armlets, anklet and round ear lobes. The bangle like wristlets are attractive. His eyes are open and there is no mole mark over his head. The halo behind the head is not exactly round but palello-round. The *Vidyādhara* flying with garland in their hand over Viṣnu's hand proves his godship. The crown of Viṣnu is well decorated and ornamented. He is flanked by goddess Laksmi and Saraswati on either side. Laksmi is holding a long stalked lotus and Saraswati the lute (veena). Both of the goddesses are standing in *tribhaṇga* pose while Viṣnu himself in *samabhaṇga* pose. Two devotees in *aṇjali* pose are seated on their knees below near the lotus flower over which god is standing. The most interesting iconographic feature in this image of Viṣnu (in *Sridhara* form) is depiction of flying *Garuda* holding lotus pedestal on the back. The face of *Garuda* is more beautiful and like a teenager bay. His wings are open and it is carved out

36. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum, Arch. No. 210.
37. Roychoudhury, P. C. : *op. cit.*, pp. 576-77.
38. Please see the illustrated photograph. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum accession number 161.

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so naturally that one can find it in flying action. This image is singular of its type in the province of Bihar (on the basis of the material published so far). It may be compared with the Sialdi[39] (District Dacca, Bangladesh) images of Visnu which is late in date than the Bhagalpur Museum's image. In the Sialdi image the *Garuda* is sitting posture and the background is heavily decorated.

Last but not least is a broken image showing ten incarnations of Viṣnu.[40] It is carved out in blade basalt. It measures 25 × 33 cms It was acquired by the author of this paper from the Qila House, Patna City in the year 1976. Out of ten, first five incarnations of Viṣnu, viz, the *Maṭṣya*, the *Kuṛma*, the *Varāha*, the *Narsimha* and Balarāma avataras can be seen in the panel under discussion. It is very beautiful and similar to hundreds of such representations in hard stone. The author thinks that these *dasāvatāra* penels were made to decorate the walls of temples. It also shows the popularity of the Vaiṣnava cult in the society during the historic to early medieval periods, in the Eastern India. The Bhagalpur Museum *dasāvatara* panel belonged to *circa* 9th-10th century A. D.

Besides a few Viṣnu images have also been displayed in the Bhagalpur Museum, Bhagalpur which belonged to the medieval to late medieval period.

On basis of the above discussed iconographic and historical facts, it can be summed up that Bhagalpur region had a glorious past and it was one of the key centres in eastern India for dispersal of technique in sculptural art.

Bihar Education Service
Hatia Road
Mohalla-Tilka Manjhi,
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39. Bhattasali, N. K. : The Brahmanical and Buddhist Sculpures in the Dacca Museum, (Dacca - 1929), p. 86, plate Xxxi.
40. Please see the illustrated photograph. Its accession number is Bhagalpur Museum Arch. No.

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TECHNIQUE OF CASTING METAL IMAGES IN ANCIENT INDIA

BHAGAWANT SAHAI

The metal images, though not as numerous as the stone sculptures, have nevertheless been found from a number of places in both the northern and southern parts of India. The metal images from Nalanda and Kurkihara in Bihar, Akota in Rajasthan, Achyutrajpur in Orissa and Tanjore in Tamil Nadu are among the important finds of the metal images in the country. The artists who worked on metal attained a high degree of currency and excellence, almost equal to that of stone carving, in casting the images of metal. It would, therefore, be worth discussing the process or technique of manufacture of the metal images in ancient India. In ancient literature, as early as the *Ṛg veda*, there is a brief reference to the hollow casting of the images,[1] but as a matter of fact, there is no ancient texts bearing on the processes of those days, though the processes appear to have been much similar to those that are in vogue now-days in Nepal, as suggested by N. G. Majumdar in connection with the Mahasthan images.[2] The technique, which the artists employed in casting the metallic images in ancient India was the *'cire perdue'* or the *'lost-wax'* process, which has been described with certain variations in the ancient Śilpa texts as the *'Madhuchchhiṣṭavidhāna'*.

The Mānasāra devotes a whole chapter to the process called *'Madhuchchhiṣṭavidhānam'*.[3] Ruth Reeves, who recently made an on the spot study of this technique still adopted in various parts of India, has shown that there can be no duplicate of any bronze cast by the *'cire perdue'* process.[4] The *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi* describes this process, which has also been referred to by the *Kāraṇāgama* and the

1. D. R. Thapar, *Icons in Bronze*, Bombay, 1961, p. 11.
2. N. G. Majumdar, *A Gold-plated Bronze from Mahasthan*, *Modern Review*, vol. XL, October, 1926, pp. 426-27.
3. *Mānasāra*, ch. LXVIII, cf. *P. K. Acharya, Architecture of Mānasāra*, London, 1933, pp. 635ff.
4. S.K., Saraswati *An Ancient Text on the Casting of Metal Images*, *JISOA* IV, 1936, pp. 139ff.; *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi* I, chap. I, vv. 77-79. The text is dated in c. 1136 A. D.

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Sūprabhedāgama.[5] The *Viṣṇudharmottara* also refers to both the solid and hollow cast metal images.[6]

Śaṅkarāchārya in his *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya* gives the parable of molten copper poured into a mould.[7] A verse from the *Viṣṇusaṁhitā*, quoted by Gopinatha Rao, states : "If an image is to be made of metal, it must be made in wax and then coated with earth. Gold and other metals are purified, properly tested and melted under requisite temperature by experts and then cast (into the mould) and a soild image is thus obtained by capable workmen."[8] The text clearly refers to the images which were cast solid. As already seen, the *Viṣṇudharmottara* also refers to both the solid and hollow cast images.[9]

According to the *Kāraṇāgama :* "If images have to be cast in metal, the wax must first be melted and poured (out of the mould) and all the defects removed with cloth."[10] The *Sūprabhedāgama* says : "If the image is required to be made of earth, rods (of metal or wood) must be inserted (in them); if of metal, it must first be prepared well in work."[11] While the first text refers possibly to cast metal images which are solid and not hollow or with certain core inside, the second one referring to metal casting in a general way, by '*cire-perdue*' process.

The *Mānasāra*, though devotes a whole chapter to the technique of casting metal images under the '*Madhuchchhiṣṭavidhānaṁ*', the information furnished by the chapter is meagre as compared to the *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā* passage referred to above. In accordance with this text, after correct measurement, the image or the model should be besmeared with wax up to two or three *aṅgulas* and that the coating should again be besmeared

5. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, i, pp. 50-51.
6. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, vv. 43-44.
7. *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya*, I, i, 12.
8. *Viṣṇusaṁhitā*, 14th paṭala; Rao, T.A.G. Rao, *E. H. I.*, I. i. p. 51, *lohe śikhtamayim-archchāṁ Kāryitvā mṛdāvṛtaṁ-suvarṇādīnī saṁśodhya vidrāvyāṅgāra vapunaḥ-kuśalaiḥ kāravedyatnāt sampūrṇaṁ sarvato ghanaṁ.*
9. *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, vv. 43-44.
10. *Kāraṇāgama*, chap. 11, v. 41; T. A. G. Rao, *E. H. I.*, I, i, p. 50. *lohajatve madhuchchhiṣṭaṁ agninārdrikṛtantu yat/ vastreṇa śodhayet sarvam doṣaṁ tyaktva tu śilpinā//*
11. *Suprabhedāgama*, chap. 34, v. 21; Rao, *E. H. I.*, I. i, p. 50. *mṛṇmayaṁ yadi-kuryāchchhūlaṁ-tatra prakalpayet lohajāñcha viśeṣena madhuchchhiṣṭena nirmitaṁ.*

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with earth and then dried. The text, however, does not give a detailed account of the process.[12]

The *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi*, the relevant portions of which have been translated and discussed by S. K. Saraswati, describes in detail the process of manufacture of metal images.[13] This work is from the pen of king Someśvara Bhūlokamalla of the Western Chālukya line of Kalyāṇī who came to the throne in 1124-25 A. D. This work, an ancient text on image making, which contains a fairly detailed description of casting by the 'lost-wax' process is worth quoting at some length:[14]

"According to the *navatāla* measurement as, mentioned before the expert should first prepare the image (i. e. the mould), complete with all the limbs, yellowish in colour, beautiful to look at and with weapons and arms as prescribed. After placing the wax tubes of the length of a '*dhaturā*' flower in the back, on the shoulders, on the neck or the crown (of the image), (the artist) should besmear the image with refined clay. To clay should be added charred husk finely rubbed, cotton severed a

12. Acharya, P. K., *op cit*, pp. 635 ff.
13. *JISOA*, IV, 1936, pp. 139 ff.
14. *JISOA*, vol. IV, 1936, pp. 139 ff.; *Abhilaṣitārthachintāmaṇi*, I, chap. I, vv. 77-97 :

Navatāla-pramāṇena lakṣaṇena samanvitāṁ I
Pratimāṁ kārayet pūrvvaṁ = uditena vichakṣaṇaḥ II
Sarv-avāyava-sampūrṇāṁ kiñchit pitāṁ dṛśch priyāṁ I
Yath-oktair = ayudhair = yuktāṁ bāhubhiś = cha yat-oditaiḥ II
Tat-pṛṣṭha-skandhadeśe cha kṛkātyāṁ makuṭe' thavā I
Hemapuṣpanibhaṁ dīrghaṁ nālakaṁ madan = odbhavaṁ II
Sthāpayitvā tataś = chārchchāṁ limpet saṁskṛtayā mṛdā I
Peṣayet sarvvaṁ = ekatre suślakṣaṇe cha śitātate II
Varātrayaṁ tad = āvaṛttvā tena limpet samantataḥ I
Svachchhaḥ syāt prathamo lepaḥ chhāyāyiṁ kṛtā śoṣaṇaḥ II
Dina-dvaya vyatite tu dvitīyāḥ syāt-tataḥ punaḥ I
Tasmin = chchhuṣke tṛtīyas-tu nivido lepa isyate II
Nālakasya mukhaṁ tyaktvā sarvvaṁ = ālepayen-mṛda I
Śoṣayet = tat prayatnena yuktibhir = buddhimān naraḥ II
Sikthakam tolayed = ādau archchā-lagnaṁ vichakṣaṇaḥ I
Rityā tāmreṇa raupyeṇa hemnā vā kārayet-tataḥ II
Sikthād = daśaguṇaṁ tāmraṁ rīti dravyaṁ cha kalpayet I
Rajataṁ dvādaśa-guṇaṁ hemaḥ syāt ṣoḍaś = ottaraṁ II

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hundred times and a little salt finely powdered. All these (when mixed with clay) should be (finely) ground on a smooth stone and (the paste) should be applied three times all over and round (the image). The first layer (of clay) should be transparent (and thin) and should be dried up in shade. After a couple of days a second layer should again (be applied). When dry again, there should be the third coating thickly applied. (One) should besmear the whole (image or model) with clay leaving the mouths of the tube open; and the wise man should dry up (the clay coating) with care and judgment. The expert should first (i. e. before beginning the process just mentioned) measure the wax of the image, which has to be made either in brass or copper or silver or gold. Brass and copper should be taken ten times that of wax, silver twelve times and gold sixteen. (Then one) should encase the metal, either gold or one that is desired, with clay and coconut-shaped (thus formed) should be dried up in the aforesaid manner. Next, (one) should melt away the wax (from the mould) by heating the image (i. e. the mould) in fire and should afterwards heat the crucible in cinders. Brass and copper melt surely with

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Mṛdā samvestayed = dravyaṁ yad = īṣṭaṁ kanaka = ādikhaṁ I
Nāliker-akṛtiṁ mūsāṁ purvavat pariśoṣayet II
Vahaṇau pratāpya tāṁ = archchāṁ siktham nihsāryet = tataḥ I
Mūṣāṁ pratāpayet paśchāt pāvak = ochchhīṣṭā-vahnīnā II
Rītis = tāmraṁ cha rasatāṁ nav = āṅgārair = vrajed = dhruvaṁ I
Tapt-aṅgārair-vinikṣiptai rajatam rassatāṁ vrajet II
Suvarṇaṁ rasaṭāṁ yāti pāñchakṛtvāḥ pradīptaiḥ I
Mūṣā = mūrddhani nirmāya randhraṁ lauha śalākayā II
Samdamśena dṛdhaṁ dhṛtvā taptāṁ mūsāṁ samuddharet I
Tapt-ārchchā-nālakaṣya-āsve varttiṁ prajvālitāṁ nyaset II
Saṁdaṁśena dhrtāṁ mūṣāṁ namayitvā prayatnataḥ I
Rasaṁ tu nālakasy = āsve kṣiped = achchhinna-dhārayā II
Nālak = anana-paryyantaṁ saṁpūryyā virāmet tataḥ I
Sphoṭayet-tu samī pastham pāvakaṁ tāps-śāntaye II
Śitalatvaṁ cha yātāyāṁ pratimāvāṁ svabhāvataḥ I
Sphoṭayen = mṛttikāṁ dagdhaṁ vidagdho = laghu-hastakaḥ II
Tato dravya-māyīsā-ārchchā yathā madana-nirmmitā I
Jāyate tādṛśī sākṣād = aṅg = opāṅg = opaśobhitā II
Yatra kvāpy = adhikaṁ paśyech = chāraṇais = tat praśāntaye I
Nālakaṁ chhedayech = chāpi paśchād = ujjvalatāṁ nayet II
Anena vidhinā samvag = vidhāy = ārchchāṁ śubhe tithau I
Vidhivat = taṁ pratiṣṭhāpya pūjayet pratyahaṁ kramāt II

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(the help of) cinders just kindled. Silver melts with (the help of) glowing cinders, while gold with (the help of cinders flaming fivefold. After making a hole with an iron on the top of the crucible and holding it tightly with a pair of tongs, (one) should bring the heated crucible (out of the cinders). (One) should place a burning wick in the mouth of the tube of the heated (mould of the) image. After bending carefully the crucible, held tightly by the tongs, (one) should pour molten metal into the mouth of the tube in a continuous stream and stop when it is full to the brim of the tube. The adjacent fire should be put out for the purpose of the mould with the molten metal. When the image (i. e., the mould) gets naturally cool, the expert should break up the clay (mould) very carefully. Then the metal image (thus prepared) verily resembles that in wax, endowed with similar limbs and other details. When there is seen anything superfluous that should be put right with '*charana*', the tube should also be cut away and a after that (the image) would have to be finished. After making an image by this method, the king should install it on an auspicious day according to the usual rites and should offer daily worship to it."

The image is thus first made apparently in wax and then coated three times with fine clay which also contains well grounded charred husk, finely shredded cotton and a little powdered salt. The wax is then melted out and molten metal poured in the moulds. After cooling the clay, the mould is broken and the image finished.

Sri John Marshall, in his monumental work on Taxila, has described the different processes of hammering *(saṅghaima)* repousse, solid casting and hollow casting, from a study of the different metal objects obtained from the excavations. He has furnished a short clear account of the '*cire perdue*' process in the following words.[15]

"In this process, a model of the object is first made in clay or plaster in such a way that it can be broken up without difficulty after firing. The model is then coated up with wax of a thickness of the metal to be cast, and in this wax, the artist gives finishing touches to his work. The whole is next covered with several '*slips*' of clay, water and finely pounded pottery followed by a more solid coating of clay and broken pottery, after which metal rods are thrust through the mass at various

15. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 572-73.

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points to hold the core in position, and ventholes and tubes for carrying off wax are provided. The whole is then placed in a furnace, and when the wax has melted, and run out, molten metal is poured in to take its place. Subsequently, when the mass has cooled, the outer mould is removed and the inner core raked out, leaving a replica of wax in bronze. Any minor defects are made good with the help of the chisel or file or by inlaying small pieces of metal."

The following remarks of Ruth Reeves,[16] as quoted by U. P. Shah,[17] are noteworthy: "Although in ancient India both '*cire perdue*' solid and hollow casting technique were employed virtually in all the metal casting centres, today the solid casting method is preponderantly practised in South. The figure to be cast in metal is first carefully modelled in a wax preparation and after moulding a wax drain-cum-pouring channel (sometimes called a runner) is prepared at the base of the image. Eventually, the mould is heated, the wax image is siphoned off through the drain hole and through the same orfice the molten metal is finally poured to replace the wax. The wax model is called the replica because after it is covered with a thin coating of clay, the inner wall of this preliminary mould will take the exact impression of the outer contours of the wax image. Three other layers of clay are plastered over the first coating and when dry, this composite mould is heated over a bellows-draughted, round furnace, causing both the wax runner and the wax replica to melt and drain off on the ground. In short, the wax is lost and it is from this craft sequence that the '*lost wax*' (*cire perdue*) process of metal casting derives its name. The metal is separately heated in a crucible and when molten is poured into the hollow drain hole, filling the void caused by the melting away of the replica. When cool, the mould is broken open, the puring channel out off and the casting blemishes chiselled away.

"The hollow casting method is now largely practised in Central and Eastern India. A simplified and slightly smaller version of the

16. Ruth Reeves, *Cire Perdue Casting in India* (Crafts Museum, New Delhi, 1962), p. 12.
17. U. P. Shah, *Aspects of Jaina Act and Architecture*, (Ahmedabad, first edition, Dec. 1975), pp. 271-72.

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envisaged metal form is first modelled in clay and, when dry, is wrapped with 1/16th of an inch thick hand-rolled or press-ejected wax wires, as they are called, placed one against the other until the clay core is completely sheathed by them. This ribbed wax surface is often smoothened to a plain surface so that over it may be superimposed more wax wires to embellish and delineated the configuration. A runner of pouring channel is sometimes made by affixing a bamboo split to the replica after the first layer of the clay mould is pasted over the wax form. The split is then removed before its holding clay has had time to set. The second clay coating is fitted over the runner with a clay funnel containing a clay crucible for the scrap metal. This, when sealed with a clay cap, is placed, funnel side down, in a ground furnace and heated until the metal melts. The mould is then removed and turned right side up in order to allow the heat liquified metal first to displace the wax of the runner and then flow down to burn out and fill the 1/16th of an inch cubic space left between the clay core and the mould as a result of the loss of the replica."

It is also worth noting the following remarks of Ruth Reeves:-[18] "In no other metal craft production processes are the forces, which contribute so prodigally to the stimulation of the design-inventive faculties, more clearly revealed than in the *cire perdue* casting materials and technique employed in the six foundries this book describes. In the first place, in both the solid casting and hollow casting techniques, the plasticity latent in the organic properties of the bees wax or wax substitute, with which the replicas are either modelled or wrapped, allows the Indian metal artisan to create any three dimensional form and surface modelling his imagination and skills can conceive of an excuse. Secondly, the technical limitation of the *cire purdue* casting method, which compel the metal smith to model a new wax replica each time a metal object is to be produced, result in establishing that continuum of creative tension and visual excitement so important for the artisans to experience. This, when coupled with the exaltation caused by the religious significance of the objects and his hereditary virtuousity in craft skills, inevitably makes for the creation of meaningful metal art.

"Ever since the Chola period and, indeed, long before that the

18. Ruth, Reeves *op cit*, pp. 15-16; cf. U. P. Shah, *op cit*, pp. 272-73.

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South Indian metal artisans' planning and execution of their icons have been based on prescribed canonical rules governing not only casting techniques but the image's portions, stance, appurtenances and symbolic meaning as well. However, despite these formulae, no two images produced under these conditions have ever been found to be alike. It is the craftsman's exaltation through self-identification with the deity and the extension of this to each phase of the icon's technical production that supply him with that spontaneity without which no work of art is ever fully achieved."

To sum up, the technique of *cire perdue* or *lost wax* process requires the figure to be produced in metal first to be modelled in wax, delicately and softly, yet expressing all the anatomical details and grace of the human figure. The model so prepared in wax was then covered with coats of ever increasing thickness of clay prepared specially for the purpose by mixing rice husks and other toughening ingredients, and leaving openenings at the top and the bottom. The wax mould coated with clay was then heated to melt the wax core, allowing it to drain off through the lower opening. The molten alloy was then poured in from the top, the liquid metal taking the place of the original wax model, filling every nook and crevice. The clay coat, after the metal having cooled down, was broken apart and the figure so cast was removed, to be further chased and chiselled and embellished with simple hand tools and finally burnished for use. In the case of a very large figure, a central core of a light metal was inserted in the wax model, i. e. the wax model was formed over the metal core. On casting, this core remained inside, thus reducing the weight of the figure, as the core was always of a metal much lighter than the alloy used for the casting of the image.

It may, however, also be noted that for the larger images sometimes the wax is laid as a thin layer over a core of black substance (probably graphite mixed with fire-clay) as found in the Mahasthan image of copper Buddha, while for still larger ones, such as the Sultanganj image of copper Buddha, the casting is done in more than one layer. In this case, Coomaraswamy observes[19]: "The figure is cast in two layers, the

19. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927; cf. also V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Arts, in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930, p. 172,

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inner of which was moulded on an earthly cinder like core, composed of a mixture of sand, clay, charcoal and rice husks. The segments of this inner layer were held together by much corroded iron bands, originally three quarters of an inch thick The outer layer of copper seems to have been cast over the inner one presumably the *cire perdus* process; it was made in several sections, one of which consisted of the face and connected parts down to the breast."

In this connection, some more details will be found both interesting and instructive. In the method of casting a solid image, the image to be produced is first fashioned in bees wax mixed with other ingredients like caster oil, camphor, fronkincense, etc. to form a thick semi-liquid on heating and often coloured yellow to provide a better idea of the final product when cast in copper, bronze or brass. On getting cool, this soft clay like material is modelled into the form of the figure, delineating as far as possible not only the anatomical details but also the details of ornamental embellishments and refinements worked on the wax original. The wax model, with all the details worked on it, is then covered with a coat of very fine clay, if possible from an ant-hill, and mixed with rice husks and similar combustible materials. At first, a considerably thin solution of clay is prepared and applied to the surface of the wax model, enabling it to enter into all the hollows and crevices and details of the figure modelled. Later, thicker coats of clay are applied, the last coat being almost a thick lump of clay. While this is being done, care is taken to make holes in suitable places for the molten wax to flow cut at a later stage and a funnel-like aperture is also made at the top through which to pour in the molten metal.

The clay coated model is then carefully dried in the open air and shade, sun-light and heat being avoided lest they may develop crack in the clay coating. As a result of drying slowly and carefully over a number of days, the mould gets ready for the casting of the metal image. When the mould is quite dry, it is baked in a blazing fire, its intensity being raised further by blowing in air with a pair of leather bellows just as a blacksmith does in the smithy. The wax naturally melts and runs out through the holes left for the purpose in the mould.

The wax having drained out of the clay mould, it is again slightly heated and the molten metal, pure or alloyed, is then poured in from the

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top through the funnel-like opening. Care is, however, taken to see that the molten metal fills up each and every hollow and detail, the shallowest depression and the narrowest crevice. This resulted in the production of a perfect cast. The excess of the molten metal, if any, overflows from the opening through which it has been poured. The mould with the molten metal in it is now allowed to cool, the baked and burnt clay is carefully broken off and the figure cast is gently removed. If the original wax effigy is made very carefully, and it must have been done so in the past, there can be no doubt about it, very little finishing is required, except for the removal of a few burns and cleaning up here and there. It may, however, be noted that the artists did not pay much heed after the 18th century onwards, nor so much care was exercised in the first modelling of the figure and as such the resultant cast was comparatively rough, requiring a considerable amount of finishing with chisel and graves. In other words, the more the finishing ultimately required, the poorer was the craftsman and the less his artistic and technical skill.

The method employed in casting solid images needed a greater amount of casting material, thus increasing the weight and the cost of the image.

A somewhat different method was also followed occasionally in casting hollow images. In this method of casting hollow (*susira*) images, a model is first made in clay and coated with a layer of wax to reproduce exactly the subtlety of the forms and its details, refining it wherever necessary. The worked up wax is again covered with a thin coat of fine clay. When dried, further layers are added until the desired thickness of the outer shell is attained. The whole is then heated till the wax melts and runs out through the holes provided for the purpose. Thus, a space is left between the original clay form and the outer clay covering, identical with the model, and into it the molten metal is poured, filling up the space between the model and the clay mould, reproducing all the fine details of the image to be produced. When cooled and hardened, the outer clay shell is broken apart, and the metal figure further chased and chiselled and polished. Thus a light cast, hollow inside, is obtained, the thickness of the image depending upon the thickness of the wax model between the clay core and the clay shell.

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Now, although the *cire perdue* technique is capable of the finest results and can follow exactly the artist's original model in all its finest and minutest details, it suffers from one obvious defect of being only a one-time process—only one cast can be obtained from one mould and duplicates are not possible. This may, however, not have been a disadvantage from the strictly aesthetic point of view, rather it may have been a distant help to creativity and craftsmanship. Every image had thus to be an individual piece of art.

For gilding a bronze image, the Newar artisans of Nepal apply over its elean smooth surface first a certain prepäration of mercury and then a quasi-liquid amalgam, the chief ingredients of which are gold dust and mercury. When the image is heated, the mercury evaporates, leaving an even deposit of gold on the bronze surface.

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POLICING IN ANCIENT INDIA—AN AGELESS SYSTEM

A. K. PANDEY

1.1 Police was born probably with the Adam's Sin. The cursed Apple led him to the various weaknesses and the instinctive urges of human being not only appeared but started playing a dominant role. It is due these weaknesses that human beings are essentially animals. The factor which distinguishes man from animal is the power of reason and analysis with which a human being has been endowed. With this power of analysis he was able to tame and channelise his instinctive urges. This, in turn, led human beings to feel the necessity of a collective life as, physically he was one of the weaker animals and he could survive only as a group. The first grouping took place in the form of a family which further expanded into society. This is how man made a march towards cultural progress and over-power the power of reasoning because while the former were basic in their nature, the latter had to be cultivated deliberately. Thus in the event of this cultivation growing weak, the ever-present instinctive urges surfaced themselves driving human beings back to near animal-hood. This resulted in an eternal struggle between man's desires and his reason; between man the animal and man the human being; between man's impulse directed by nature and man's discretion created by his power of reasoning. In this process man developed in himself a watch-man called conscience. This conscience can very aptly be named as the in-built police of man. This restrained him from acting at the behest of the natural instincts and guided him to live like a superior animal. This in-built police further expanded itself in an independent entity as the civilization grew. It would thus appear that the beginning of police is almost coincidental with the beginning of the human race itself. It is however a different matter that police, as we know to-day came into being at a much later date.

2.1 Police in ancient India can be known and studied through various scriptures, codes, inscriptions, contemporary works of literature and art etc. The earliest code of human conduct in the world "*Manu Samhita*" throws ample light on the prevailing code of conduct in the

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contemporary society. This, as well as other such codes of conduct, abundantly show how it is the conscience in the personal life or the civic sense in his social life that functions as the eternal police man in human beings. It is this in-built authority in a human being which eternally stands at the cross-roads of the right and the wrong, preventing him from treading the wrong path and guiding him to the right one. Without the vigilance and guidance of a police man located inside, man would soon degenerate into an animal facilitating revival of the rule of Jungle. It is this police man which has guided him through the difficult annals of history and it is through this institution that man has survived the vicissitudes witnessed by the human history.

2.2 An organised police force, a modified form of which we find to-day, is only a projection of the police function of the society. And the police functions of the society are the sum total of the police functions of the individual members of the society.

2.3 The organisation of police was one of the prime factors of administration in ancient India because it was the duty of the state to maintain peace, law and order and protect all by deterring evil minded persons from commission of crime.[1] Police helped the state in performance of this fundamental duty.

2 4 Maintenance of the peace and law and order in society has therefore, been one of the most popular pre-occupations and anxieties of the writers of the *Vedas*, Indian political philosophy, writers of *Dharmsutras* and *Shastras*. *The Aiteraya Brahaman*, mentions how king was created for discharging this vital function of the State. *Prajapati* who was responsible for the maintenance of the peace, order and security of the universe was vexed at the conduct of the Gods. Realizing the predicament of *Prajapati* the Gods decided to create a king in the form of a man by taking different qualities from different deities i. e. appearance from the Moon, energy from the Sun, strength from *Indra*, victory from *Vishnu*, sacrifices from *Vaisravana* and self control from *Yam*[2]. The king, assimilating in himself the virtues from different deities, was able to save mankind from *Matsanyaya* which means the law of the bigger fish devouring the smaller ones.

1. *Manusmrta*-7-14, 18,22.
2. *Aiteraya Brāhamaṇa*-1, 350.

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Kautilya seems to have coined this term in his *Arthsastra* where he puts it in the mouth of one of the spy propagandists as people selected *Manu Vaivasvata* to be their king to save them from *Matsanyaya*.[1] The king was expected to save his people from *Matsanyaya*, that is, the state of general lawlessness, by following *Dandniti*, that is law of regulating human conduct by punishment. The concept of *Dandniti* had a definite twofold purpose the one being infliction of punishment on the wrong-doers and the other, to furnish opportunity for him to lead a moral life.

2.5 The *Aiteraya Brahmana* has treated the king as the defender of *Brahmana* while the *Satpath Brahmana* mentions that *Danda* is necessary to maintain *Dharma*. According to Radha Kumud Mukherjee, king is the *Danda* and *Dharma* is the law of the land. *Dharma* has often been interpreted as the law for maintenance of peace, order and justice—that is why ancient law givers have framed various manuals of human conduct which are known as *Dharma Sastras*.

3.1. *Police set-up in Ancient India* : It is unfortunate that the exact details of police organization in ancient India are not available and one had, therefore, to piece together different accounts scattered in various scriptures and *Shastras* in order to get a coherent picture of the Police set-up. The smallest administrative police Unit was the village and village councils were responsible to prevant and detect crime under the supervision of the headman. Kautilya mentions Eighteen *Tirthas* in the *Arthashastra*. They were officers of the state. Some of them were responsible for police and military functions. The *Danvarika*, for example, was the warden of police. He was responsible for keeping strict vigilance on the management of the royal palace. Similarly, *Antervansika* was probably a lady officer whose function was to maintain vigilance on the harem of the king. The *Dandapal*, the *Durgapal* and the *Antpal* were probably military officers but they used to discharge a good deal of police functions as well. The *Dandapala* later on came to be known as *Dandaparika* when he was treated as a total police officer. Similarly, *Durgapala* came to be known as *Kotapala* and was a police officer. The *Antapala* was not only the warden of the frontier but also was the guardian for the safe up-keep of the roads. He was responsible

1. Arthsastra book-1, Chapter-3.

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for making the roads free of robbers. The *Atavikas* were the forest tribes who made very good police soldiers particularly for operation in the forest area.

3.2. The Police system during *Asoka's* reign underwent a change after the *Kalinga* conquest. The *Mauryan* system of administration which was previously based on rigorous police and espionage organization was now tempered and moderated by the Buddhist philosophy, piety and non-violence. Asoka tried to develop both the spritual and extra national out-look in his subjects. The idealism of a Chakravarti as depicted in *Anguttara Nikaya* lays emphasis on conquest by means of piety and equity.

During his reign, the *Mahamatras* were the highet executive officers in a province responsible for over-all peace and order, *Pradesikas* were under *Mahamatras* and they were responsible for collection of revenue and maintenance of peace, law and order as well as for administration of justice. *Rajjulas* ranked next to the *Pradesikas* and they were incharge of the welfare and happiness of the Janpad with absolute powers in matters of rewards and punishments. The Ayuktas were a kind of village police and they were responsible to *Rajjukas* and *Pradesikas*. The *Prativedakas* were responsible for collection of intelligence regarding the affairs of the state and those of people. *Prativedakas* were so important a class that they were allowed to see the emperor at any place, at any time.

3.3. During the *Gupta* period also the administrative institutions as well as the political concepts under-went various important changes. While *Asoka* called himself as the beloved of God, "*Deva Nam Piya*", Samudragupta declared that he was God himself. In the Allahabad pillar inscription, he compares himself with *Dhanada, Varun, Indra* and *Antaka* and calls himself as an Incomprehensible Being *(Achintya Purusha)*.

The general administration during the Gupta period was however, efficient and the Chinese traveller Fa-hien has given detailed account of the state of administration during that period. It is mentioned in his account that "the king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined lightly or heavily according to the circumstances of each case."

3.4. According to inscriptions and other records of that period it is learnt that the police officers were named as *Dandika, Chaura Dharmika*

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and *Dandaparika.* Dandika had probably both Judicial and police functions while *Chauro Dharmika* and *Dandaparika* had only police duties and they were subordinate to *Dandika.* Nagar *Shreshthi* was responsible for peace and security of the City. Inscriptions of the later Gupta period refer to police officers like *Chatas* and Bhatas. About the office of *Chatas,* B. B. Desai says, "the word *Chatas* has been usually translated as *irregular troops.*" A historical study of this word suggests that Chatas means a member of secret service.

A new officer came into being in that period. He was known as *Rahasika.* It appears that he was incharge of the secret and confidential matters. This officer is so called in the Terasingha plates of Tushtikara.[1]

3.5. It would thus appear that police functions of the State were discharged by various officers named differently during the different periods of Indian history. It may, however, be noticed that the basic structure of police has nearly remained the same. The village police, the city police and the palace police were the basic systems which were suitably developed or changed by the various kings.

4.1 The ancient Indian law-givers have defined crime as an act prohibited by law, rules and codes of conduct prevalent in the contemporary society. Crime, so defined, holds good even today and scholars including Southerland, Cressey, Wickings[2] have defined crime more or less the same way. Our ancient political thinkers were also aware of the fact that the concept of crime was prone to changes with the changing conditions of society. Kautilya favoured the principles of dynamic growth and flexibility in law. Manusmriti[3] also holds that laws change with the age of the human race. The concept of crime has been elaborately discussed by Kautilya in the *Arthashastra* where he suggests that intention and gross negligence are the two main elements constituting crime. Naturally an intentional crime is graver in nature than the one committed due to negligence. It may thus be seen that *Mens rea,* as we call today, finds a place in the ancient criminology also.

4.2 As in modern times, in ancient India, the violation of law was categorised into two classes—criminal and civil. *Brihaspati Man-*

1. 4th Century A. D.
2. Social Sciences.
3. Manusmriti—1.85.

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usmriti mentions titles including recovery of debts, sale without ownership, non-payment of wages, non-performance of agreement, dispute regarding boundaries etc. These led to civil suits while criminal case emanated out of theft, robbery, assault, adultery etc.

4.3 The police organization was mainly responsible for prevention and detection of crime. In some cases police was also empowered to inflict punishment on the law-breakers. It was not because some police officers enjoyed some judicial powers also. It would thus appear that in ancient India separation of judiciary from the police had not taken a shape.

4.4 *Prevention of crime :*

The main responsibility of police in ancient India, as is today, was maintenance of peace and order through prevention and detection of crime. Between prevention and detection of crime, greater importance was attached to the former.

Uniformed patrol was the anchor-sheet of prevention of crime, but patrolling was mostly confined of crime. The *Dash Kumar Charita* of Dandi has given a graphic account of police patrolling in cities. Police men used to walk with sticks with which they thrashed criminals they accosted. Whenever they caught thieves, they bound their arms behind their back. Torture was also a method of punishment. Police resorted to this method for extracting truth from them.

In addition to uniformed patrolling, guards were posted in the streets of cities for prevention of crime. It was enjoined upon these guards to ensure that no criminals roamed in the city with the purpose of committing crime. During the night a trumpet was blown prohibiting the movement of the people. Doctors, Nurses, Carriers of dead bodies, those on royal duty were, however, exceptions. The night guards posted in Cities were responsible for enforcement of this prohibitory order.

Chaur Rajjukas were a kind of police officers who were posted in some parts of the country and were responsible for prevention and detection of crime in their respective Jurisdictions. A very interesting system was in vogue in ancient India according to which, in case of any theft or loss, the administrators had to pay for such theft or loss. Similarly, the smallest unit of administration, that is village, was taken care of by

1. Chapter 8, 4-7.

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the village headman. *Vivitadhyaksha* (Superintendent of pasture lands) was responsible for peace in the forest areas.

Kautilya,[1] *Yajnavalkya*,[2] *Narada Smriti*[3] have supported the system of compensation by the officers.

Prevention of Crime through Espionage :

The elaborate discussion on the espionage system of the State by Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* is so accurate as to cast any modern treatise on the subject into shade. Spies were deployed both for prevention and detection of crime. In addition, their services were utilised for maintaining vigilance on the officers of the State, on the royal palace and on the enemies. Different classes of spies were given different tasks.

The *Arthashastra* describes two types of espionage i. e. *Sansthan* (Stationary spies) and *Sancharah* (wandering Spies). Fraudulent disciples (Kapatikas), recluses (udasthitas), house holders (Grihpatikas), merchants (vaidehakas), and ascetics (Tapasas) were categorised as stationary spies while students, desperados, and poisoners were called wandering spies. Kautilya has also given a list of occupations under whose guise spies can conceal their identity with success. They are : persons endowed with supernatural powers, persons engaged in penance, bards, buffons, astrologers, physicians, musicians, dancers etc. Such spies could be utilised for gathering intelligence in foreign countries also. They could be utilised for prevention and detection of crime as well. Manu[4] describes five classes of spies with their various guises. According to him they were responsible for prevention, detection of crime, for keeping a watch on the conduct of officials and ascertaning the strength of the king as well as that of the enemies, Udyogparva[5] of the *Mahabharata* has correctly stated that "the cows see by smell, priests by knowledge, hings by spies and other men through eyes".

Preventive Arrests :

Police officers were empowered to effect preventive arrests of suspects. The essentials of 109/110 Cr. P. C. may be compared with

1. Arthashastra Book IV, Chapter XIII
2. Yajnavalkya 2.271-72
3. Narada Smriti-14, 23.
4. Manusmriti-VII, 154; IX. 262.
5. Udyogparva-33, 34

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profit with the observations of Kautilya in his *Arthashastra.* He has given a long list of persons who may be suspected to be criminals. A look at that may interest us :

"Persons whose family subsists on a slender means of inheritance; who have little or no comfort; who frequently change their residence, caste and names; who have taken themselves to such a luxurious modes of life as eating flesh and condiments, drinking liquor, wearing scents, garlands, fine dress and jewels; who have been squandering away their money; who constantly move with profligate women, gamblers; who frequently leave their residence; who have secret meeting in lonely places; who loiter in the dark behind walls or shades....."[1].

Police, while on petrol, was expected to keep that a number of well-thoughtout measures were taken to ensure safety of the travellers on the high roads. It also indicates that the high-way robbery was a veritable menace in ancient India. There is also an indication that high-ways were full of heavy traffic. The Grand high-way from Taxshila to Banaras and onwards to Anga seems to have been affected by Criminals—As mentioned earlier, village headmen and other police officers were responsible for the safety of the roads. Spies under the guise of old and notorious thieves were deployed for catching road robbers. Kautilya and Manu both have suggested this as one of the methods for detection of road crimes. Once such criminals were arrested, exemplary punishments were given to them the *Samaharta* had to exhibit them in the public with the announcement to the people that they had been arrested because of their crime. This was method of eliciting public co-operation and also for making the people aware of the criminality of notorious criminals. In cases of difficult and out-lying parts of the country the State provided escorts to take care of the travellers and their properties, Fa-hien[2] mentions about such escorts. This system was prevalent even during Harsvardhan's reign in the 7th century as is evident from the account of Huen-Tsang.

Detection of Crime :

Detection of Crime, like prevention, was an important responsibility of the police. Roughly speaking two methods were employed to

1. Shamasastry, A. S. Ch. 6.
2. F-hien-Ad. 399-413.

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detect a crime, that is, by setting a thief to catch a thief and by resorting to the tracking system. The latter method was very popular in Gujarat. It may be mentioned that this system has been handed down even to the present day. Detection through spies, as mentioned above, was found very effective in many cases. Selection of Spies has to be made cautiously in order to avoid chances of ditching by the spies. Tracking system can be said to be ancient shape of our police dogs today.

5.2 Police was expected to make extensive and intensive searches and seizures for arrest of the criminals and for recovery of the stolen articles. Kautilya has given copious hints and guide-lines regarding the nature of suspects :

"Who show undue agitation or palpitation of heart; whose face is pale and dry while the voice is indistinct and stammering;.....,who hurry to get their fresh wounds or boils cured....."[1] such suspects, when arrested, were likely to give valuable clues regarding different kinds of crime committed.

5.3 Seeds of scientific investigation can also be discovered in Kautilya's treatise. The following excerpt from the *Arthashastra*, though recorded centuries ago, is as fresh as any modern discourse :

"...Any person whose body bears the signs of scaling heights; any person whose body appears to have been scratched or wounded with dress torn off; any one whose legs and hands bear the signs of rubbing and scratching; any one whose hairs and nails are either full of dirt or freshly broken...any one whose foot-prints can be identified with those made near the house during ingress or egress;...any person the smell of whose sweat or drink can be ascertained from the fragments of his house..."—all such persons should be interrogated and examined after commission of crime.

It is evident from the above extract that foot-prints, smell, nails and hair, among other things, have been identified as tools of investigation. Our scientific methods of investigation appear to have been born out of such observations.

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1. Arthashastra by Shamasastry, Chapter-6.

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6.1. *Police and Economic Offences :*

A very significant role was assigned to police so far as the economic life of the country was concerned. It was the responsibility of the State to ensure safety and protection of merchants and the *Pradesta* was incharge of the security of merchants in a district. Local police officers known as *Gopas* and *Asthanikas* assisted him in this. Caravan merchants were required to camp at specified places and they were required to inform the village headman suitably. If goods were stolen from such a camp, the headman of the village had to pay for the loss. Out-side the village area the *Vivitadhaksha* and the *Chaur Rajjukas* were responsible for security of the merchants. They had also to pay for the loss to the merchants.

6.2 Adulteration was treated as a serious offence and from the measures adopted for preventing adulteration, it appears that it was a common evil practice indulged in by traders in ancient India. Some of the methods of adulteration were mixing grain with chaff, adulteration in butter, salt, medicine, perfume, rice and molasses etc. Similarly adulteration was practised in hide, iron, wood, bark, timber, clothes, jewels. *Vishaneshwara* mentions the practice of selling cats skin as tiger skin by adding proper colour to it, crystal bead as ruby; Cotton cloth as silken, bilv wood as sandal wood, sun flower as saffron. Police was responsible for preventing adulteration and punishing the offenders. In Kautilyan India adulteration was prevented by regular inspection by officers.

6.3 The concept of contraband goods has also come into being in ancient India and there is a long list of forbidden foods in *Arthashastra*[1]. In the *Mauryan* period those trading in forbidden goods had to lose their articles which were confiscated and auctioned publicly. Some of the prohibited articles were weapons, metals, chariots, precious stones etc.

6.4 Use of false balance and fabrication of false weights and measures also find a mention in the *Arthashastra.* Heavy punishment was prescribed for those who indulged in such offences. Weights and measures were inspected twice a year in order to ensure that no false weights and measures were used by the traders.

6.5 Manufacture of counterfeit coins was also a serious offence and heavy fines were imposed on the wrong doers. Yajnavalka says that

1. Arthashastra-2.21, 26, 39.

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a man who declared good coin as bad and the other way round should be punished.

6.6 Gambling and betting on animals were also treated as serious offences. Manu prohibited gambling because "it destroys truth, honesty and wealth"[1]. Narad categorised gamblers as open thieves.

6.7 As regards prices of different commodities, Kautilya has laid down an elaborate principle in his *Arthashastra*. He believed in just price, just profits and just remuneration. The unrestricted price is against principle of justice according to him. Artificial inflation caused by profiteers was strongly deprecated by Kautilya. The State officers in general and the police officers in particular were supposed to keep a vigilant eye to detect and prevent such crime in the economic field.

7. *The police system : Ancient Vs. Modern :*

The police system in ancient India has faced innumerable onslaughts over the centuries, it has at times been buried under the sand-dunes, and at times swept away by the ocean waves, of time. But it has survived all these and the hundreds of years, that have rolled through, have damaged it marginally, with grace. As a matter of fact, except for the changes necessitated by the irresistable demands of time, the ancient police system has elementally remained the same. And the modern police resembles the ancient police in the same way as two members of the same family resemble in spite of the gap of a generation or two between them. Or the ancient Indian police, shorn off its age and religious leanings, with a little of scientific sophistication, may look like the modern police in the same way as the modern police dressed as an ancient Brahmana, may appear as to have walked down straight from Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

Deputy Inspector General of Police
Magadh Range, GAYA.

1. Manusmriti-16. 1.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON HUMOUR AND THE COMIC PLAY IN BHARATA

G. C. PANDE

Humour and Culture ;

It is well known that man is the only animal that laughs. The bio-psychic sources of laughter, however, remain uncertain and diverse theories have been propounded to account for it. Hobbes traced it to the feeling of "sudden glory."[1] Spencer saw in it an overflow of surplus nervous energy.[2] Bergson attributed it to the response of life to mechanism.[3] McDougall describes laughter as the antidote to sympathy.[4] Freud considers the comic to arise from an economy of expenditure in thought.[5] Such and other explanations of laughter emphasize the role of psychic functioning in it. The very fact that laughter is a humau prerogative suggests that its sources lie in the characteristic human world, social, linguistic and rational. The capacity and tendency to laughter is in other words not instinctive but acquired and in this sense a cultural phenomenon. The occasions, psychic associations and feelings, and behavioural expressions of laughter tend to be socially conventionalized in definite ways in different cultures and thus arise what may be called traditions of humour which begin with the silent creativity of the folk but are developed and elevated by the work of genius.

Humour and Comedy :

It is true that the word humour has been used in many senses. While the comic may be said to be coextensive with laughter, humour is one of the forms of the comic. Thus humour is said to lie essentially in laughing at oneself[6] and this lends a philosophical touch to humour. Some laughter, on the other hand, may be humourless, which may happen, for example, when one laughs at another in sheer derision or ridicule. Thus

1. *Leviathan* (Everyman's) p. 27
2. McDougall, *An Outline of Psychology* (11th ed.) p. 165
3. Bergson, *Laughter, An essay on the Meaning of the comic* (MacMillan, 1914)
4. Mc Dougall, *op. cit.* p. 170
5. *Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (Modern Library, 1938), p. 803.
6. Mc Dougall, *op. cit.* p. 169

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the comic has a wide range while humour covers a part of it and has a philosophical underpinning. Pure comedy or humour no less expresses the philosophy of a culture than its high tragedy. While it is difficult to adequately characterize a tradition of humour, it is not so difficult to recognize it. English humour may, for example, be identified by its understatement, Gallic humour by its witty logic. Mostly, however, humour is woven out of the strands of social attitudes through the use of wit, irony, parody, incongruity etc. The basic process through which humour functions is through what may be called "unmasking", though quite often humour is mixed up with other attitudes and emotions and may play second fiddle. It may unmask and discredit social institutions and psychological attitudes and help to purify personal or social self-awareness. At the same time it may help to dismantle some part of the social fabric or even to serve as social vaccine against more practical social criticism and resentment. Further humour may also serve to release nervous energy in innocuous laughter by offering a temporary and ambiguous release from inhibitions. In short, humour may arise from the oblique perception of pretensions, even vicious folly institutionalized in social life, or it may arise from the perception of human folly as such. It may range between ridicule and laughter at oneself, scorn and amusement, satire and wisdom.

Nātyaśāstra on Hāsya ;

For the theoretical treatment of humour in the Indian tradition we might begin with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata.[7] There *hāsya* is one of the eight *rasas*. *Hāsa* is described as its *sthāyi-bhāva*.[8] Now *bhāva* is a state of the mind which is felt and moves. When it is permanently present, whether in a latent or manifest condition, it is called *sthāyi-bhāva*. It may be considered to be a stable emotional disposition. Since it is also regarded as universal to all mankind, it would be innate or instinctive. The aesthetic psychology of Bharata postulates eight such basic dispositions.

The disposition to laugh, then, is innate in all human beings. It has a distinctive emotional quality as well as behavioural expression. This natural tendency is the psychic basis of the peculiar mode of aesthetic experience which is called *hāsyarasa*. *Rasa* has been diversely explained

7. The GOS ed. is used below.
8. *NS'*, I p. 312; on *bhāva*, *Ib*. pp. 345-46

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but there is no doubt that it belongs to a felt, imaginative experience evoked by appropriate representations of life. What is a natural amusement in life becomes the gateway to an inner intuition of Value.[9] In real life the subject is immersed in the emotional process; in art a higher subject appears to emerge who watches critically and enjoys the vicissitudes of the emotive subject. Technically, *rasa* belongs to the *sāmājika* who is distinct from the *āśraya* and *ālambana* of *sthāyi-bhāva*. Aesthetic distance and universalization lead to the out-of-the world quality *(alaukikatva)* of the art experience. Laughter, then, has an emotive grounding and may under certain circumstances, induce an imaginative self-realization *(saṁvid-viśvānti, puruṣārtha-niṣṭhā)*.

Bharata describes *hāsya* as one of the secondary and minor *rasas*. It is secondary because it is held to be derived from *śṛiṅgāra*.[10] It is the imitation of '*śṛiṅgāra*' or rather it is evoked by an imitation accompanied with *(śṛiṅgāra)*. Its minor character arises from its prevalence among "women and socially low characters".[11] It was apparently as much a matter of observation as one of theory since imperturbability *(dhīrotā)* was expected to be a characteristic of men in high positions. Apparently they were expected to restrain such behaviour as is involved in laughter and crying.

Thus while *hāsa* was admitted as a *sthāyi-bhāva* and *hāsya* as a *rasa*, the critical tradition from Bharata to Abhinavagupta tended to disparage the pure comic mood as fit for feminine sentimentality and the vulgar crowd. It was unable to connect *hāsya* with any of the higher values *(puruṣārthas)*. Most of the surviving examples of the pure comic play, the *prahasana*, and the typical comic character, the *Vidūṣaka*, only tend to confirm this poor estimate of the *hāsya*. However, this critical tradition is not true of all of the surviving example of the pure comic play (*prahasana*). Besides, it does not take into account the element of humour in other forms of literature. Although humour was not accepted as the predominant mood of major literary forms, it found an abundant place with diversified emotive associations in a secondary position. While the *prahasanas* are largely satirical, other forms of dramatic and literary

9. *Ib.* I, *Abhinavabhārati*, pp. 280-82.
10. *Ib.* I, p. 295
11. *Ib.* I, p. 314

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compositions including poetry, fiction and mythology contain humorous elements associated with romance, wit and wisdom..[12] The account of *hāsya* in the aesthetic-critical tradition is largely based on the *prahasnas* or the performance of the stock humorous character, *the Vidūṣaka.* It hardly emphasizes the subtely of such forms of humour as philosophical irony or polished wit.[13] This is largely because of the difference between the technical conception of *hāsya* which remains close to common laughter and the wider, modern conception of humour. The critical tradition, thus, is not an adequate representation of the cultural tradition. It reflects, rather, a theatrical stereotype. Its cultural significance lies in the fact that it points to the existence of social factors which prevented the development of the pure comic play into a major dramatic form.

Before, analysing these factors we might advert to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* for a closer look at its picture of pure comedy. *Hāsya* is said to differ from *śṛiṅgāra* and *Karuṇa* in a significant respect. In the case of the latter two there is a transformation of the *sthāyibhāvas* into a veritable emotional flow going beyond the original character of the feelings. There is also a change in these cases in the evocative spectacles *(vibhāvas)* which also have to assume distinctive forms. In the case of *hāsya* the same things which evoke laughter in life also serve to evoke it on the stage and the development of the *sthāyi-bhāva hāsa* into the *hāsyarasa* too does not produce any significant difference.[14] This analysis itself plainly contradicts the general theory of *rasa* and suggests that critics like Abhinavagupta saw a real difference in the status of *hāsya* as *rasa* compared to *śṛiṅgāra.*

They failed, in fact, to see anything more in *hāsya* than in *hāsa* and tended in effect to discount the *alaukikatva* of *hāsya.*[15]

What evokes *hāsya* is said to be some incongruity in the appearance, speech or action of character. Incongruity is conceived as departure from

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12. The humour of *Mṛcchakatika* has received high praise-Ryder, *The Little Clay Cart, Intr* ; romantic humour may be seen in the *Nāṭikās* like *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Ratnāvalī*. Sri Harṣaś *Naiṣadhīya* is full of humorous wit. Wise humour may be seen in the *Pañcatantra.*
13. There is enough scope for these in the *Vīthyaṅgas.*
14. *Abhinavabhārati, NŚ* I, p. 312
15. *"Tad eka-svabhāva eveti hāsātmaka-vāsanākhya-carvaṇā-carvaṇīyatvāccāsya"*

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nature, as *Vikṛti*.[16] In itself the concept is profound and appropriate but its profundity depends on the level at which nature is understood and the subtlety with which departure from it is conceived. It has, of course, to be remembered that the incongruity of appearance with nature must not be inevitable and irreversible. This realization tends to the avoidance of things profound lest the lightness appropriate to the sense of laughter be destroyed. Owing to these opposite tendencies the conception of the humorous situation may be viewed philosophically or superficially. The conception in the *Nātyaśāstra* tends to be superficial. It mentions incongruity of dress and ornament, boldness, instability, tickling, gestures, inappropriate speech, deformity and the bringing to light of defects. Although the last of these (*doṣodāharaṇa*) could go a long way, it appears to be smothered by trivial company, the *Vyabhicārīs* of *hāsya* are described as dissimulation, indolence, sleepiness, awakening, envious displeasure etc. Of these the first and the last are undoubtedly relevant, but the relevance of the others is hard to see.

Bharata distinguishes between laughing oneself and causing others to laugh. Abhinavagupta points out that laughter is infectious.[17] The observation of another's laughter tends to evoke laughter in oneself. The result is that even superior characters tend to smile and laugh slighty. Inferior characters laugh loudly. Could Bharata have meant the profounder difference between laughing at oneself and laughing at another ?

Pure comedy called *Prahasana* is said to be of two types—pure and mixed.[18] Pure *prahasana* has as its characters ascetics, monks, priests etc. Their dialogue is funny and full of jokes. Unworthy characters are made fun of but the speech and actions are not in themselves inappropriate or obscene. The words express the *Vyabhicārīs* i.e., dissimulation, etc. The theme of the whole is the ridicule of some evil character. The mixed *prahasana* includes heterae, servants, hermephrodites, rakes, cheats, mistresses etc. They use elaborate sets. In the former type of *prahasana* the characters are respectable by nature but become liable to ridicule

16. *Ib.* pp. 313-314, esp. 6-49-50. cf Leviathan, "or by the apprehension of some deformed thing in another". (l. c.)
17. *Hāsaḥ svabhāvataḥ saṅkrama- śīlaḥ*," *AB*, *NŚ*, *I*, p. 315
18. *NŚ* II, p. 447-448

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owing to corruption through contact with the wicked. In the latter the characters are naturally vicious and fit to be ridiculed.

In both the theme to be used for ridicule ought to be taken from what is popular in society. Pretension and vanity too should be taken as currently ridiculed. Disputes between cheats are to be similarly included.

Bhāna and *Vīthi* had points of contact *prahasana*. *Bhāna* had the form of a monologue in which one character on the stage narrated his experiences, or appeared to converse with invisible characters. The character was like those in the mixed *prahasana*. The *Bhāna* was supposed to display a diverse experience of life esp. in its shadier aspects. *Vīthi* was much more diversified but included techniques of dialogue used in the *Prahasana*. The basic feature in these dialogues was some kind of cross-talk. Several varieties of such cross-talk are mentioned and given technical names.[19]

It may be seen from this account that although many of the universal elements of the comic are recognized and used in the dramatic forms specially connected with *hāsya*, the limitation of these forms arises from the limited range of their characters, plots and themes. This in turn tended to make these dramatic forms relatively minor.

Abhinavagupta offers a philosophical reason for this limitation.[20] Dramatic *rasas* are connected with human values (*purusārthas*), *śrngāra* with *Kāma*, *vira* with *dharma*, *raudra* with *artha*, *śāntā* and *bībhatsa* with *mokṣa*. This leaves *Karuṇa bhayānaka*, *hāsya* and *adbhuta*. These have no direct connection with any *purusārtha*, which would make it difficult for them to be taken seriously in case they were to appear as independent themes. They could, of course, be used for popular entertainment as these are used even today in stories of humour, suspense and laughter. Abhinava coins the phrase *rañjaka-rasa*, entertaining *rasa*, for *hāsya*, *Karuṇa* or *Adbhuta*. In short, while *śriṅgārā* etc., provide imaginative experiences of major values, *hāsya* etc., provide mere entertainment.

The validity of Abhinava's remarks really depends on his rather limited conception of *hāsya*. Pure tragedies and comedies can be and

19. *Ib.* pp. 450. ff.
20. *Ib.* p. 451.

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very often are an appeal to sentimentality and vulgarity. But they need not be so as great masters have shown not merely in the West but in India also. Among the *Prahasanas* the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* illustrates a remarkable union of fun and philosophy. The plays in the *Chaturvāṇī*, again, are highly entertaining but their wit and experience of life lift them above mere vulgar entertainment. *Hāsya* is undoubtedly subordinate in the *Mṛcchakatika* to love but it has a high quality of irony and wisdom. The *Vidūṣaka* in the *Śākuntala* is not unoften profound and touches a deep chord. The real reason for the conventional limitations of the pure comic play appears to have been the desire to preserve conventional proprieties against any serious inroads of social criticism which was required to spend itself in drama over stock butts of ridicule. Irreverence and cynicism are the heart of social satire but they militated against the ethos of a very traditionist society. This kept social satire within bounds as may be seen even in a good *Prahasana* like *Mattavilāsa*.

To meet truly philosophic humour in ancient Indian literature we have to turn to fiction and mythology. In the *Jātakas*, the *Pañcatantra*, *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, the *Prabandhas* and the *Purāṇas* we meet with humour mingled with wisdom culled from the experience of life and expressed above all through the irony of situations which may be called the characteristic mode of Indian humour.

Ex-Vice-Chancellor
University of Jaipur & Allahabad
11, Balrampur House, Allahabad—2.

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ORIGIN OF COAL IN THE AGNI PURĀṆA

TARUN KUMAR

Industrial revolution owes much to coal and iron. Coal is still the foremost source of heat and energy outranking other known sources of energy such as solar, hydel, atomic, natural gas, and petroleum. As such, industrial growth of a nation depends on coal to a great extent. It is said that coal has been known to men since very early time. The Greeks knew it as far back as the fourth century and the Chinese even before the Christian era. In England it was being used as a domestic fuel in the ninth century[1]. In the later half of 13th century Marco Polo, the voyager from Italy found Chinese burning stones as charcoal because they were abundant and cheap there.[2] Though it was known from early times, its use was discouraged and at times even prohibited by law. However, it is definitely clear when the factors and mode leading to the formation of coal was discovered. It was only in early nineteenth century that attempts were made in this direction. Now it is universally accepted that coal originated from vegetable matters. Palaeobotanists have demonstrated conclusively that coal had been formed usually from land plants or carbonaceous organic matters. It is considered as a rock as it is a solid substance. Peat, Lignite, Anthracite, Cannel and boghead coal are all rocks consisting very largely of plant debris in various stages of changes. Thus it can now be safely said that coal has been formed out of woody matter owing to the long burial of large ancient forests under a thick load of sediments.[3]

It is interesting to find that a similar conception exists in the *Agni Purāṇa* though in a different context. This text ranks eighth among the eighteen *Mahapurāṇas* and is encyclopaedic in nature. It was compiled

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1. Sharma, N. L. and Ram, K. S. V. *Introduction to Geology of Coal and Indian* Coalfields, 3rd edn. 1979.
2. Masefield, John, The Travels of Marco Polo, London, 1928 215.
3. Krishnaswamy, S. *India's Mineral Resources*, 2nd. edn Oxford & IBH Publishing, 1979, p. 124.

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finally sometimes between eighth and eleventh century[1]. In one of its didactic chapters it deals with various types of duties prescribed for a householder and recommends Yoga as the highest. But the compiler of the *Purāṇa* deprecates a man who forsakes his wife and progeny and opts to become a mendicant. Such a person is doomed to be born as a Bidura *chaṇḍāla* in his next birth. In succeeding births he is born as a vulture for twelve years, a boar for ten years, a bird of prey called Bhasa for twenty years and then again as a tree full of thorns and bereft of flowers and fruits. It is then consumed by forest fire and is stratified into rocks along with its cognate parts (such as leaves, pores, cuticles, etc.) Then it lies buried in a dormant state for one thousand years. After completing thousand years he is transformed into evil spirit called *Brahmarākśasa* and in turn is emancipated either by a flood or by a destruction of its race.[2]

For a critical evaluation of the import of the passage in the *Agni Purāṇa* let us examine the modern concept of coal. Miss Stopes and Wheeler[3] has given a popular definition of coal as 'a compact stratified mass of mummified plants (which have in part suffered arrested decay to varying degree of completeness)'. But a more scientific definition is provided by E. A. N. Arber[4] who identifies coal as 'a solid stratified rock, composed mainly of hydrocarbons and capable of being used as a fuel to supply heat or light or both'. As regards the origin of coal two other factors are to be considered the mode of accumulation of the vegetable matters and its transformation into coal or one geological and the other chemical process. As for the former there are two opposite theories. Majority of the geologists hold the view that the coal vegitation was fossilised practically on

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1. Mishra, B. B. *Polity in the Agni Purāṇa,* Calcutta, 1965, p. 204
2. *Agni Purāṇa,* Gurumandal Series, Calcutta, 1957, 165. 24-28 *Ye cha pavrjiatāh patnyām yā chaisām vījasantatiḥ, Bidurā nāma chaṇḍālā jāyantenātrasaṁśaya, śatikomriyategrdhraḥ śvāsau dwādaśikastathā, bhāsoviṁśativarṣāni śūkarodaśabhistathā, āpuṣpoviphalo vrkśo jāyate kaṇṭakāvrtaḥ tato dāvāgnidagdhastu sthāṇurbhavati sānugaḥ, tato varṣaśatānyaṣṭau dvecha tiṣṭhatyachetanaḥ, purṇe varṣasahasre tu jāyate bramharakśasaḥ, plavena lagate mokśaṁ kulasyotsādanen vā.*
3. Stopes, Marie C. and R. V. Wheeler, *Constitution of Coal,* H. M. S. O., London.
4. Arber, E. A. N. *Natural History of Coal,* 1912, *p.* 6.

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the site of growth. Thiessen[1] states that the origin of peat must be analogous to that of coal and he is convinced that coals had their origin in peat beds. But there are others who strongly advocate that coalfields have originated either in swamps or in brackish water or fresh water basins starting with abundant plant matter, which might have drifted into these basins. Both the views are valid as in situ or growth-in-place accumulation is possible on relatively dry areas and drift accumulation in the numerous open water spaces.[2] As for the latter the chemistry of change is not yet well understood. However, the transformation of vegetable matter into coal involves the gradual elimination of volatile constituents chiefly as water but also as gases with a progressive increase in the proportion of carbon. This is due to the dynamochemical process which follows the burial of vegetal matters under a considerable thickness of sediment. Much is not known regarding the actual agencies that have been responsible for the transformation of plant debris to coal. Various factors such as time, depth, pressure, and heat either singly or combined have been advanced as the ultimate agency to this change.[3] The change occurs in two broad stages. (1) Bio-chemical stage or Peat forming stage called Humification process; (2) Geo-chemical stage of Transformation of Peat into higher rank coal called Coalification process. Humification process means the change of vegetable material into humic substances called Peat due to its decay and decomposition caused by micro-organisms thriving in swampy conditions. The same plant parts are transformed into different components of coal under different condition of humification. Peat on account of various geological factors undergoes different stages before its conversion into high rank Anthracite. This is called Coalification. Hilt has observed that "in a shaft or borehole the volatile matter content of coal decreases with increasing depth". Schurmann supports the view of Hilt and observes that "the moisture content of lignite in a shaft or borehole decreases proportionately to the depth from the surface". It follows that with depth the oxygen content decreases and the carbon increases.

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1. *U. S. Bur. of Mines, Bull.* 117, 1920, p. 13.
2. Tyrrell, G. W. *The Principles of Petrology*, B. I. Publication, 1980, p. 248.
3. Sharma, N. L., and Ram, K. S. V., *Introduction to Geology of Coal and Indian Coalfields*, III Edition, 1979, pp. 14-16.

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A critical examination of the passage in the *Agni Purāṇa* shows that the compiler has listed the following stages :—

(i) existence of trees,

(ii) trees of the specie or group which were full of thorns but devoid of flowers and fruits,

(iii) trees burnt in forest fire,

(iv) stratification or hardening of this plant debris,

(v) stratification of not only tree trunk but also its cognate materials,

(vi) lying dormant or buried for one thousand years,

(vii) resurgence in the form of evil creatures,

(viii) flood, and

(ix) complete destruction or drifting of the whole material.

A comparison of the above-mentioned stages with the modern concept of the factors and the stages of transformation of plant matter into coal together with the origin and distribution of coalfields in India shows that the coal owes its origin to large ancient forests. Numerous fossilised tree trunks have been found in coal seams together with imprints of their leaves. As for the types of trees the *Agni Purāṇa* presupposes non-flowering and non-fruitbearing thorny trees which are consumed in forest fire and after one thousand years get hardened There is no doubt that flowering and fruit bearing trees were non-existent when important coalfields of the world were being formed and these trees were huge in size. In India coals belong mainly to two principal Geological periods, Lower Gondwana coal of Permian age and the Tertiary coals of Eocene to Miocene age. The Gondwana system is divided into lower and upper system on the basis of distinct group of plant fossils found in them. The most common plant fossils found in the Lower Gondwana System are *Glossopteris*, *Gangamopteris*, and *Vertibraria* (belonging to an extinct group of plants called *Pteridosperms)* commonly called *Glossopteris* flora. The Upper Gondwana also called Rajmahal Series have fossils of *Ptillophyllum* and *Nilssonia* (belonging to *Cycade* group) commonly called *Ptillophyllum* flora or Rajmahal flora. The Tertiary coals have been formed of flora very different from the flora of Permian times.

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On the one hand *Purāṇa* speaks of fire, on the other geologists points out the decomposition of vegetable matters along with other parts of plants due to the existence of micro-organism found in the marshy swamps and fresh water basins as the agent of change. There is no doubt that underground heat or fire converts vegetal matter into peat and finally into coal. Overhead pressure is another factor helping in the stratification which increases with depth. Geologists believing in situ theory also state that peat was formed on land surface and it got depressed or buried repeatedly. This view is in conformity with our text; though this is supposed to be an abnormal phenomenon by some[1].

The *Agni Purāṇa* emphasises that trees as well as their other parts get stratified. On the basis of original plant material from which coals have formed they have been divided into two types, (1) coal formed out of woody matter called Humic coal and (2) coal derived from non-woody matter such as leaves, pores, etc. as well as organic oozes, algae, fungii and other minute floating plankton called Sapropelic coals[2]. So both the views are similar.

The *Purāṇa* next states that burnt plant debris remains dormant or buried for complete one thousand years before it is stratified and this is followed by the appearance of evil spirits. We are not sure whether to take this period in a literal sense or in a symbolic one for a very long period. As yet the geologists are not certain about the time taken in the coalification process. There are other factors such as pressure, heat and depth which singly or jointly contribute in this transformation. If the load of overhead sediments is large, the process is certainly hastened because of more heat depending on the depth at which the coal seams are located. Spring[3] has demostrated by experiments that peat subjected to a pressure of 6000 atmosphers is converted into a coal like substance. So the time specified in the *Purāṇa* may hold true in a particular situation. For example, we find that Tertiary coals in India occur in the Eocene and Oligocene strata in Assam and Eocene beds of Kashmir, Gujrat and Rajasthan. Whereas plant debris have matured to only

1. Sharma, N. L. and Ram, K. S. V., *Ibid.*, p. 18.
2. Sharma, N. L. and Ram, K. S. V., *Ibid.* p. 8
3. *Bull. Acad. Roy. Bruxelles*, 49,1880, p. 367.

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lignites in Assam, they have formed as bituminous and even anthracitic coals in sub-Himalayan region of Kashmir due to high tectonic pressure.

The *Agni Purāṇa* was finally compiled some where in Bihar or in West Bengal and more probably in a region near Gaya. The economically major coalfields are located in Barakar, Jharia, Dhanbad, Raniganj, Ramgarh, etc. which are all near to Gaya and is the part of Gondwana System. The geological history of this system will be of some interest to us. Cold condition prevailed dring the Talchir Series coming down from glacial age. Talchir is of early Permian period. It was followed by warm and humid climate resulting in luxuriant plant growth in succeeding Damuda Series helping in the formation of economically important coal seams of the Lower Gondawana period or early Permian times. Then we have "barren measures" presumably called because of a more arid and hot weather during the Middle Permian Age. The climatic condition again improved during the Raniganj Series—warm and moist climate supporting enormous plant life resulting in thick coal seams. The Damuda group is overlaid with Panchet Series when the climate again became dry and hot resulting in the dying out of the rich flora of the Damuda times. In the Panchet Series we find fossils of land animals like Labyrinthodonts (an extinct group of amphibia), Reptiles and Crustacea embedded in rocks instead of plant fossils. This condition continued in the Mahadeva Series. Mild climate followed it helping in a rich vegetation during the Rajmahal Series. The period of evil spirit in the *Agni Purāṇa* may be identified with the period when large amphibia roamed on earth as during the Panchet Series.

Coming to the last point of comparison i.e. flood and drifting of the whole material geologists opine that coal seams of India had been formed by drift whereas those of Western Europe had been formed in situ. Even now large quantities of timber and tree trunks are being transported downstream by present day rivers like Mississippi and Ganga. Peat and brown coal have been found in the process of formation in the Ganga Delta.[1] Coal bearing formations would have taken place in marshy or swampy tract called *Anūpa* region abounding in a large number of pools, traversed by a net of rivers and overgrown with forests, because they comprise of sedimentary strata in which coal seams occur in a regular

1. Sharma, K. L., and Ram, K. S. V. *ibid.*, p. 17.

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succession. The enormous thickness of such sediments denote that they were deposited in basins which were prone to flood and steady subsidence at intervals. Sometimes the whole formation would drift in large basins. Important coal seams are by and large located in river valleys e.g. Damodar, Mahanadi, Sone, Pench, Pranhit-Godawari, Wardha valleys, etc. and in areas which once formed parts of a great ocean during the whole Mesozoic period and were uplifted above sea level towards close of this era. Closely following this event the sea again invaded this part of north-western and north-eastern parts of India in later Eocene period which brought about marshy conditions providing ideal sites for coal formations.[1]

Thus we may conclude that the compiler of the *Agni Purāṇa*, a compilation of early medieval period, knew the process of the stratification or mummification of trees which is today known as coal. The word 'coal' may have some relation to the Sanskrit word '*kāla*' which means black or '*kokil*' which means a lighted coal or '*korita*' which means dug out of the ground.[2] In Sanskrit '*la*' may be used in place of '*ra*'. However, we may note that no word is actually used for coal. Only the implied meaning has led us to compare it with the modern ideas of the origin of coal, process of coalification and the formation of coal seams. There is no doubt that the implied process are akin to the modern one. Even today geologists admit that how the original plant debris is transformed into coal remains to be explained.

Geologist
Mineral Exploration Corporation of India
Ashok Nagar, Ranchi-2.

1. Sharma, N. L., and Ram, K. S. V., *ibid.*, p. 123.
2. Monier-Williams, Monier, *A Sanskrit-English, Dictionary*, Oxford, 1956.

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CURRENCY SYSTEM UNDER THE IMPERIAL KUṢĀṆAS

S. K. MAITY

During the post-Maurya period famous Buddhist stūpas, cave temples and paintings at Sāranāth, Sāñchī, Amarāvatī, Kārle and other places were constructed and painted. At the same time older Vedic Brahmanism and Buddhism had taken new shape and form and most of Smṛitis were compiled. Simultaneously, other intellectual and literary activities were undertaken by Parsva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha, Charaka, Nāgārjuna and many others. The Mahāyana Buddhism found favour through the Gandhāra school of art. The art of Gandhara is properly speaking, the official art of the Kuṣāṇas emperor Kaṇiṣka and his successors.

During the same period successive waves of invaders poured through the north-western gates of India. They greatly affected the established order and the old ways of life and thought. At the end of this period a civilization appeared with a complexion very different from that of the Mauryas. It was an age, when contact between India and the Western world was closer and more vigorous than ever before. Indian overseas trade greatly increased and Western merchants visited the sub-continent in large numbers. Strabo rightly said, "When Gallus was prefect of Egypt, I accompanied him and ascended as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I learned that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myo Hormos to India, whereas formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a very few ventured to undertake this voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandise"[1]. Again, the discovery of the course of monsoon wind by Hippalus helped their maritime intercourse with India[2]. The demand in the Roman empire for Oriental goods, including articles of luxury like the exotic Chinese silk as well as Indian products useful for medicinal and practical purposes favoured the growth

1. Strabo, Geographikon, 11,5,12; Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 379.
2. Periplus, the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, Vol. II, pp. 56-57. E. H. Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 109; E. H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, p. 47; Classical Quarterly, Vol. XXII, p. 94.

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of intimate contact between the Roman capitalists and their sea-faring agents[3].

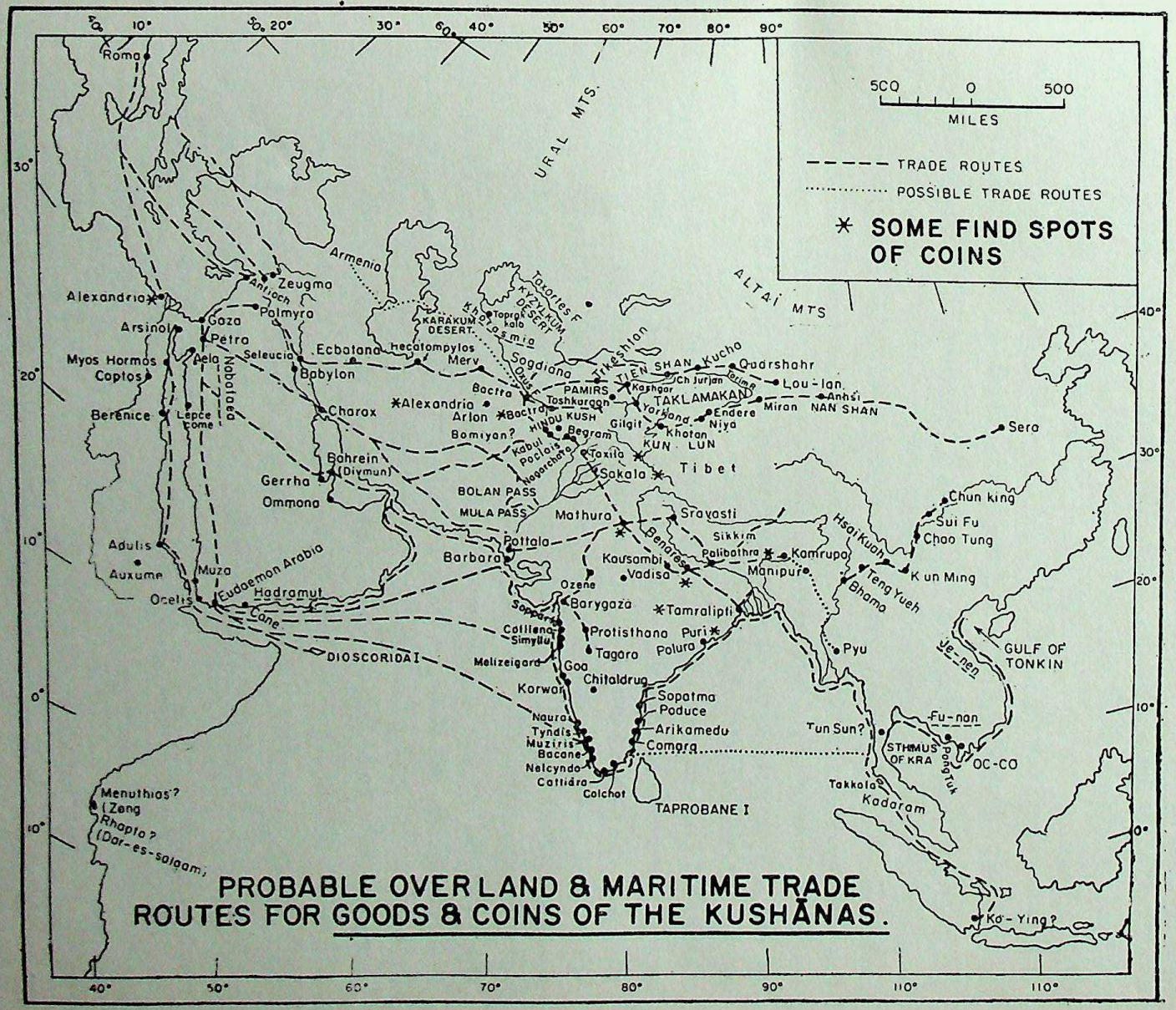
It was this flourishing economy which was the basis of the Gupta empire-the high water mark of India's ancient civilization. Two Classical historians, namely, Dio Chrysostom and Pliny[4], rightly considered India's economy the second richest in the world only next to that of Rome.

It is against this rich background we have to assess the value and importance of the currency system of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas. They are the first Imperial ruling house in India to issue gold coins regularly; and for commercial and popular needs they had also minted large number of copper and some pieces of silver coins. Side by side with the Kuṣāṇa coins, coins of the other ruling powers, immediately preceding the Kuṣāṇas and also of tribal states, guilds and corporations were in active circulation. Even the Greeco-Roman coins might have some place in the currency system of the day; and the common people were not very averse to accept them. Along with the existing metallic currency gold jewellaries, gold dust and cowries (shells) were used as a means of exchange. But our analysis will be incomplete, if we do not discuss the age-old barter system of the day. It was, thus, a broad based monetory system which supported a complex economic structure in the pre-Classical Age.

Metalic Coins :

The punch-marked (Kārsāpaṇa) silver and copper coins were in active circulation for long time. And "the punch-marked coinage was a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling power"[5]. But D. B. Spooner[6], E. J. Walsh[7], J. N. Banerjee[8]

3. Pliny. Naturalis Historia, (locb Classical Ed.) XII, 15,31; 25.41; 37.77; 41.54; 42.88 etc; Periplus, Sec. 39,49 etc.
   E. H. Warmington, Ibid, p. 180
   M. Rostovzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire (2nd. Ed.), 9.67.
4. Bk. XXV; XXXVII. 203.
5. V. A. Smith, C. C. I M. I. p. 133 ;
6. A. S. I. (A. R.) 1905-06, p. 153.
7. Memoir of the Arch Sur. of India, No. 59, The Punch-marked coins from Taxila.
8. Comp. Hist. of India, Vol. II, Ch. XXV, p. 777.



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suggest that they were struck, by a central authority and not by private agencies. On the authority of Buddhaghosa and others D. C. Sircar is of opinion that they were in circulation side by side with those issued by the State[9]. Economic use of Kārṣāpaṇa is also referred to in many inscriptions. A Nāsik inscription at the time of Nahapāna (119-24 A. D.) informs us that Usavadāta, the son-in-law of the Śaka Satrāp Nahapāna, deposited permanently 3000 Kārṣāpaṇa with two weavers' guilds[10]. 2000 were given to a weavers guild at the rate of one per cent per month, and 1000 to another such guild at $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent per month, which shows that the rate of interest varied between 12 and 9 per cent per annum. In that case ancient guilds and corporations used to function as banks. They used to receive deposits of public money and paid regular interest on them. This undoubtedly shows that they also lent out Kārṣāpaṇa to others and thereby made some profit out of these transactions or they might invest their money in their joint business; otherwise it was quite impossible for them to pay a regular interest to the depositors. The popularity of the Kārsāpaṇa was so much that they are referred to in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga and Samantapasadika as the old type of Blue-Kārṣāpāṇa as different from the new Kārṣāpaṇa, such as, Rudradamaka[11]. Thus the old punch-marked (Kārṣāpaṇa) coins were in circulation as late as the fifth century A. D. alongwith the state coins[12]. In this connection we can very well refer to D. C. Sircar's suggestion. "It is unlikely that the Sātavāhana kings issued coins of their usual types only in cheap metals like copper, lead and potin, but at the sametime, also the punch-marked coins in silver. If, therefore, the punch-marked coins were in circulation during the Sātavāhana age, as they apparently were, since that age was earlier than the days of Buddhaghosa, they were probably private issues"[13].

In the late mediaeval period also, coins of different countries and ages circulated as a medium of exchange in the Indian market. This

9. Studies in Indian Coins, p. 102.
10. E. I. VIII. p. 82; Lud. No. 1133; D. C. Sircar, Select Inst. Vol. 1, p. 157.
11. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar in A. S. I. (A. R.) 1913-14,226; Carm. Lect, 1921, pp. 99-100; also J. N. S. I. Vol. XIII, p. 183; J. Allan, Cat. of Coins in the British Museum (Ancient India), p. XIX, lxxiii-lxxiv;
D. C. Sircar, Studies in Indian Coins, pp. 102-104.
12. Sircar - Ibid.
13. Sircar, op. cit. pp. 103-104.

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was exactly the position in the early period too. The circulation of money of the old Rudradāmaka in the time of Buddhaghosa, silver coins of Kalachuri Kṛiṣṇa of the sixth century circulated in the eighth century[14], and of early Romān coins in the markets, especially in South India, is a pointer in this direction.[15]

However, with the fall of the Mauryan empire, there was no central authority. There was no uniformity in the system of coinage, it was rather upset. The Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanas remained confined to their regions; the latter had an elaborate system of coinage. Moreover, a large number of tribal states and republics had their own coinage; but they followed no standard set by our ancient authorities.

It was the Kuṣhāṇas who for the first time established an uniform, indigenous currency system in India. Their gold and copper coins gave a new lease of life to the early system of coinage in India; and at least by the first century A. D. it was placed on a firm footing. The growing international trade and commerce demanded authoritative Imperial currency to facilitate transactions with foreign merchants and traders. As a result of this new demand, the state now assumed complete control of their currency system by destroying the age old privileges of private individual and guilds. Minting of coins became gradually the monopoly of the state; and the king took personal interest in their out-put. And these coins issued by the state became a medium of expression of the hobbies and private deities of the kings.

Unlike their predecessors, the Kuṣāṇas issued a large number of gold coins to satisfy the need of the large volume of the Indo-Roman commerce since the early Christian era. Kuzula Kadphises I issued coins of the Roman types and is said to have encouraged traders to use them for a smooth flow of trade between India and Rome.[16] Although Kadphises II (Wima) recognised the importance of issuing gold coins of the Roman types[17], yet his coins display a degree of freedom from Roman

14. E. I. XXV, p. 225; Bandarkar's list of Inscriptions, No. 1206.
15. C. J. Brown, Coins of India, p. 58.
16. E.H. Warnington, Commerce bet. Roman Empire and India, pp. 291, 296-297.
17. Ibid. p. 298. Robert Gobl, "Roman patterns for Kuṣāṅa Coins; J. N. S. I. Vol. xxii, pp. 78-79; R. E. M. Wheeler, Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers, pp. 200-202; David W. Mac Dowall, "The Weight standard of the gold and copper coinage of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty from Vima Kadphises to Vasudeva", J. N. S. I. xxii, pp. 67-69 etc.

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influence which is absent in the coins of Kadphises I. The international monetory and market situation were such as to compel the Kuṣāṇa rulers to issue coins in good standard gold. The Romans also followed the same trend and standard; hence there was the same degree of uniformity in the currency systems of the Romans and the Kuṣāṇas.[17a]

It is further suggested that there was a certain degree of inflation in the International market in the second and the third centuries A. D. which in turn effected changes both in the Kuṣāṇa and the Roman currency. The Kuṣāṇas met this situation by maintaining their *dināra* (*Suvarna*) at a constant weight, though in course of time, they had to debase the gold quality. But the Romans, on the other hand, preserved the quality of their *aurius* (gold coins) but progressively reduced their weight[18].

From the point of view of the currency system and coin design the Kuṣāṇa coins can roughly be grouped under four heads, viz. the gold coins of Kujula Kadphises (Kadphises I), Wima Kadphises (Kadphises II), Kaṇiṣka group of kings (Kaṇiṣka I, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva) and their successors. They have all their distinctive traits and gold contents, but ultimately one merges into the other. The mint-masters of the Kujula Kadphises (Kadphises I) clumsily copied the crude bust of Heractes with the imitation of the coins of the Roman emperor Hermaeus[19]; the prakrit legend on the coins is in Kharoṣṭhi and is partly mistaken[20]. Moreover, the use of two-humped Bactrian camel on one of his types may suggest the nomadic habits of his tribe[21]. All these show that he had just maintained a balance in the inland and foreign money market by issuing hastily the above type of coins just to feed the growing need of the new economy of the country.

But the coins of his successor, Wima (Kadphises II) are remarkably different from that of his predecessor. During his reign he largely assimila-

17a. Michael Grant, Vide Ch. III.

18. J. N. S. I. xxii, pp. 63-64; Michael Grant, Roman Imperial Money, 1953. Chapter XVI.

19. V. A. Smith, Coins of Ancient India (I. M. C.), Vol. I (1972) pp. 65-67; Comprehensive Hist. of India, Vol. II, p. 788-789.

20. Ibid.

21. Comprehensive Hist. of India, Vol. II, pp. 788-789.

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ted Indian religion and culture. His personal god Śiva (or bull, trident-battle-axe, etc.) is on the reverse of his gold coins with the legend "*Mahāraja-rajatiraja-Sarvaloka-iśvara-tratara*" and on the obverse the king is either seated on a couch or standing with tight-fitting cap, jacket, and trouser with the legend "*Basileus-Basiteon-Soter-Megas*"[22]. Although the process of Indianisation began at a small but rapid scale, the Greek-Roman influences were still apparent; the foreign merchants and traders faced no difficulty in accepting those coins. The standard of gold used by Wima Kadphises in his coins was at per with the Roman currency[23].

Kaṇiṣka I, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva had a vast empire which maintained cosmopolitan trade and cultural relation with East Africa (Ethiopia), Middle Eastern countries, Greeco-Roman countries, China and many other big and small countries of the known world. They minted quite a large number of gold coins which properly fed the requirements of the ever-growing industry and trade. Their cosmopolitan need is reflected in the designs on the reverse of their gold coins; it bears the figures of Zoroastrian, Indian (Brahmanical and Buddhist) and the Greeco-Roman gods and goddesses[24], for the simple reason that their coins were easily acceptable to the merchants of different nations. They had also maintained fairly a good gold standard of their coins[25].

But the successors of Vāsudeva could not maintain the above standard of the coinage. A few important factors were responsible for this debasement. Their Imperial power gradually dwindled in India and their outlying provinces declared independence one after another[26]; as a result they lost control of internal and foreign trade. Over and above, the political situation in the Middle East as well as in Europe was quite unfavourable for international trade[27]. Thus, the successors of Vāsudeva had to change their monetary policy; their gold coins were very largely debased and the minting of gold coins became rare[28a].

22. Ibid.
23. S. K Maity, Early Indian Coins and Currency System, pp. 53-60.
24. V. A. Smith, Coins of Ancient India (I. M. C.), Vol. I (1972) pp. 65-67; Comprehensive Hist. of India, Vol. II, p. 788-789.
25. S. K. Maity, Early Indian Coins and Currency System, pp. 53-60.
26. Comprehensive Hist. of India. Vol. II, pp. 246-254.
27. Ibid; Cambridge Ancient History, Ch. VIII.
28a. J. N. S. I., XIV, p. 40, xxii, p. 100.

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The silver coins of the Kuṣāṇas are very rare. A few silver coins attributed to them are, however, taken to be forgeries[28]. But the two genuine coins of Huviṣka, which are in the State Museum of Berlin, cannot be definitely said whether they were issued in India or outside [29]. However, we have one silver coin of Wima Kadphisis issued in India wich Śiva image on the reverse. This shows the scarcity of silver during the Kuṣāṇa period in India. But the silver coins of the Indo-Greek rulers, the Śakas, Sātavāhanas, Tribal rulers and the Punch-marked silver coins might have satisfied the need of the people.

Just meet the small need of the people, the Imperial Kuṣāṇas issued quite a large number of copper and bronze coins[30]. Some of the heavier issues are 270 grains which have close similarity with the earlier coins of the Greeks and the Scythians.

Among the early Indian Imperial coins the Kuṣāṇa coins had great popularity in and out side India; and in the course of flourishing maritime activities those coins travelled far and wide. Kuṣāṇa coins discovered in Eastern India belong to three classes, viz. gold, copper and imitation in both gold and copper. In Bihar, the find spots of gold coins are Sultanganj (Bhagalpur)[31], Monghyr[32], Belvadag (Ranchi)[33], and Bodhgaya (Gaya)[34], while in Bengal they are found in Mahasthan (Bogra, East Pakistan)[35] and Malda[36]. Some imitation Kuṣāṇa gold coins have also been found at the above places[37].

Their copper coins have been discovered from Kumrahar (Patna)[38],

28. Early Indian Coins, etc. 53-60.
29. Cf. A. K. Narain, J. N. S. I., xxii, pp. 100-101.
30. V. A. Smith, Coins of Ant. India, Vol. I (I. M. C.), 1972
31. Ind. Num. Chron., Vol. II, part I, pp. 81, plate 111, No. 1-One of the coins of Huviṣka, cf. Vol. I, Parts I-II, 86
32. Ibid., Vol. II, part I, pp. 79; plate II, Nos. 2-3. Two coins of Kaṇiṣka.
33. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I; Part II, pp. 231-32
34. Cummingham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, p. 10, Mahabodhi, plate XXII, Nos.11 and 17. Also Altekar & Mishra, Kumarhar Excavations, 1951-55, p. 131.
35. J. P. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. XXVIII, 1932, pp. 127, plate I No. I
36. Ibid., Plate I, No. 2
37. J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XXVIII, Plate I, No. 3; Gauḍarājmālā, p. 4
38. J. N. S. I., Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 144; Altekar and Mishra, Kumrahar Excavation, 1951-55, p. 99, plate Lxx-B, Nos. 20-21

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Basarh (Muzaffarpur)[39], Buxar (Shahabad)[40], Nandangadh (Champaran)[41], Vatara (Darbhanga)[42], Darbhanga[43], and Karra Thana (Ranchi)[44]. In Bengal they have been found from Tamulk (Midnapore)[45]. In Orissa they have been collected from Mayurbhanj district[46], Sitabhinji (Keonjhar)[47] Viratgadh (Mayurbhanj)[48], Old Nayagadh State[49] and Sisupalgadh (Puri)[50].

Imitated Kuṣāṇa type of copper coins have been found in large numbers from Eastern India, specially from Orissa. A horde of such coins has been discovered in the Puri district of Orissa and are known as "Puri-Kuṣāṇa" coins[51]. Later on a good number of coins of this type were also found in Orissa and are known as "Oriya Kuṣāṇa" type[52]. Some such coins were collected by the Director of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, from the southern districts of Bengal.

Cowries (shells) : Our discussion will be incomplete, if we do not review the two other means of popular exchange during the Kuṣāṇa rule in India. A kind of shells (cowries) were also in vogue and it continued to exist as a means of exchange even upto the early modern times. It was also noticed by foreign travellers and writers. Chau-Ju-Kau stated that the people of T'ien-chu (India) used cowries as a medium of exchange[53]. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, who visited India

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39. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I, part II, p. 232; Indian Archaeology, 1958-59, p. 12, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute's Report of the Vaiśālī Excavation, 1958-62; S. B. Ray, A guide to the Vaiśālī Museum, part II, pp. 16-17, Nos. C. 49-59.
40. J. N. S. I., Vol. XII, part II, pp. 121
41. A. S. I. (A. R.) 1936-37, p. 50
42. Ann. Rep. K. P. Jayaswal Research Ins; Patna, 1961, p. 4
43. Indi. Num. Chron, Vol. II, Part I, p. 82
44. J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V, p. 78, Note 2
45. Proc. A. S. B., 1882, pp. 113
46. A. S. I. (A. R.) 1924-25, pp. 131-32; J. N. S. I., Vol. II, p. 123; R. D. Banerji, Hist. of Orissa, Vol. I, pp. 111
47. J. N. S. I., Vol. II, p. 124, Vol. XIII, part II, pp. 69-72
48. J. N. S. I., Vol. II, p. 124; Vol. IX, Part II, p. 107
49. Cummingham's A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, p. 116
50. Ancient India, No. 5, p. 97
51. Manikaratna (Puri Dist.) hoard, Hoernle, Proc. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 61-65
52. J. N. S. I., Vol. II, p. 126, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 69.
53. pp. 111

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at the beginning of the fifth century A. D. says, that the people of Madhyadeśa used "cowries in buying and selling"[54]. Apparently the pilgrim had occasion to make only small transactions and hardly came into contact with rich people, for the Gupta rulers had by this time issued copper, silver and gold coins.

Barter System : Despite the changes in the money economy of the Kuṣāṇas, the age old barter system did not lose its popularity. It was still a force to reckon with at least throughout the Hindu period. And it is not at all true that "the older system of traffic by barter had entirely passed away never to return"[55]. In the opinion of Medhatithi[56] the traders and merchants also sometimes found it convenient to resort to barter. He explains that merchandise (*paṇya*) is the substance (*dravya*) that is sold for money, or is exchanged for some other substance. It was so popular that a Brāhmaṇa, who in ordinary circumstances, was strictly forbidden to sell a thing for money, was allowed in certain conditions to earn his livelihood by barter[57]. Besides local transactions, barter system was popular even in foreign trade. According to Antonines, "traders in India tell us that the Indians give their own wares in exchange for those of the Greeks without employing money, even though they have gold and copper in abundance"[58]. This shows clearly that barter and money exchange were current side by side and were equally popular both in local transactions and foreign trade.

In connection with the gold currency system of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas it is but natural to review the source of supply of this noble metal. At best we can give here a few tentative suggestions which, however, cannot lead us to any final conclusion. In ancient times there were gold mines in Mysore, Hyderabad and Madras[59]. Besides the mines, gold was also procured in large quantities from the river beds of the Indus and other rivers[60]. Ancient deposits of gold were also found

54. Legge
55. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 100; Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. 1, p. 217.
56. On Manu, V. 127
57. Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra, ii. 24-29
58. Pausanius, 111, XII. 3.
59. J. Marshall, Taxila, vol. ii, p. 620
60. Strabo, Geographiko XV. 1.69; Political Hist. of Ant. India, p. 241

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in the mountains near the country of Sopeithes in the west of the Jhelum river in the Punjab[61]. Herodotus also states that the desert tract to the east of the Indus was quite rich in gold[62]. From early times Assam was also famous for the gold washing industry[63]. Even during the rule of Ahoms, the state employed thousand of labours, called *sonwalls* for the gold-washing work. They paid custom duties to the government in gold dust. Here it might be suggested that the gold washing industry might have developed in the riverine parts of Bengal.

Besides the local sources large amount of gold possibly came from the Orms region. Moreover, the Kuṣāṇas imported gold not only from Scythia (regions lying between the Carpathians and the Caucasus) but also from the Ural and Altai regions[64]. We are, further, told that the ancient Suvarṇabhūmi also supplied gold to India[65]. In the opinion of the Western scholars the Kuṣāṇa gold coins were minted from the gold received from Roman traders[66]. But there is no archaeological proof in support of the above theory, for there is no gold object of Kuṣāṇa times in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, where there are many antiquities from Central Asia. The treasure rooms of this museum are very rich in gold objects, but they are mostly collected from South Russia. R. S. Sharma thus, suggests that although Central Asia was famous for gold, the Kuṣāṇas did not obtain gold from that region[67].

Professor of History
Jadavpur University, Culcutta.

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61. Strabo, Ibid., XV. I. 30
62. Herodotus, iii. 94.98; Ant. India as described in Classical literature, p. 3; A. N. Bose, Social and Rural Eco. p. 219
63. The Arthaśāśtra also refers to Suvarṇa-kuṇḍya famous for gold in Kamarupa. cf. Maccrindle, Ant. India as described in Classical lit. Magasthenes and Strabo; J. A. S. B. ix, pt. ii, p. 766,Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam.
64. G. L. Addy, Early India Economic, p. 180
65. W. W. Tarn. Greeks in Bactria and India, pp. 107-108; A. N. Bose, Social and Rural Eco. p. 219
66. Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians p. 38; Indian Coins, pp. 17-18; Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers, pp. 169-70; Early Ind. Econ. p. 180
67. J. N. S. I. xxxi, p. 2.

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ON THE COINS OF BUDHAGUPTA

NISAR AHMAD

Beyond any doubt, Budhagupta the greatest monarch among the successors of Skandagupta, gave stability to the Gupta empire by having a long reign. Even he ruled for a period which was more than that enjoyed by his uncle Skandagupta. But surprisingly enough his coins both in gold and silver are scarce[1] and are confined to one type-gold coins in the Archer type and the silver coins in the Madhyadeśa (Peacock) Type. In fact for a quite long time only a few silver pieces of this ruler were known[2] and, therefore, it was thought that he did not strike gold coins. And to dismiss this conception, scholars once have suggested that the gold coins bearing the legend Prakāśāditya on the reverse were issued by Budhagupta.[3] But soon after, S. K. Saraswati attempted to convert the reading of the name of the king, written under the left arm of its effigy on the obverse of a gold coin of the British Museum, into Budha, which was deciphered as *Pura* by J. Allan.[4] Later on, A. K. Narain published two new gold coins of Budhagupta. He also accepted the reading put forth by Saraswati. Hence alongwith this piece, he also attributed the other coins of the British Museum catalogued under Purugupta (Allan Pronounces Puragupta)[5] to Budhagupta.

Allan assigns four Archer type gold coins of the British Museums to Purugupta.[6] He also divides them into two varieties on the basis of the presence and absence of the king's name. The variety *a* is marked by only one piece which is known from W. Hoey's collection (Pl. XXI. 23); and variety *b* has three specimens (Pl. XXI. 24-26). The coin of

1. *The Classical Age*, p. 31.
2. *BMC, GD*, p. CV.
3. *JASB*, LXXXIX, pp. 93.4 Later Hoernle attributes these coins to Yaśodharman (*JRAS*, 1909, p. 135); *IMC*, I, p. 119; A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 8 (but at another place he identifies Prakāśāditya with Purugupta, ibid, pp. 284-5).
4. *IC*, I, pp. 692 f.
5. *JNSI*, XII, p. 114.
6. *BMC, GD*, pp. 134-5.

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variety *a* (Hoey's collection) as well as those of the variety *b* have the legend Śrī *Vikramaḥ* on the reverse. On the grounds of the similarity in them and the identical reverse legend, Allan ascribes the coins of both the varieties to Purugupta,[7] as, on the obverse of variety *a*, he identifies *Pura*.

R. D. Banerji also holds the name Pura read by Allan on the coin of variety *a*[8]. But S. K. Saraswati does not agree because the first letter is made square shaped with the right vertical line extended downwards and, in the Gupta Brāhmī *Pa* is drawn square without the top horizontal stroke. The presence of the top horizontal stroke on the present coin cannot be explained away "as the usual crescent mark, as the latter is quite clear over this top stroke." This top horizontal stroke and the right vertical line extended downwards suggest the character to be the letter *Bu*. Again the second letter has the upward bend joined with the vertical and this cannot be read as *ra*. It may be either *sha* or *dha* but here the former is meaningless. Hence he identifies the name as *Budha*[9]. D. R. Bhandarkar[10] and Krishna Dev[11] accept it. However, Burn finds *Pa* of square-shaped with top horizontal stroke on the coins of Prakāśāditya (*BMC*, pl. XXII, 2-5) and the second letter, not resembling *dha* inscribed on the silver coins of Budhagupta. So, to him, 'the new reading is doubtful.'[12] Of course the second letter is different in shape from *dha* of the silver coins of Budhagupta but the example of the letter *pa* closed at the top cited from the coins of Prakāśāditya is not correct since there, too, the letter is open at the top. In support of the old reading, Jagannath also argues : the top horizontal stroke of the first letter is lengthened and thicked at the left end and so evidently it is a top mark– not the upper bar of the square of *ba*; the second letter also has a top mark and *dha* of the 4th and 5th centuries, to which period this coin belongs, does not contain top mark and the upward bend joined with the vertical 'is really a part of letter of degenerated marginal legend' and, therefore, a plain vertical line with top mark is a clear *ra*.[13] But the

7. *Ibid*, p. cii.
8. *ABORI*, I (1), p. 75.
9. *IC*, I, p. 692.
10. Above, XI, p. 231.
11. *EI*, XXVI (v), pp. 235 ff.
12. *ABIA*, 1935, X, p. 11.
13. AIOC, 1946, p. 427.

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top horizontal stroke is neither lengthened nor thicker at the left end and the second letter cannot be identified with certinty as *ra* since it is not a simple vertical attached with top mark and no portion of this inscription can be taken as 'a part of letter of the degenerated marginal legend' which in fact runs outside the bow. N. N. Dasgupta also thinks that the second letter is more like *ra* than *dha* since for *dha* there is the semi-circle attached to the straight line in inward in the epigraphs of this period where as on the coin it is outward.[14] But *dha* of outward semi-circle attached to the straight line is used in the charters of the 5th century A. D. (e. g. Skandagupta's-Indore Plate-year 146, line 6).[15] It also occurs on a gold coin of Budhagupta (Bharat Kala Bhavan's specimen).[16]

R. C. Majumdar does not appear to be certain. Although he agrees with Saraswati but at the same time he remarked that 'the question cannot be finally decided till clear specimen of this type of coins are available.[17] D. C. Sircar and B. P. Sinha are not constant comes are available'. Earlier Sircar echoed the opinion of Saraswati by stating that the letter read as *pa* looks like ba and hence he 'may be right in suggesting that the name is Budha'.[18] But subsequent to the discovery of the gold coins of Budhagupta which are now in the collections of the Banaras Hindu University he observed that 'it is difficulty to be sure on the point'.[19] Sinha once strongly pleaded in favour of the old identification : "Allan very kindly re-examined the coin for me, and he was emphatically of the opinion that the letter cannot be 'Dha', and is certainly 'Ra'. The first letter because of its closed top may be read as 'Bu', but 'Bura' can never be a proper name. Therefore the correct reading is, as Allan reads it, Pura". He also finds out an example of closed topped 'Pu' in the second line of the Nalanda seal of Vishṇugupta. For the apex added with the vertical line of the second letter, he writes that "the hook below 'Ra' to make it 'Ru' was wrongly or inadvertently added as a side stroke

14. *BC Law Volume*, I, pp. 617 ff.
15. *CII*, III, plate IX, B.
16. *JNSI*, XII, plate X. 1.
17. *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 186, fn.
18. *Select Inscriptions*, 1942, p. 322, fn. 1.
19. *Ibid*, 1965, p. 330

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on the top of 'Ra' ".[20] But the letter *pu*, on the Nalanda seal of Vishnugupta, is not closed as on the Hoey's collection coin; there the top mark on the left arm is extended upto the right arm and hence it gives the appearance of closed topped *Pu*. It is also to be noted that the hook for *ukāra* is never added as a side stroke on the top of 'Ra' and the wrong and inadvertent writing is a more stretch of imagination to bring the matter home. But now Sinha is disposed to agree with the new reading as two gold coins of Budhagupta 'exactly similar and with the legend Budha absolutely clear' are discovered.[21]

These two coins of Budhagupta are reported in 1984 by A. S. Alteker. Of them, one is purchased by the Bharat Kala Bhavan and the other by the Dept. of A. I. H. C. Archaeology of the Banaras Hindu University. He also puts forth that these coins being of the same type as that of Hoey's collection show that 'Saraswati's conjecture was right'.[22] Soon after, A. K. Narain, publishing the details of the coins of the Banaras Hindu University, also adheres that the name Budha deciphered on the coin of the British Museum is correct. He, too talks of the coin's similarity.[23] However, the point of caution is, that the sameness in type alone may not be considered the basic criterion for the determination of the issuer of the coin of the Hoey's collection since the coins of Skanda-gupta successors are almost confined to one type and some of them exhibit certain similarities. Moreover, we have to bear in mind that due to the blurrdness of the second letter of the coin of Hoey's collection illustrated in the *Catalogue of the British Museum*, scholars are not unanimous on the reading of the king's name. Nevertheless, Sinha gives another photograph of this coin in his book, '*Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*'.[24] There the second letter is very clear. It has a small triangle in its upper half and so it can be read as *dha* rather than *ra*; though it is of the flag shape and this type dha is uncommon. If we take the second letter as *ra* the legend *Bura* would be meaningless and out of context of the Gupta history. It seems that the letter dha is made of flag shape

20. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 12-3.
21. *Dynastic History of Magadha*, pp. 9, 45, 74 fn. 48.
22. *JNSI*, X, p. 78.
23. Above, XII, p. 114.
24. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, plate I. 6.

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because of the inadequate space. Perhaps this is also because of the defferent technique used in taking its photograph.

Altekar and Narain also assign the coins of the second variety (*MMC*, XXII 24-26) to Budhagupta. For Altakar, their heavy weights and the reverse legend *Śrī Vikrama* are the reasons; and, Narain finds the obverse and reverse of the coins of both the varieties of the British Museum similar to that of the collection of the Dept. of A. I. H. C. & Archaeology.[25] But the heavy weight was introduced in the Gupta currency by Skandagupta and hence thereafter all the Gupta coins are of the heavy weights. Among the successors of Skandagupta, Budhagupta alone did not have the title of *Vikrama*. Paramārtha tells us that king Vikramaditya of Ayodhya sent his son Bālāditya to study under the renowned Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu.[26] The Nalanda seals inform that Purugupta was the father of Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya and the coins of Chandragupta II evidently prove *Vikrama* as short from of Vikramāditya. So this can well be the epithet of Purugupta. It was also one of the titles of Skandagupta. In type these coins exhibit more influence of the coins of Kumāragupta II[27] than those of Budhagupta. Again, on one of them, we have tried to read the name Purugupta in the circular legend. Hence these coins cannot be attributed to Budhagupta.[28]

V. A. Smith registers five Archer gold coins of the heavy weight (no. 30-34) under Chandragupta II as variety *a* of class II. On the basis of the occurrence and non-occurrence of king's name, he further divides them into two sub-varieties.[29] The coins of sub-variety (nos. 33 and 34) are identical to the coins of variety *b* of British Museum, therefore, they are ascribed to Purugupta. Out of the remaining three coins (nos. 30-32), belonging to sub-variety *a*, which according to Smith contains the name of the issues, coin no. 31 is partly broken, and coin no. 30 bears the name Chandra under the left arm of the king's effigy.[30] On the coin no. 32 Smith, finds 'the name under arm indistinct'. However, he notices the

25. *JNSI*, X, p. 78; XII, p. 114; *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 276.
26. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 49.
27. *BMC, GD*; plate XXII, 13-14.
28. *JNSI*, XL, pp. 111 ff.
29. *IMC*, I, pp. 106-7.
30. Cf. my paper Chandragupta IV, to be published elsewhere.

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'traces of *Śrī mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandra*' at margin and on its reverse he reads *Śrī Vikrama*. Allan, attributes it to Chandragupta III, considering the reverse legend absolutely uncertain, since in his view Chandragupta III had Dvādeśāditya as his epithet;[31] but the coins with the legend *Śrī Dvādaśādityaḥ* were actually minted by Vainyagupta. But, at the right margin, it can only be made out as *hatakararaja*(*dha*)*raja* which can be constructed as *Parahitakārī rājādhirāja;* and at the left margin, there is no trace of any character. Hence the decipherment of the marginal legend by Smith is incorrect. Further the king's name engraved under the left arm of the figure, which is taken by him as indistinct[32] can be made out as *Budha*, though the topard bottom horizontal lines are extended beyond the place where the left vertical bar joins and similarly the arch of the alphabet *dha* is stretched outside the meeting point of the left arm. On its reverse, Smith rightly deciphers *Śrī Vikramah*. Therefore, this coin really belongs to Budhagupta (See photograph[33] enlarged).

P. L. Gupta also keeps three coins (215/131, 216/132, 217/8655) of the Bharat Kala Bhavan under Budhagupta.[33a] One (215/131) of them is the same which is described by Narain and the other two (216/132 and 217/8655) are those which do not bear king's name under the effigy's left arm. The last one is catalogued in the British Museum. They are assigned to Budhagupta as they in his opinion, show general resemblance to the coin of Budhagupta in type, size and weight. They measure 2.14 (.85") and 2.1 cms. (.8"). The coins in this size are also minted by the other kings of the Gupta dynasty. No doubt like the coins of Budhagupta, these specimens are also of the Archer type, but in certain respects the representations are different. Again in weight these coins are akin to those of Budhagupta because they weigh 9.35 grams. (144. 3 grains) 9.4 grams (145.5 grains) respectively; and those of Budhagupta have their weights between 144.5 and 145.8 grains; but the coins of the same weights are also issued by some of the successors of Skandagupta. In fact these

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31. *BMC, GD*, p. LIII, p. 1.
32. Altekar refers to it and mentions its weight but contradicts Smith by illustrating another coin (*Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 104-5).
33. We owe to Dr. S. C. Ray, Smt. D. Mukherjee and other staff-members of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for giving me the photograph.

33.A *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, p. 81.

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are identical to the British Museum coins (Pl. XXII. 21-26) referred to above that are ascribed to Purugupta.

Allan reads the marginal legend on the coin of the Hoey's collection as *parātaka-ja*.[34] Narain takes the beginning of the legend *Parama* since he also finds the same on the coins of the B. H. U. collections.[35] But *ma* does not exist on any of them.[36] Allan rightly points out the space of only one letter between *Para* and *taka*. According to him the circular legend is probably similar to Skandagupta, Class II,[37] which runs as *Parahitakāṛī rājā jayati divam Śrī Kramadityaḥ*.[38] On the coins of Purugupta, too, the marginal legend commences with *Paraha*. Hence the destroyed letter can be taken as *ha*. After *taka*, Allan takes only one obliterated letter but the photograph of the coin shows two double *ra*. These letters also occur on the coins of the B. H. U. collections and that of Indian Museum. Thus the existent letters on the coin of a Hoey's collections can be made out as Parāhitakārī *rājā*. After the word *rājā*, Allan again takes the note of one more obliterated letter on the coin of Hoey's collection. Narain reads this letter as Śrī on one of the coins of B. H. U. collections whereas the circular legend on the coins of Skandaguptas class II, subsequent to the word *rājā*, cantains *jayati divam*. Hence the marginal legend on these coins is not the same as that of Skandagupta's class II, and as such we cannot agree with Allan that the marginal legend on the coin of Hoey's collection, ends with *tya*. He himself does not write the letter *tya* while describing this coin; and, moreover on the coins of the B. H. U. collections the marginal legend terminates with *ptah* which is the last part of the word *Budhaguptaḥ*. Thus at present the legend can be constructed as *Parahitakārī rājā Śrī Budhaguptaḥ*, though we suspect to its perfection as the letter *Śrī* is inscribed at IV and *Bu* (of *Budhāguptaḥ*) at X O'clock on the coins. Altekar only accepts *Para* or *Paraha* of the legend and states that it may have begun with Parahitakārī'.[39] He does not utter on the later part of the legend. Guptas takes

34. *BMC, GD*, pp. CXXII, 134.
35. *JNSI*, XII, p. 114.
36. Above, XV, p. 193.
37. *BMC, GD*, p. 134.
38. *Ibid*, pp. CXXI, 117.
39. *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 278-9.

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the legend on the coins of Budhagupta as *Parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ Srī Budhaguptaḥ Vikramādityaḥ* but he does not read the words after *rāja* and the conjunct *tya* to which he identifies on a coin (217/8655)[39a] that actually belongs to Purugupta. Nevertheless, the legend can rightly be deciphered upto benorific *Śrī* and the last letter *pta* shows that it ends with *Budhaguptaḥ*. The legend on the coins of Kumāragupta II also terminates with *pta*.

Narain classifies the coins of Budhagupta into three varieties as follows :[40]

1. Coins having Budha under king's arm and the marginal legend.
2. Coins with *Budha* under king's arm, but without marginal legend.
3. Coins without *Budha* under king's arm but marginal legend.

The division of variety 2 is based on one of the two coins of Budhagupta, published by him which belongs to the Bharat Kala Bhavan, B. H. U. However, P. L. Gupta does not subscribe to it. In his view, the marginal legend on this coin is out of plan. He cites an example : 'Hundreds of the coins of the Archer type of Chandragupt II, have been found in the Bayana hoard without the circular legend, but they do not constitute any separate variety.' He also explains the reason for the non-occurrence of the marginal legend : 'The Gupta coins invariably have the circular legend; but since the die was generally bigger than the plan of the coins, it often did not come on the coins'[41] However, Altekar refers 'to a few exceptions like the Chakravikrama type of Chandragupta which have no circular legend on the obverse.'[42] But here, too, Gupta takes the marginal legend out of the plan. Nevertheless it can be pointed out that, on the coin of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, a portion of the conjunct *pta* is visible at XI O'clock, which is the part of the marginal legend. Hence the classification of variety 2 is unwarranted. Gupta groups the coins of Budhagupta, into two varieties and Altekar into two classes[43] : with and without the name Budha under the king's arm; the former, while

39A. *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, p. 81.
40. *JNSI*, XII, p. 114.
41. *Above*, XV, p. 194.
42. *Ibid*, fn. 2.
43. *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 275 ff.

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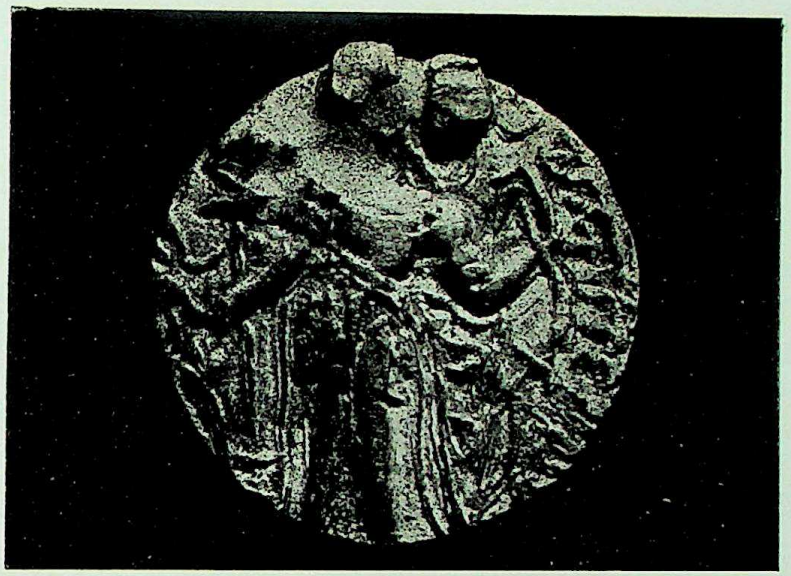

(i)

(ii)

Coin of Budhagupta (i) Obverse (ii) Reverse.

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cataloguing the coins of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, also uses the term class instead of variety. But we have assigned the coins without the legend *Budha* under king's arm to Purugupta.

Thus the gold coins of Budhagupta, which are four in number, are of the same type-*Budha* under king's arm and the marginal legend on the obverse. They have nimbate king standing to left holding bow in his left and arrow in right hand, Garuḍa standard behind his right hand, legend *Budha* under his left arm with crescent above and the marginal legend *Parahitakārī rājā Śrī Budhaguptaḥ* on the obverse, and, nimbate Lakshmī seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in her left and fillet in right hand, symbol on left and legend *Śrī Vikramah* on the reverse. Their weights and sizes are as : BM (Hoey's coin) 142.2 grains. 95", IM (No. 32) 145.8 grains and .8"; B. H. U. (Dept. AIHC & Arch.) 144.5 grains and .8"; BHU (Bharat Kala Bhavan) 144.8 grains and 8". The British Museum coin has 70% pure gold.[44]

Although Budhagupta issued only a few coins in gold, yet he also revived the minting of the silver coins, after Skandagupta, which were issued only in Madhyadeśa type introduced by his predecessors. However, they were not struck in good number. So far seven coins are known : Cunningham procured six coins, 5 at Banaras (U. P.) and 1 from its suburb, Saranath;[45] and one claimed to have been found from Madhurayi, Shahabad district (Bihar). The last one is published by me.[46] They have the conventional portrait of the king with date in front, in symbol, perpendicularly on the obverse and peacock with wings and tail out spread, neck to right, and circular legend vijitāvanira *vanipatiḥ Śrī Budhagupta divi (*or *divaṁ*) *jayati* on the reverse. The Madhurayi coin has the date 165 and those of Banaras bear 175 of the Gupta Era. On the Saranath coin Cunningham reads 180 but scholars take the figure of 80 as doubtful[47]. Generally they measure .55 inch. Their weights are 33.6, 33.8, 34.0, 35.0 and 38.3 grains.

Reader,
Dept. of A. I. H. C. & Arch.
B. H. U. Varanasi—221005.

44. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 426.
45. *IA*, XIV, p. 68; *CASR*, IX, pp. 25-26; *JRAS*, XI, II. 54-7; *BMC, GD*, p. 153; *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 279.
46. *JNSI*, XXXIII (1), p. 122.
47. *IA*, XVII, p. 227; *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* p. 279; *The Imperial Guptas*, pp. 100, 200 fn. 66.

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देवगिरिः कालिदास की जन्मभूमि

भगवतीलाल राजपुरोहित

महाकवि कालिदास के जन्मस्थान के विषय में विद्वानों में पर्याप्त मतभेद हैं। विद्वानों ने अनेकानेक तर्क देकर इस कवि को प्रमुखतः काश्मीर या मालवा का सिद्ध किया है। यह इस कवि का वैशिष्ट्य ही है कि उसने जहाँ का भी वर्णन किया बड़ी लगन से किया। इतने लगाव से कि हर वर्णित स्थल मानो उसका निवासस्थान रहा हो।

हिमालय पर महाकवि अभिभूत हैं। ऋतुसंहार तथा मालविकाग्निमित्र के अतिरिक्त कवि के प्रत्येक ग्रन्थ में हिमालय का महिमामय वर्णन है। कवि हिमालय की महिमा, विशालता तथा उसकी असीम सुन्दरता का बखान करते अघाता नहीं। वह कवि की दृष्टि में देवतात्मा है। वहाँ देवताओं का वास है। जिनकी वह रमणीय कल्पना ही कर सकता है। हिमालय कवि की दृष्टि में भूमि से अधिक स्वर्ग है। यह कुमार-सम्भव तथा मेघदूत, शाकुन्तल तथा विक्रमोर्वशीय के वर्णनों से स्पष्ट है। वह हिमालय में ही अवस्थित अपनी कल्पना की नगरी अलका की रमणीयता का बखान करते अघाता नहीं है। जो धरा पर सम्भव नहीं। वैसी नगरी तो कुबेरों व यक्षों की हो सकती है। लोकविश्वास में रमें देवताओं की ही हो सकती है।

कालिदास ने हिमालय का दर्शन किया था। वह वहाँ रहा था। उसने बहुधा आश्रमों की कल्पना हिमालय या उसकी तलहटी में ही की है। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि तब भी हिमालय की तलहटी में, कनखल और आसपास आश्रम थे। ऐसे ही आश्रमों में रहकर उसने विद्याध्ययन किया। इसी सन्दर्भ में वह वहाँ वर्षों रहा और हिमालय की यात्राएं कीं और उसके सौन्दर्य पर मुग्ध होता रहा। आज भी हम अपनी शिक्षास्थली का बराबर स्मरण करते रहते हैं। यदि कालिदास अपने उस अगाध सौन्दर्य सम्पन्न तथा आश्रमों की भूमि और देवतात्मा का पुनः-पुनः स्मरण करता हो हो आश्चर्य नहीं होना चाहिए। हिमालय का सकृत दर्शन भी अभिभूत करने के लिए पर्याप्त है तो यदि कवि वहाँ वर्षों रहकर लौटा हो तब तो वह सम्भावना अधिक ही बढ़ जाती है। यहाँ यह स्मणीय है कि कवि ने काश्मीर का कहीं नाम तक नहीं लिया है। ऐसी स्थिति में उसे काश्मीर का निवासी बताना अनुचित ही होगा।

कालिदास के सम्बन्ध में बिहार के अपने दावे हैं। पर कालिदास अनेक हो गये हैं। किसी अन्य कालिदास का वहाँ से सम्बन्ध रहा होगा। इस कवि की उस भूमि से उतनी निकटता प्रतीत नहीं होती, जितनी मालवा से। ऋतुसंहार में ऋतुवर्णन विंध्य और मालवा का है। इन्दुमती स्वयंवर के अखिल भारतीय आयोजन में कुल आठ स्थलों के नृपों का वर्णन किया गया है जिसमें से एक चौथाई अर्थात् दो का सम्बन्ध इसी क्षेत्र से है। उज्जयिनी और माहिष्मती के नृपों को जो महत्ता दी गयी है वह अनजानी नहीं है और ये दोनों नगरियाँ इसी क्षेत्र की हैं। मालविकाग्निमित्र नाटक की कार्यस्थली विदिशा है। जो इसी क्षेत्र का है। उसकी नायिका विदर्भ की राजकुमारी होने पर भी अपना छद्म नाम इसी प्रदेश के आधार पर 'मालविका' रखती है। और मेघदूत तो वस्तुतः विदिशा से मन्दसौर तक के क्षेत्र पर न्यौछावर हो गया है।

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कवि विख्यात राजधानी विदिशा का वर्णन तीन श्लोकों में करता है। वेत्रवती, नीचगिरि, चैत्यवृक्ष और नगर से सटी वेत्रवती से निकलकर आधा मील बहने के बाद फिर बेतवा में मिल जाने वाली नवनदी की भी चर्चा करना कवि नहीं भूलता जिससे पूरे के पूरे तट उद्यानों से लहलहा रहे थे। यह आजकल चोकरेल या चोपरेल कहलाती है।[1] यहीं से कवि मेघ को उज्जैन की यात्रा के लिए प्रेरित करता है। यद्यपि पंथ वक्र था। तब एक श्लोक में निर्विंध्या तथा एक श्लोक में सिन्धु का वर्णन कर कवि सीधा अवन्ति पहुँच जाता है। यह संयोग है कि आज भी उज्जैन सम्भाग का आरम्भ प्रायः उसी सीमा से होता है जहाँ से कवि ने अवन्ति का संकेत किया है। अर्थात् सिन्ध नदी से मन्दसौर जिले तक। कवि ने इस पूरे क्षेत्र का बड़ी सूक्ष्मता से वर्णन किया है। कवि ने उज्जैन का व्यापक वर्णन किया। काल्पनिक नगरी अलका का उसने विशद वर्णन किया होगा पर वास्तविक नगरी उज्जयिनी का जितना और जैसा वर्णन किया है वैसा उसके साहित्य में और किसी नगरी का नहीं पाया जाता। अवश्य ही उजड़ी अयोध्या के प्रसादों का वर्णन भी व्यापक है पर किसी बसी नगरी का और सचमुच की नगरी का जैसा वर्णन उज्जैन का है वैसा अन्य का नहीं। उज्जैन का वर्णन ११ श्लोकों में किया गया है और तीन श्लोक अन्य भी हैं जो प्रक्षिप्त माने जाते हैं। उज्जैन के विशद वर्णन के अनन्तर गम्भीरा का दो श्लोकों में वर्णन करने के बाद कवि देवगिरि का साढ़े तीन श्लोकों में, चम्बल का डेढ़ श्लोक में और दशपुर का एक श्लोक में वर्णन करता है।

राजधानी होने पर भी विदिशा का वननदी सहित केवल तीन श्लोकों में वर्णन किया गया। इनमें वननदी को एक श्लोक दे दिया गया। शेष दो में बेतवा का वर्णन भी आ गया। जबकि देवगिरि का साढ़े तीन श्लोकों में वर्णन किया गया। उस देवगिरि का जो न पौराणिक स्थल है, जिसका न साहित्य में कहीं उल्लेख है, न वह इतिहास की दृष्टि से महत्वशाली है। ऐसे अनजाने अपरिचित स्थल का कवि ने व्यापक और सूक्ष्म वर्णन किया। समीप ही बहने वाली गम्भीरा का दो श्लोकों में वर्णन किया। पूरे मेघदूत में नर्मदा सहित सभी नदियों का वर्णन केवल एक एक श्लोक में किया गया है। केवल गंगा और गम्भीरा का ही दो दो श्लोकों में वर्णन किया गया है। स्पष्ट ही कवि का लगाव या तो गम्भीर से था या गंगा से। गंगा से तो लगाव का कारण था कि वह इस देश की पवित्रतम और विशाल नदी है। यह भी कारण है कि वह देवनदी है और सम्भवतः उसके तटवर्ती आश्रमों में कवि ने विद्यार्जन किया था। पर गम्भीरा तो किसी तरह बड़ी नदी नहीं है। वह तो शिप्रा की भी सहायक नदी है। शिप्रा का तो उज्जैन से बहने के कारण विशेष महत्व भी है। पर गम्भीरा का तो वह भी नहीं। किसी बड़े नगर के निकट से नहीं बहती, नदी भी बड़ी नहीं है, शिप्रा की सहायिका है। तब भी उसे दो सम्पूर्ण श्लोक दिये गये और वह गौरव दिया जो शिप्रा को भी न दिया, नर्मदा को भी न दिया। यह स्मरणीय है कि मेघदूत जैसे लघुकाव्य में कवि स्थलवर्णन बड़ी कृपणता से करता है। यद्यपि जितना वर्णन करता है वह भी अनुपम है।

इस काव्य के आरम्भ में कवि मेघ को निर्देश देता है—

खिन्नः खिन्नः सिखिरिपुं पदं न्यस्य गन्तासि यत्र
क्षीणः क्षीणः परिलघुपयः स्रोतसां चोपभुज्य।

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१. द्रष्टव्य—लेखक का मेघदूत में वर्णित दो स्थलों की पहचान लेख जो १९८१ के कालिदास समारोह में पठित।

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इसीलिए पथ में आने वाले छोटे बड़े पर्वतों और नदियों की वह चर्चा करता है। पर कम से कम दो स्थलों पर इसमें व्यवधान भी पाया जाता है। गम्भीरा से बड़ी होने पर भी पार्वती नदी का नाम भी नहीं लिया गया है। दूसरी ओर दशपुर का एक श्लोक में वर्णन किया गया। पर उससे सटकर बहने वाली शिवना नदी का भी संकेत तक नहीं किया गया। जबकि वह नवनदी (चोकरेल या चोवरेल) और गन्धवती जैसे छोटे छोटे नालों की चर्चा करना भी नहीं भूलता। इससे स्थलों तथा नदियों के प्रति विशेष अनुरक्ति या उपेक्षा ही व्यक्त होती है। पाँचवीं सदी का वत्सभट्टि अपने मन्दसौर के वर्णन में, बिना नाम लिये, मन्दसौर की शिवना तथा इसमें मिलने वाले नाले की चर्चा करता है :[२]

यद्भात्यभिरम्यसरिद्द्वयेन चपलोर्मिणा समुपगूढम्।
रहसि कुचशालिनीभ्यां प्रीतिरतिभ्यां स्मरांगमिव ॥

स्पष्ट ही कवि की दशपुरवर्णन में वह अनुरक्ति नहीं है। चम्बल के लिए डेढ़ श्लोक इसलिए लगे कि उसमें रतिदेव की पौराणिक कथा की भी चर्चा की गयी। स्पष्ट ही गम्भीरा और देवगिरि के वर्णन में कवि ने अतिरिक्त रुचि प्रदर्शित की।

यह सही है कि विशेष रुचि उज्जैन के प्रति प्रदर्शित की गयी है। पर उज्जैन तो इस स्थल का निकटम नगर था। वह कवि की कर्मस्थली थी। उसने जीवन वहीं व्यतीत किया। इसलिए उस नगरी के प्रति उसका विशेष अनुराग होना स्वाभाविक था।

उज्जैन से उड़ते ही मेघ गम्भीरा पार कर देवगिरि पहुँच जाता है। मेघ उज्जैन से दशपुर अर्थात् मन्दसौर की दिशा में अर्थात् उत्तर पश्चिम की ओर बढ़ता है और देवगिरि पहुँचता है। यह स्थल उज्जैन से उत्तर पश्चिम में लगभग बीस मील दूर आज की देवडूंगरी है। पूर्ववर्ती समस्त मतभेदों और विवेचनों के बाद अब यह निश्चित हो गया है कि देवगिरि वर्तमान देवडूंगरी है। इस तथ्य की पुष्टि स्वर्गीय एम० बी० गर्दे, हरप्रसाद शास्त्री तथा डॉ० वा० वि० मिराशी भी करते हैं[३]। गम्भीरा इस स्थल से दो कास पहले है। अर्थात् देवगिरि की निकटतम नदी है। यह देवडूंगरी उन्हेल ग्राम से १० मील उत्तर में है। यह लगभग दो सौ फीट ऊँची टेकरी है तथा इतनी ऊँची टेकरी पूरे क्षेत्र में अकेली है। चम्बल यहाँ से लगभग तीस मील उत्तर पश्चिम में है और वहाँ से दशपुर पच्चीस मील और दूर है।

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२. कार्पस इन्स्क्रिप्शन इंडिकेरम, भाग ३, पृष्ठ ८३, श्लोक १३।

३. डॉ० वा० वि० मिराशी, प्राच्य-विद्या-निबन्धावली, खण्ड ४, पृष्ठ ७०। डॉ० वी० जी० परांजपे ने इसे झाँसी से ६० मील दक्षिण पश्चिम का देवगढ़ माना। पर वह अनुचित है (परांजपे द्वारा संपादित मेघदूत)। प्रो० का० बा० पाठक ने इसे चम्बल के समीपवर्ती देवगढ़ बताया है जो चम्बल-शिप्रा संगम से ५ मील दक्षिण में है। पर देवगिरि से कुछ चलने पर चम्बल पहुँचने (उल्लंघिताध्वा) की जो चर्चा मेघदूत में हैं, यह स्थल तदनुरूप नहीं है। क्योंकि मेघ के लिए ५ मील चलना कोई अर्थ नहीं रखता है। पुनः पुरातत्व की दृष्टि से भी वह स्थल महत्वशाली नहीं है और न मेघदूत के वर्णन के अनुरूप है। अतः उन्हेल के निकट की देवडूंगरी ही मेघदूत का देवगिरि है।

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देवगिरि का वर्णन कवि ने इस प्रकार किया है :

त्वन्निष्यन्दोच्छ्वसितवसुधागन्धसम्पर्क रम्यः
स्त्रोतोरन्ध्रध्वनितसुभगं दन्तिभिः पीयमानः ।
नीचैर्वास्यत्युवजिगमिषो र्देवपूर्वं गिरिं ते
शीतो वातः परिणमयिता काननोदुम्बराणाम् ॥४२

तत्र स्कन्दंनियतवसतिं पुष्पमेघीकृतात्मा
पुष्पासारैः स्नपयतु भवान् व्योमगंगाजलार्द्रैः ।
रक्षाहेतोर्नवशशिभृता वासवीनां चमूना—
मत्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे संभृतं तद्धि तेजः ॥४३

ज्योतिर्लेखावलयिगलितं यस्य बर्हं भवानी
पुत्रप्रेमणा कुवलयदलप्रापि कर्णे करोति ।
धौतापागं हरशशिरुचा पावकेस्तं मयूरं
पश्चादद्रिग्रहणगुरुभिर्गर्जितैर्नर्तयेथाः ॥४४

आराध्यैनं शरवणभवं देवमुल्लंघिताध्वा
सिद्धद्वन्द्वैर्जलकणभयाद् वीणिभिर्मुक्तमार्गः ।
व्यालम्बेथाः सुरभितनमालम्भजां मानयिष्यन्
स्रोतोमूर्त्या भुवि परिणतां रन्तिदेवस्य कीर्तिम् ॥४८॥

तुम्हारे बरसाये जल के कारण धरती से उठती सौंधी गन्ध से सम्पर्क होते ही वायु रमणीय हो बहने लगती है, शुण्डाग्र से श्रुतिसुभग ध्वनि करते हुए हाथी जिसका पान करते रहते हैं, तथा जो गूलर के जंगल पकाती है। जब तू देवगिरि के निकट पहुँचेगा, यह वायु झुक जायगी और साथ ही तुझे भी झुका देगी—देवगिरि के शिखर तक। ४२

वहाँ स्कन्द का स्थायी वास है। तुम पुष्पमेघ बनकर आकाश गंगा के जल सिक्त पुष्पवर्षा से उन्हें स्नान करवाना। देवसेना की रक्षा के लिए चन्द्रशेखर ने आदित्य से भी प्रखर जो तेज अग्नि के मुख में रख दिया था, वही यह स्कन्द है। ४३

ज्योति से चमकते गोल मण्डप वाले मयूर पंख को पुत्र प्रेम से भवानी कान में लगा लेती है, कुवलयदल के स्थान पर। इससे स्पष्ट है कि देवगिरि की भवानी को कुवलय के स्थान पर बर्ह चढ़ता था। और तब पर्वत से टकराने से गम्भीर अपने गर्जन से पावकि (कार्तिकेय) के उस मयूर को नचाना जिसके नयनकोर शिवजी की शशिलेखा से घुलकर शुभ्र हो गये हैं। ४४

शरवण में उत्पन्न हुए इस देव की आराधना कर पथ पार कर आगे बढ़ोगे तो : स्कन्द की अर्चना में वीणा बजाते सिद्धयुगल, जलकण के भय से पथ छोड़ देंगे तब पंथ पार करते ही रन्तिदेव के गोमेध से उत्पन्न उस कीर्ति को सम्मान देते हुए लम्बोतरे होकर झुक जाना जो भूमि पर (चर्मण्वती या चम्बल के) प्रवाह रूप में परिणित हो गयी है। ४५

यह देवगिरि पूर्वोक्त देवडूंगरी है जिसके आसपास कालिदास द्वारा व्यक्त विवरण बहुधा आज तक पाया जा सकता है। यह उज्जैन से मन्दसौर के सीधे पथ में आता है। यह गम्भीरा और चम्बल

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के मध्य है। यह टेकरी लगभग २०० फिट ऊँची, १००० फुट लम्बी, ४०० फिट चौड़ी है। इसके आसपास तो ठीक, दूर दूर तक और कोई टेकरी नहीं है। गम्भीरा यहाँ से दो कोस दूर से बहती है। यहीं समीप गम्भीरा शिप्रा में मिल जाती है। यहाँ की शिप्रा तथा आगे की कालीसिन्ध में हाथी डोब हैं। यहाँ के खेतों को आज भी हाथीपान कहते हैं। हाथलयाखेड़ी गाँव भी है। ये सब सिद्ध करते हैं कि यहाँ प्रचुर मात्रा में हाथी विचरते थे। जिसकी चर्चा पूर्वोक्त श्लोकों में भी की गयी है। यहाँ उदुम्बर का वन भी था। अब न तो हाथी हैं और न वन। पर गूलर के वृक्ष तो जहाँ तहाँ हैं ही। समीप ही शिप्रा पार के झारडा के पास एक मदागरी (मन्दाकिनी) नदी बहती है जो श्लोकों में व्यक्त व्योमगंगा की याद दिला देती है। भाद्र कृष्ण दशमी को शिव के तेजरूप (स्कन्द) तेजाजी की शिव के चबूतरों पर गाँव गाँव में पूजा होती है। ये तेजाजी जाट देवता तेजाजी से भिन्न हैं। तेज की पूजा के समय छत्र पर मयूराकृति बनायी जाती है। मयूर यहाँ अब भी हैं। यह पक्षी स्कन्द का वाहन है जिसकी चर्चा देवगिरि के सन्दर्भ में भी हुई है। शरवण के पोषक अनेक सरवण या सरवनखेड़ा ग्राम हैं।[४] उन्हेल या देवडूंगरी के निकट सरवना तथा उसके निकट सरवनखेड़ा है। यहाँ सरकण्डे के वन की पुष्टि होती है। निकटवर्ती पूनाखेड़ा ग्राम उसके कभी पुण्य क्षेत्र होने की सूचना देता है। समीपवर्ती मऊखेड़ा में मधूक की बहुलता का संकेत है। इसी गाँव में परमारयुगीन दशावतार का मंदिर है जिसके प्रधान देव विष्णु की देवी के रूप में अर्चना की जाती है।[५]

कार्तिकेय की अर्चना के पश्चात् मेघ आगे बढ़ता है—

उल्लघिताध्वा। यहाँ उस समय कोई महत्वपूर्ण राजकीय या व्यापारिक मार्ग रहा होगा जिसे मेघ पार करता है। आज भी प्रमुख एवं लम्बे मार्ग को गाँवों में केवल पंथ कहकर पहचान लेते हैं। पंथपिपलई आदि ऐसे ही पंथ बोधक नाम हैं। वैसा ही यहाँ कोई व्यापारिक पंथ गुजरता हो जिसे मेघ पार करता है। इसी अध्वा से लगा हुआ देवगिरि था। जहाँ स्कन्द का प्रसिद्ध देवस्थान था। यहाँ शिव और पार्वती की भी प्रतिमाएँ थीं। पर महत्ता स्कन्द की ही थी। देवधर्मराज की वहाँ अब भी पूजा होती है। कालिदास शरवन में उत्पन्न देव की अर्चना की चर्चा करता है। वे देव जिस टेकरी पर थे उसे पर्वत का गौरव देकर उसे देवगिरि कहा गया। वही देवगिरि कहलाती है। वहाँ अब भी देव की अर्चना होती है। मालवा क्षेत्र में अब तक गाँव गाँव में देव के चौतरे होते हैं जिनकी अर्चना हर ग्राम वासी करता है। इस स्थल को देवरा कहते हैं। देवगिरि में हाथ में शक्ति लिए जो देवधर्मराज की प्रतिमा है वह भी स्कन्द की ही परम्परा में है। परवर्तीकाल में लोग स्कन्द को भूल गये। और उनके स्थान पर रामदेवजी की पूजा करने लगे। पर स्थान और प्रतिमा स्कन्द की ही थी। देवता का नाम बदल गया। ऐसे परिवर्तन का स्पष्ट उदाहरण देवडूंगरी से एक मील दूर के मऊखेड़ा ग्राम में पाया जा सकता है। जहाँ विष्णु की प्रतिमा को देवी समझ कर पूजा जा रहा है। प्रतिमा परमारयुगीन है। मन्दिर पुराना, प्रतिमा पुरानी पर देवता का नाम परिवर्तित हो गया। और नये रूप में पूजे जा रहे हैं। यही स्थिति स्कन्द की भी हुई। वस्तुतः यक्ष और स्कन्द मौर्ययुग से गुप्त काल तक समूची जनता के

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४. द्रष्टव्य लेखक का लेख—कालिदास की प्रिय भूमि देवगिरि—भारतीय शोधसार संग्रह २।१-२ में प्रकाशित तथा 'देवगिरि—कवि की जन्मभूमि' लेख १९८१ के कालिदास समारोह की स्मारिका में प्रकाशित।

५. लेखक का १९७४ के कालिदास समारोह में पठित लेख 'मेघदूत का देवगिरि'।

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आराध्य थे और इनके स्थान गाँव-गाँव में थे। मालवा में यक्ष को ओखा बाबजी कहते हैं। और ओखा-बाबजी के रूप में ही उसकी पूजा होती है। विभिन्न ग्रन्थों में उज्जैन की अवन्ति सुन्दरी यक्षिणी और प्रियदर्शन वसुत्रात या वसुभूति यक्ष की चर्चा पाई जाती है।

देवगिरि पर चार मन्दिरों का समूह है। वहाँ खण्डेर या खण्डेराव की भी पूजा होती है। यह शब्द स्कन्दराज का अपभ्रंश है। स्कन्दयाग में स्कन्द को धूर्त तथा कथासरित्सागर में धूर्तों का देव कहा गया है। शूद्रक ने मृच्छकटिक तथा कलन्दिकाप्रकाश में सोमनाथ व्यास ने कार्तिकेय को चोरों के देवता के रूप में स्मरण किया है। वहाँ चोर को स्कन्दपुत्र भी कहा गया है[६]। देवडूंगरी से उत्तरपूर्व में कालीसिन्ध बहती है। इस नदी के आस-पास का क्षेत्र सोंधवाड़ा कहलाता है। इस क्षेत्र के लोग राहजनी और लूटने के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे। निश्चय ही कालिदास के काल में इस अध्वा से जाने वाले यहाँ के चोरों से परेशान रहते होंगे। जैसे विघ्न दूर करने के लिए विघ्नेश की पूजा होती है। उसी प्रकार चोरों से रक्षा के लिए पथिक सार्थ देवगिरि में चोरों के देवता स्कन्दराज की पूजा करते रहे होंगे। तथा चोर-डाकू भी चोरी-लुटेरी में अधिक सफलता पाने के लिए अपने इस इष्ट देवता की पूजा करते होंगे। वीणाधारी सिद्धों के जोड़े स्कन्द की अर्चना के लिए आते हुए तो मेघदूत में भी बताये गये हैं। और उन्हीं सिद्धों की गगनचारी के रूप में चम्बल के वर्णन में भी चर्चा की गयी है। आज भी सौंधवाड़ा की सीमा यही है। यह माना जाता है कि सिन्धु के किनारे का क्षेत्र सौंधवाड़ा कहलाता है। पर सिद्धों की भूमि होने से भी यह क्षेत्र सौंधवाड़ा कहलाता रहा हो। ये सिद्ध बड़े चमत्कारी रहे होंगे। इससे ये पूजे भी जाते रहे हों। बाद में इन सिद्धों की जाति ही विकसित हो गयी हो जिनके नाम पर क्षेत्र का नाम ही सौंधवाड़ा पड़ गया हो। वैसे इस क्षेत्र में उस नाम के सौंधिया लोग अब तक बसते हैं। ये सिद्ध संगीत-प्रवीण होते थे। देवगिरि एक रागिनी का भी नाम बताया जाता है। इस संगीत भूमि के नाम पर ही तो यह नाम नहीं है। यह बिलावल थाट के बिलावल राग के अधीन देवगिरि बिलावल कहलाता है। १२वीं सदी के शार्ङ्गदेव के संगीतरत्नाकर में इसका उल्लेख है। इसका रस शान्त और गाने का समय प्रातः है। मेघ भी देवगिरि प्रातः ही पहुँचता है। जहाँ वीणाधारी सिद्ध देव की अर्चना के लिए कह रहे थे। पर शार्ङ्गदेव देवगिरि के यादव राजा का आश्रित था। यह राग इससे पूर्व ज्ञात था या नहीं ? यह विचारणीय है।

कालिदास वर्षा की प्रथम फुहार के समय देवगिरि की भूमि से उठने वाली सोंधी गन्ध से सुपरिचित थे।

त्वन्निष्यन्दोच्छ्वसितबसुधागन्धसम्पर्करम्यः

और वहाँ के प्रमुख देवता स्कन्द या देव के तो वे परम आराधक थे जिनकी अर्चना में एक सम्पूर्ण महाकाव्य कुमारसम्भव की रचना कर डाली। उस अभीष्ट देव की अर्चना में वह विशेष अवधान की आवश्यकता समझते हैं। कवि मेघ से कहता है कि देवगिरि के नियतवसति स्कन्द को स्नान करावे। मेघ तभी स्नान करवा सकता है जब मूर्ति मन्दिर में न होकर खुले आकाश के नीचे हो। स्पष्ट ही स्कन्द की मूर्ति खुले आकाश के नीचे चबूतरे पर होगी। शूद्रक ने पद्मप्राभतक भाण (१८।११) में उज्जैन

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६. लेखक का लेख 'चौरशास्त्र तथा उसके प्रणेता', मध्यप्रदेश सदेश, १ जुलाई १९७४ तथा वहीं देवगिरि सम्बन्धी लेख।

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में खुले चबूतरे का सहारा लिए खड़े चौक्ष की चर्चा की है। इस चबूतरे पर शिवपिंडी स्थापित थी। देवगिरि के चबूतरे पर अकेले स्कन्द नहीं थे। बल्कि उनके साथ शिव तथा पार्वती की प्रतिमाएँ भी स्थापित थीं। इस ओर स्वयं कवि ने संकेत किया है। इस दृष्टि से श्लोक ४४ महत्वपूर्ण है।

ज्योतिर्लेखावयिगलितं यस्य बर्हं भवानी
पुत्रप्रेम्णा कुवलमदलक्षेपिकर्णे करोति।

जिस कान में कुवलयदल लगाया जाता है—भवानी उसी कान में पुत्र प्रेम से मयूर का बर्ह लगाती है। स्पष्ट ही यहाँ की पार्वती की प्रतिमा को विशेषकर मयूर का पिचध्व चढ़ाया जाता होगा जो स्कन्द के निकट ही रही होगी। डूँगरी के मंदिर में पींध्वी का उपयोग अब तक होता है।

धोतापांगं हरशशिरुचा पावकेस्तं मयूरं।

स्कन्द का वह मयूर जिसके अपांग या नयनकोर शिवजी की चन्द्रकान्ति से धुल कर शुभ्र हो गये हैं। यह बात स्थानीय मयूरों के सन्दर्भ में कही जा रही है। यह तभी सम्भव है, जब यहाँ शिव की भी प्रतिमा हो। तभी उनकी चन्द्रक्रान्ति यहाँ के मयूर के अपांग धवल कर सकेंगे। जिस प्रकार महाकाल के सर्वथा निकट थे इसीलिए अवन्तिनाथ के प्रासाद तथा उसके अन्तःपुर की रातें कृष्णपक्ष में भी ज्योत्स्ना से शुभ्र रहती थीं (रघुवंश, ६।३४)—

असौ महाकालनिकेतनस्य वसन्नदूरे किल चन्द्रमौलेः।
तमिसपक्षे ऽपि सह प्रियाभिर्ज्योत्स्नावतो निर्विशति प्रदोषान्॥

जिस प्रकार अवन्तिनाथ के प्रासाद को ज्योत्स्नामय करने के लिए महाकाल की प्रतिमा की अदूरता आवश्यक थी, उसी प्रकार देवगिरि के मयूरों के अपांग धवल करने के लिए यहाँ भी शिव प्रतिमा की स्थिति आवश्यक है।

पावकेस्तं मयूरं
पश्चादद्रिग्रहण गुरुभिर्गर्जितेर्नंतयेथाः।

पर्वत से घहराती अपनी ध्वनि से हे मेघ, स्कन्द के उस मयूर को नचाना।

यहाँ मयूर एक वचन में व्यक्त है। यहाँ उस मयूर की ओर सहज संकेत हो जाता है जिस पर स्कन्द विराजमान् हैं तथा जो पंख ऊँचे किये होने से पश्चात् अर्थात् पीछे से नर्तन करता दिखाई देता है। जिसके पंखों का प्रभामंडल बन जाता है। जिस ओर कवि ने रघुवंश (६।४) में भी स्पष्ट संकेत किया है—मयूरपृष्ठाश्रत्रिणा गुहेन। ऐसी ही एक गुप्तयुगीन प्रतिमा मथुरा संग्रहालय में तथा अन्य काशी के कलाभवन में सुरक्षित है। कुमारगुप्त प्रथम की स्वर्णमुद्रा पर भी ऐसी ही आकृति अंकित है।

इस प्रकार देवगिरि के प्रसिद्ध चबूतरे पर शिव, पार्वती तथा नाचते मयूर पर बिराजे कार्तिकेय की प्रतिमाएं थीं।

स्कन्द, कुमार, कार्तिकेय, षण्मुख, महासेन, गुह आदि अभिधानों वाले इस देवता के एक मन्दिर की स्थिति का ज्ञान ४१४ ई० के एक लेख से होती है। पतंजलि ने स्कन्द का उल्लेख किया है तथा कनिष्क की मुद्राओं पर इसकी आकृति सहित अभिधान है। गुप्तकाल में तो कालिदास की 'मयूर

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पृष्ठाश्रमिणा गुहेन' कल्पना को मूर्ति तथा मुद्रा पर साकार कर दिया गया है। कालिदास ने कुमार[७] की आराधना में एक महाकाव्य कुमारसम्भव की ही रचना कर डाली। विक्रमोर्वशीय में कुमारवन के प्रभाव से उर्वशी के लता होने की भी चर्चा है। स्कन्द के माता-पिता शिवपार्वती की कालिदास ने जगत् के माता पिता के रूप में अर्चना की है। स्पष्ट ही स्कन्द को जगत् के पर्याय के रूप में मान लिया गया है।

मेघदूत में कवि पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रम न हो, इसका बराबर ध्यान रखता है। वह इस काव्य में महाकाल की अर्चना करवाता है, देवगिरि के स्कन्द की अर्चना करवाता है तथा हिमालय के क्रौंचरन्ध्र से पहले उस पर्वत के उपतट पर चिरकाल से पाषाण पर प्रकट शिवजी के चरणचिह्न की भी अर्चना करवाता है। चरणचिह्न की तो परिक्रमा भी करवाना चाहता है। यक्ष गुह्यक है, स्कन्द गुह, पार्वती गुहा, शिव गुहपति और ब्रह्म गूढात्मन्। स्पष्ट ही यक्ष इनकी अर्चना की अनुशंसा करता है।

स्कन्द के आराधना दिवस के प्रति भी कवि सावधान है। स्कन्द[८] का सम्बन्ध छः से है।[९] स्वयं षणमुख, मताएँ छः कृत्रिकाएँ, बहिन षष्ठी देवी स्वयं षड्रात्रजात, षष्ठि तिथि के स्वामी, जन्म के छठे दिन ही यौवन तथा शक्ति प्राप्त करने वाले। इनकी अर्चना विशेषतः आषाढ़, अगहन तथा चैत्र शुक्ल षष्ठी को की जाती है। वैसे षष्ठी मात्र इनके अर्चना दिवस हैं। मेघदूत में कवि इस ओर सावधान है कि स्कन्द की अर्चना के लिए अनुकूल दिवस, अर्थात् आषाढ़ शुक्ल षष्ठी को प्रातः मेघ देवगिरि पहुँच जाय। वह पंचमी की रात्रि उज्जैन में व्यतीत करता है।

आषाढ़ शुक्ल प्रतिपदा को, आषाढ़ के पहले दिन मेघ आम्रकूट आ जाता है। और आगे मालक्षेत्र तक आ जाता है। दशार्ण में वह कम से कम दो दिन रुक जाता है। क्योंकि मेघ के साथ-साथ चलने वाले हंसों को कवि कुछ दिन के लिए रोक देता है।

सम्पत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा दशार्णाः १।२३

स्पष्ट ही मेघ भी रुकते हैं। क्योंकि हंसों और मेघों का क्रौंचरन्ध्र से आगे अलका तक बराबर साथ है। दशमी की रात तक मेघ अलका पहुँच जाता है। यह मेघ षष्ठी को देवगिरि और पंचमी को विदिशा से उज्जैन पहुँचता है। पंचमी की रात्रि वहीं व्यतीत कर षष्ठी के सूर्योदय से पूर्व ही वह प्रस्थान कर सूर्योदय तक देवगिरि पहुँच जाता है। यह स्कन्द की प्रिय और अर्चना की तिथि है देवगिरि में मेघ अधिक समय नहीं रुकता और चल देता है। अतः दशमी तक वह अपने लक्ष्य पर पहुँच जाता है। क्योंकि मार्ग में पूरे राजस्थान को कवि अनुल्लेखनीय समझ पार कर जाता है, वह विशेष वर्षा का स्थान न होने से।

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७. कुमारकल्पं सुषुवे कुमारम्। रघुवंश ५।३६। सनत्कुमार शब्द का उत्तरार्ध 'कुमार' परवर्तीकाल में स्कन्द का पर्याय बन गया।
तमसस्पारं दर्शयति भगवान् सनत्कुमारस्तं स्कन्द इत्याचक्षते।
छान्दोग्योपनिषत्—७:२६:२

८. लेखक का लेख 'मेघ का यात्राकाल' जो कालिदास समारोह १९७५ में पठित। साथ ही 'द विक्रम' के कालिदास विशेषांक के १० वें खंड में डॉ० रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी का लेख और डॉ० एस० वी० सोहनी का अभिमत।

९. द्रष्टव्य शोधप्रभा, १९८२ में लेखक का लेख—कालिदास तथा भोज।

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स्कन्द की अर्चना में भी कवि ने बड़ी सावधानी बरती है वहाँ मेघ को पुष्पमेघ बनना है। आकाशगंगा के जल से भीने फूलों-सी कोमल बूदों से उन्हें स्नान करवाना है। कार्तिकेय के वाहन मयूर को अपने गर्जन से नचाना है। प्रकृति के समस्त उपकरणों से कवि स्कन्द की अर्चना करवा रहा है। महाकाल की अर्चना नागर अर्चना है। पर कार्तिकेय की अर्चना प्रकृति की, प्रकृति के द्वारा अर्चना है। वहाँ हाथ में चँवर लिए गणिका नृत्य करती है तो यहाँ स्कन्द के सम्मान में प्रकृति की गोद में विचरते मयूर नृत्य करते हैं। वे ही मयूर जिनके पंखों को यहाँ पार्वती अपने कानों में खोंस लेती है और जिनके नयनकोर को शिवजी शुभ्र करते रहते हैं। सिद्धों के जोड़े भी इनके सामने वीणावादन कर अपनी आस्था समर्पित करते हैं। मेघों से यह टेकरी बहुत नीची थी ! कवि मेघों को कुछ नीचे झुककर भी उस टेकरी पर विश्राम करने का निर्देश देता है, पर्वत पर विश्राम करने की प्रतिज्ञानुसार।

देवगिरि के परिवेश तथा प्रकृति से कवि का विशेष परिचय तथा लगाव था। इस भूमि से उसका निकट परिचय था। वह यहाँ के शिव, पार्वती तथा स्कन्द की अर्चना पद्धति से पूर्णतया अभिज्ञ था। उसे यहाँ के गज, मयूर, उदुम्बर के कानन, उससे बहने वाली वायु, उदुम्बरों का पकना, शरवण, अध्वा, तेज और सर्वोपरि यहाँ की मिट्टी और उसकी सौंधी गन्ध तथा स्थानीय सिद्धों और उनकी प्रकृति से लगाव ही नहीं अपनत्व भी था। वैसा ही अपनत्व जैसा अपनी मातृभूमि से होता है।

इसी देवगिरि से कुछ दूर, दो कोस दूर गम्भीरा बहती है। अपने गाँव के निकट की नदी होने से ही कवि ने उसे वही महत्व दिया जो मेघदूत में गंगा के सिवा और कोई नदी न पा सकी। शिप्रा का केवल संकेत किया गया है जब कि गम्भीरा के जल को चित्त के समान स्वच्छ और प्रसन्न बताया गया है। उसमें क्रीड़ा करती चंचल मछलियों से तो लगता है कि कवि ने भी अठखेलियाँ की थीं, अपने बचपन में। उसका पानी नीला और किनारे वानीर से खचित थे। इतने मोहक हैं गम्भीरा के तट कि उन्हें छोड़ने का मन नहीं होता। यक्ष के बहाने कवि अपने मन की बात कह रहा प्रतीत होता है।

गम्भीरायाः पयसि सरितश्चेतसीव प्रसन्ने
छायात्मापि प्रकृतिसुभगो लप्स्यते ते प्रवेशम्।
तस्मादस्याः कुमुदविशदान्यर्हसि त्वं न धैर्या-
न्मोघीकतुं चतुलशफरोद्वर्तनप्रेक्षितानि ॥
तस्याः किंचित्करधृतमिव प्राप्तवानीरशाखं
नीत्वा नीलं सलिलवसनं मुक्तरोधो नितम्बम्।
प्रस्थानांते कथमपि सखे लम्बमानस्य भावि
ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः ॥

लगता है कवि ने इस नदी के किनारे खूब अठखेलियाँ की हैं। और जब भी गम्भीरा के रमणीय किनारे याद आते हैं वह अतीत की स्मृतियों में खो जाता है और प्रयास करने पर ही वहाँ से मन हटा नहीं पाता है।

अवन्ति के ग्रामवृद्ध उदयन-वासवदत्ता की कहानी सुनाते रहते हैं। प्रतीत होता है ये कहानियाँ उसने अपने बचपन में इस गाँव के बड़े-बूढ़ों से सुनी थीं। और फिर जहाँ-जहाँ अवन्तिक्षेत्र में विचरा वहाँ-वहाँ वही कहानी सुनी।

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शीतो वायुः परिणमयिता काननोदुम्बराणाम् ।४२

यों तो यह पंक्ति गूलरों के पकने की ही चर्चा कर रही है। पर क्या इससे यह ध्वनि नहीं निकलती कि यहाँ का शीतल वायु इस वन में बसने वाले उदुम्बर ब्राह्मणों के लिए परम सुखदायी है। या यहाँ उदुम्बरों का जंगल ही है। वास्तव में इस क्षेत्र से आरम्भ कर उत्तर में चम्बल और उसके पार मन्दसौर तक उदुम्बर ब्राह्मणों की आज तक व्यापक बस्तियाँ हैं। और क्या यह कल्पना की जा सकती है कि स्वयं कवि भी उदुम्बर था। जिस ओर उसने व्याज के संकेत भरकर दिया है। भवभूति भी महावीरचरित की प्रस्तावना में स्वयं को ब्रह्मवादी उदुम्बरों के वंश में उत्पन्न बताता है—

उदुम्बराः ब्रह्मवादिनः।

संगीतसाधना करते वीणाधारी सिद्धों की चर्चा मेघदूत में हुई है। यहाँ गूलर का वन भी था। आपस्तम्ब सूत्र (२१/१७) के अनुसार वीणा का दण्ड गूलर की लकड़ी का बनता था। इसीलिए वीणा को औदुम्बरी भी कहते थे (औदुम्बरों स्पृष्टवोद्गायेत्) तथा बोधायन सूत्र (१६/२१) के अनुसार उद्गाता गूलर की लकड़ी की आसन्दी पर बैठकर वीणा बजाता था। इससे स्पष्ट है कि वीणा निर्माण की यह भूमि थी। और सम्भवतः इसलिए यह संगीत साधना की भूमि रही जहाँ के नाम पर सम्भवतः रागिनी का नाम ही देवगिरि रखा गया।

यह समूचा क्षेत्र अवन्ति के अन्तर्गत ही आता है। कहते हैं पुराने बड़े-बूढ़े दिशा मैदान के लिए भी बारह कोस तक चले जाते थे। वे चलने में तीव्र गति थे। इसलिये देवगिरि या कायथा को उज्जैन के अन्तर्गत ही मान लेते थे। इतना व्यापक क्षेत्र होने से ही उसे विशाला कहते थे—श्रीविशालां अवन्तीपुरीं। केरल कथा के अनुसार कालिदास का विक्रमादित्य की बहन से अनुराग हो गया था। पर अन्य अनुश्रुतियों के अनुसार विक्रमादित्य की राजकुमारी से अपमानित वररुचि ने बदला लेने के लिए गाँव के ग्वाले को लाकर उससे छल से उसका विवाह करवा दिया था। वह ग्वाला ही कालिदास था। वैसी स्थिति में भी वह उज्जैन के आस-पास के ही किसी गाँव का निवासी था। वह गाँव गम्भीरा पार का देवगिरि ही हो सकता है।

इस टेकरी के दो शिखर हैं। एक पर चार देवालयों का समूह है जिनमें से एक गिरकर ध्वस्त हो चुका है। एक बड़े मन्दिर में मौर्ययुगीन इंटें रखी हैं जिन्हें सिन्दूर से लिप्त कर पूजा जाता है। इनके दक्षिण में शक्ति लिये अश्वारूढ आकृति उत्कीर्ण है। ये देव धर्मराज कहलाते हैं। इस मन्दिर में ही दक्षिण बाजू और गहरे पुरातन इंटों के देव विराजमान हैं जो कालाबाबजी कहलाते हैं।

इस मन्दिर के सामने एक छोटी मन्दरी है जिसके मध्य शिवलिंग के समान, लगभग दो फीट ऊँचा पिंड है। ये देवबाबजी अर्थात् देव कहलाते हैं। इन्हें ही समुखाबावजी अर्थात् षण्मुख भी कहते हैं। और इन्हें ही पूर्वोक्त खण्डेर या स्कन्दराज भी कहते हैं। देव नाम अब तक अपने पूर्व अभिधान, कालिदासयुगीन नाम का वहन कर रहा है। जिसके कारण इस पहाड़ी का नाम देवगिरि पड़ा।

एक अन्य विशीर्ण मन्दिर में गहरे नीचे शिवस्थान है। दूसरी टेकरी पर लोकदेवता गोरा-बाबजी हैं। यहाँ गूजरों की बस्ती है। तथा पहाड़ी से नीचे मैदान मे इन देव के सम्मान में अब भी मेला लगता है। जिसमें दूर-दूर के लोग एकत्र होते हैं और देवार्चन करते हैं।

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देवगिर का प्राचीन तीर्थों में नाम नहीं है। न उसका प्राचीन साहित्य में उल्लेख है। आज भी वह किसी दृष्टि से उल्लेखनीय स्थान नहीं है। देवगिरि टेकरी भी विशेष ऊँची नहीं है। फिर भी कवि वायु को नीचे बहाकर पवनपदवी मेघ को गिरि की ऊँचाई तक उतारकर—

खिन्नः खिन्नः शिखरिषु पदं न्यस्य गन्तासि यत्र।

प्रतिज्ञा पूरी करता है। परन्तु ऐसी एक और प्रतिज्ञा थी, नदियों के बारे में भी 'क्षीणः क्षीणः परीलघुपयः स्रोतसां चोपभुज्य।' जिसे पूर्वोक्त पार्वती और शिवना के सन्दर्भ में बिसार गया। प्रश्न उठता है कि कवि का इस अमहत्वशाली स्थान के प्रति ऐसा घोर पूर्वाग्रह एवं लगाव क्यों था? उत्तर स्पष्ट है कि कवि का देवगिरि से अत्यन्त निकट का एवं स्वकीय सम्बन्ध रहा। बहुत सम्भव है उसने वह भूमि जन्म से ही देखी एवं परखी हो। उसकी मिट्टी में घरोंदे बनाकर वह खेला हो, वहाँ की वर्षा में विचरा हो, स्कन्द के चौतरे पर जाकर अर्चना की हो, उदुम्बर के वन में विचरते हाथियों को देखा हो, गूलर के फल खाये हों, सरकण्डों के बन में विचरा हो, अध्वा से गुजरने वाले सार्थों या काफलों को देखा हो, कभी उन्हें लुटेरों के हाथों लुट जाते भी सुना हो, मयूरों की विचरण करती टोलियों की केका सुनी हो, उन्हें बार-बार गर्दन करते देखा हो। यह सब तभी सम्भव है जब उसका बचपन वहाँ बीते और उस मिट्टी की सौंधी गन्ध से वह आह्लादित हो उठे। लगता है इस छोटे से गाँव के उदुम्बर ब्राह्मण कुल में कवि ने जन्म लिया होगा और वहीं अपना शैशव बिताया होगा।

मेघदूत में ब्रह्मावर्त, कनखल, हिमालय का विस्तृत विवरण है। हिमालय का तो उसकी अनेक कृतियों में भव्य दर्शन है। उसके प्रति कवि ने अगाध श्रद्धा व्यक्त की है। इसकी तलहटी में योग, भक्ति व अध्ययन के तथा यज्ञ-याग के अनेक आश्रम थे। शुद्ध एवं शान्त वातावरण से सम्पन्न ये आश्रम अध्ययन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण स्थान थे। कवि ने आश्रमों की कल्पना बहुधा वहीं की है। वह स्वयं भी हिमालयवर्ती किसी आश्रम में रहा, विद्याध्ययन किया, वहाँ की प्रकृति को निकट से देखा और कल्पनाशील होने से उसके अनन्त-अनन्त रूपों को उसने आत्मसात् कर लिया। हिमालय का सकृत दर्शन भी विभोर करने में समर्थ है तो कालिदास जैसा कल्पनाशील और भ्रमणशील वर्षों तक उसी वातावरण में रहकर लौटे तो उस पर कितना प्रभाव न होगा? उसकी स्मृति में रह-रहकर विद्या-भूमि आजीवन कौंधती रही और उससे वह इतना प्रभावित रहा कि उसका बहुधा साहित्य हिमालय तथा उसकी गरिमा से ऋद्ध होता गया।

वहाँ से अशेष शास्त्रों का अध्ययन कर जब वह प्रतिभाशाली एवं कल्पनाशील अद्वितीय युवक अपने घर देवगिरि लौटा तो उसके पाण्डित्य की सूचना कानों कान वहाँ से लगभग २० मील दूर उज्जैन नरेश तक जा पहुँचीं। कालिदास को वहाँ बुलाकर पाण्डित्य का परीक्षण किया गया, उसकी थाह ली गयी। उसमें अद्वितीय मनीषा पाकर उसे राज्याश्रय दे दिया गया। अपने गाँव से निकटतर लोकप्रथित नगरी तथा यौवनकाल की वास भूमि होने से उज्जयिनी कवि के लिए परायी नहीं थी। देवगिरि से आये दिन उज्जैन तक आना जाना बना रहता था। बीच में गम्भीरा नदी थी। भला उसे कैसे बिसार पाता वह।

राजनीतिक कारणों से अथवा राज्याश्रित के रूप में वे विदर्भ भी रहे। विदर्भ के भोज वंश को उन्होंने पौराणिक भोजवंश से मिलाकर व्याज से समकाल को उजागर कर दिया। यही बात इक्ष्वाकु

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और नागवंश के बारे में भी कही जा सकती है।[१०] कुन्तलेश्वर के दरबार में भी रहे, आश्रित के रूप में या विक्रमादित्य के दूत के रूप में। विक्रमादित्य, कुन्तलेश्वर तथा स्वयं को पात्र बनाकर कवि ने कुन्तलेश्वरदौत्य लिखकर अपनी आत्मकथा ही प्रस्तुत कर दी थी। गुणाढ्य, बाणभट्ट या दण्डी के समान। जिसके आधार पर परवर्ती काल में कालिदास तथा विक्रमादित्य और कालिदास तथा भोज सम्बन्धी अनेक दन्तकथाएँ प्रचलित हो गयीं।[११]

विदर्भ के प्रति और विदिशा के प्रति कवि का विशेष लगाव रहा जिसे उसने अपने साहित्य में बराबर यथावसर प्रकट किया। पर उसे पद्मावती के नाग नहीं सुहाते थे। इसीलिए मेघ को विदिशा से पद्मावती की ओर नहीं जाने दिया। इसलिए भी नहीं जाने दिया कि उसे उज्जैन, गम्भीरा और अपनी जन्मभूमि देवगिरि का विशेष परिचय देना था। मन्दसौर के बाद चित्तौड़ पुष्कर आदि क्षेत्र के मौखरियों या पौणवंशी नृपों के प्रति भी उसका उपेक्षाभाव ही था। यही कारण है कि उसने इस क्षेत्र का नाम लेना भी उचित नहीं समझा।

इसप्रकार इस कवि का यों तो सारे देश से ही अनुराग था, विभिन्न स्थलों से उसका विभिन्न कारणों से अनुराग था। परन्तु उज्जैन से उसका अपना नगर होने से तथा देवगिरि से अपनी जन्म-भूमि[१२] होने से स्वाभाविक आकर्षण एवं अपनत्व था जो उसके काव्य में बड़ी स्वाभाविकता से व्यंजित हुआ।

सान्दीपनि महाविद्यालय, उज्जैन

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१०. द्रष्टव्य, वही, विश्व संस्कृत सम्मेलन विशेषांक में लेखक का लेख—कालिदास साहित्य में कुछ और ऐतिहासिक समस्याएँ।

११. कालिदास—समारोह १९८२ में पठित लेखक का लेख—लोकप्रिय कथाओं में कालिदास के कृतित्व के समीक्षाबिन्दु।

१२. नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय जर्नल, भाग ५, दिसम्बर १९३८ में डॉ० केदार का लेख।

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BĀṆABHAṬṬA'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE CHAṆḌĀLAS

BRAJDEO PRASAD ROY

A lot of research work has been carried out on different aspects of socio-economic life of the people in ancient India, but sufficient attention has not been paid to the studies of the social status and economic life of the downtrodden people in the early mediaeval period. The Caṇḍālas were considered as the most degraded people in society on whom our *Dharmaśāstras* have imposed several restrictions resulting in their being cut off from the mainstream of social and economic life. They were noted for their impurity, falsehood, theft, heterodoxy, useless quarells, passions, wrath and greed. Ferocity also appears to have been a special trait of the Caṇḍāla character.

Most of the Sanskrit authors have ignored the Caṇḍālas because they were more concerned with their Kṣatriya patrons than the general people and the downtrodden. Only a few of them have referred to them just in a nodding way. But Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of Harṣa, occupies a distinguished place in the group of early mediaeval Sanskrit authors. He not only narrates the acts of Harṣa but also describes the conditions of every section of society because from his very boyhood he was fond of travelling (deṣāntaravalokanaṃ).[1] He had an inquisitive mind which incited him to collect information about the people and things from all quarters. He recorded his deep impressions of what he saw. He had noticed the wretched conditions of the Caṇḍālas which he has mentioned in his two immortal works, namely, the *Harṣacaritaṃ* and the *Kādambarī*. A comparative study of his observations with those recorded in the works of earlier authors, proves that in the time of Bānabhaṭṭa, there was no change in the traditional concept of the Caṇḍālas. However, his studies are very informative and keep us to ascertin their socio-economic status in society.

Several terms were in vogue to denote the Caṇḍālas but only three of them were commonly used, namely, the Caṇḍāla, Mātaṅga and Śvapac. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has used all these terms in different contexts. On account

1. *H. C.*, p. 67 [*Harṣa Caritaṁ*, Chawkhamba, Varanasi, 1958].

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of their dirty habits, cruelty and immoral way of life, they were branded as untouchables and despised as the most degraded people in society. Due to this, they were forced to settle outside the bounds of villages and towns. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has described them in derogatory words, but sometimes, he has expressed his sympathy for them. He has mentioned their degraded social status in the *Śūdrakavarṇanaṃ*, a chapter in the *Kādambarī*. A Caṇḍāla girl (Caṇḍālakanyakā) having a beautiful parrot kept in a cage wanted to have an audience with king Śūdraka of Vīdiṣā. But the *pratihāra* did not allow her to enter the royal court because she was untouchable and unfit for entering the audience hall. On account of her repeated requests however, he went to the king to seek his permission to grant her an audience. It is to be noted that the king thought for a while, and looking at the courtiers in order to know their intentions, at length uttered these words : "what is wrong, let her come (*ko dosah, praveśyatām*).[2]

The lowest social status of the Caṇḍālas is obvious from the fact that the Caṇḍāla girl (Mātaṇgkumārī)[3] was neither allowed to enter audience hall (*sabhāmaṅḍapaṃ*) nor to come near the king. She was ordered by the *pratihāra* to have a look at the king while staying at a long distance from him (*avanipatistu durādavalokaya*).[4] In this context, it is interesting to note that the Caṇḍāla girl obeying him created sounds by striking the ground with a piece of a split of bamboo.[5] Due to this, all the courtiers turned their attention to her. This practice had a social significance. Fa-hien who visited India about two hundred years before the date of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, informs us that when the Caṇḍālas entered the gate of the city or a market place, they stroke a piece of wood to give prior notice of their arrival so that the people could know and avoid them.[6] Perhaps, the Cāṇḍala girl also did the same to inform the courtiers of her arrival so that they could avoid the danger of being in touch with her.

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2. *Kād.*, p. 23 [*Kādambari*, Chowkhamba, Varanasi, 1960].
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24
4. *Ibid.*, p. 29
5. *Ibid.*
6. Legge. *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 43

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Bāṇabhaṭṭa thinks that in spite of her charming physical features and beautiful appearance, she was not fit for social contact with the persons of the noble families (*kulīnānāṃ*).[7] She was impure and untouchable on account of her birth in a Caṇḍāla family (*Mātangakuladūṣitāṃ*).[8] She was not only untouchable but also was an embodiment of all the social evils and was the very personification of untouchability (*mūrttāmiva-sparaśavarijitaṃ*).[9] The degree of her untouchability may be assumed from the statement of Bāṇabhaṭṭa that she could not be touched but could only be seen with one's own eyes as if she were just a pointed figure (*ālekhyagatāmiva darśanamātraphalaṃ*).[10] She was so degraded as if she did not belong to any caste (*ajātiṃ*).[11] It seems that he refers to her *antyaja* special order. She was outside the social organisation of the caste Hindus, and she did not belong even to the śūdra *varṇa*.

He has further highlighted the untouchability of the Caṇḍālas. Sūdraka was astonished to see the beauty of that Caṇḍāla girl and expressed wonder as how she was born in a Caṇḍāla family and how Brahmā created her. He thought that for fear of being polluted with her touch he might have created her without touching her figure (*Mātangajāti sparśadoṣabhayāt spreśateyamutpāditā Prajāpatinā anyathā kathamiyamkliṣṭatā*[12] (*āvaṇyasya*) Bāṇabhaṭṭa has defied upon Brahmā for having combined two opposite things into one, namely, the extraordinary beauty in a person belonging to the lowest social order (*sarvathā dhig Vidhātāraṃ asadṛśa saṃyoga kāriṇaṃ, atimanoharā = kṛtirapi krūrajāti*).[13] He thinks that Brahmā has no aesthetic sense as he combined the tenderness of beauty with a person of very cruel (*krūra*) caste.

The foregoing details prove that the Caṇḍālas were the most degraded people in society. They were untouchable so any sort of social contact with them was forbidden. Not even one person belonging to the upper caste could have the courage to accept the hands of a Caṇḍāla girl

7. *Kād.* p. 33
8. *Ibid.*, p. 34
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 34
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 35
13. *Ibid.*

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even if she was very beautiful. The question of marrying a caste Hindu girl with a Caṇḍāla male was beyond imagination. If such an incident took place, it was considered as an act of social humiliation for the people of the upper castes. Such a female (*Mātaṇgagāminī*) was an object of social boycott. Describing the ideal rule of Puṣyabhūti on the Śrīkantha janapada, Bāṇabhaṭṭa states that during his reign the women were mātangagāminī[14], meaning they moved with the grace of she-elephants. It is a conventional simile used by the Sanskrit authors while narrating the physical features and beauty of a woman. Besides, it denotes that they were no Matangagāminī, that is, they did not establish physical contacts with Mātangas or Caṇḍālas. Even now, such a contact is looked down upon as despicable and the term is used as an abuse for a woman of bad character.

A few points of the Caṇḍāla character have been pointed out by Bāṇabhaṭṭa. He thinks that a Caṇḍāla is the very embodiment of cruelty, deceit and heinous crime. After the death of Prabhākaravardhan, his eldest son Rājyavardhan did not like to succeed him; rather he preferred to retire to the forest for practising penance. He requested his younger brother Harṣa to rule the ancestral kingdom but he refused to oblige his brother saying that in these very critical and sorrowful circumstances even a Caṇḍāla would not like to accept this earth which is no better than a mere lump of clay, and Lakṣmī who acts as a female water fetcher (kumbhadasī) at the direction of the mighty ones.[15] In this statement, he has referred to the greed of the Caṇḍālas.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa thinks that the acts performed by the Caṇḍālas are full of vices. They do not hesitate to commit even the most gruesome crime. In this context, he has referred to the murder of Rājyavardhan by Śaśāṅka, the Gauḍa king, in a very treacherous manner which even a Caṇḍāla could not stoop low to commit (*śvapāko api ka idamācaret*).[16] Bāṇabhaṭṭa has used some abusive words for Śaśāṅka to prove his cruel nature. These words are *musalya*, worth to be killed by hitting with a pestle, *jālma*, the hardened criminal, *papīṣṭa*, the most sinful man, and

14. *H. C.*, p. 160
15. *Ibid.*, p. 312
16. *Ibid.*, p. 324

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adharmacaṇḍāla, the violest Caṇḍāla.[17] The last mentioned abuse is very significant. Śaśāṅka was not only a Caṇḍāla but a violest Caṇḍāla as well.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa has described the character of the Caṇḍālas and their social conditions but has not mentioned their professions and economic life. He has of course referred to a few occupations of the Caṇḍālas. While narrating the march of Harṣa's army, he has enumerated some servants of the lowest grade who also accompanied the army. Some of them were such as the *menṭha* who cleaned the elephant, *vanṭa* a young man who fought an elephant singlehanded, *lambana*, servant who carried many loads, just as an ass does, and *lesika* who collected grasses for horses. In this list, he has included the name of Caṇḍāla,[18] but he has not mentioned the specific duty to be performed by him. Śankara, a commentator on the *Harṣacaritaṃ* comments that the Caṇḍālas were horse-keepers[19] (aśvapālāḥ) but this interpretation seems to be unconvincing and goes against all established social conventions and military rules. They have not been mentioned in connection with the cavalary only but in a general way.

It seems probable that the Caṇḍālas were employed in the army to discharge some particular jobs which could not be performed by the persons belonging to other social groups. First, they might have disposed of the bodies of dead animals such as monkeys, dogs, asses, horses and elephants; secondly, on account of their being associated with the cremation ground, they were included in the army to offer fire to the litters of funeral pyres of dead persons, both combatants and non-combatants. Thirdly, they might have been engaged to clean the military camps. Fourthly, it is also probable that they helped in erecting tents in the *skandhāvara* by cutting, dressing and splitting bamboos because bamboo-work was one of their professions. They also might have made objects of bamboo for the use of the army.

Hunting was the most common means of their livelihood. In ancient texts, they have been mentioned as hunters and sellers of meat.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 355
18. *Ibid.*, p. 367
19. *Ibid.*

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Bāṇabhaṭṭa also refers to this profession of the Caṇḍālas. The Caṇḍāla girl, already referred to above, had brought the parrot to the king of Vidiśa which was caught in course of hunting. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has presented a lively description of hunting by the Sabaras in the Vindhya forests but in this context, he has not referred to the Caṇḍālas.

Now the question is; why could not their social status be raised even during this time when Buddhism was still a dominant religion which preached against the varṇa system ? It appears that even the Buddhist monks did not move among them to propagate the teachings of the Buddha for fear of social boycott by the upper castes who patronised them. The Caṇḍālas did not change the means of their livelihood such as hunting which involved injury and cruelty. They were keepers of hogs, the dirtiest of the animals. Their dirty way of life, unclean dietry habits and uncivilised manners also were hindrances in the way of their socio-economic uplift.

Reader, Department of Ancient
Indian History & Archaeology,
Patna University, Patna-800 005

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MEMORIALS TO HOUSEHOLD ANIMALS IN ANCIENT KARNATAKA

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Setting up memorials has been an ancient practice in India. Of the large number of memorial stones found in Karnataka which are generally referred to as hero stones or vīragala, the more interesting and rare ones are those dedicated to pet and household animals. Dog has been a faithful companion of man from very early times. It is said that even during the palaeolithic period man was using dogs for his hunting spree. However, it becomes common during the mesolithic and neolithic periods as testified to by the prehistoric paintings where dog is shown in hunting scenes in addition to the bones of the dogs found in good quantities. There are good number of literary evidences also to show that dog and other animals were faithful companions of human beings in historical period. However, memorials to dogs and other household animals have been rare in our history. Hence an attempt has been made here to examine such instances in the history of ancient Karnataka.

Karnataka is very rich in different types of memorial stones. The most prolific and popular ones are the vīragals. Usually the vīragals have three sculptures of panel in addition to an inscription. The lowermost panel contains the fight in which the hero is shown; the middle panel represents the celestial nymphs carrying the hero in a palanquin to the heaven and the uppermost panel shows the hero in the heaven. Common memorial stones represent a fight followed by an inscription where the details of the fight are furnished. Some memorial stones do not contain any inscription at all while they have only sculptural representation. In other cases only the inscription does the task of a memorial. The memorials that are examined here dedicated to household animals fall into three categories mentioned above.[1]

1. Though there are thousands of memorial stones in Karnataka, they have not attracted the attention of historians to the extent they ought to. Recently, Dr. R. Sesha Sastry published his book in Kannada entitled '*Karṇāṭakada Vīragallugaḷu*'. (KV) This is the first competent attempt to study the memorial stones of Karnataka in a serious way. Most of the examples mentioned in this paper are taken from the above book. This is gratefully acknowledged here.

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Of all the household animals, dog occupies a prominent place because of its faithfulness in serving the man in addition to its use in a variety of ways. In fact, in many instances dog is treated as part and parcel of the family, perhaps with the exception of cows which attained an eminent position because of the sacred character. Further the memorials to dogs have been more interesting than the others and hence such memorials have been examined first.

The most interesting epigraph to commemorate the death of a dog is from Ātakūr (Mandya district) belonging to the time of Rastrakuta Krishna dated 950 A. D.[2] This epigraph describes in detail the fierce battle between Rastrakutas and the Cholas in which western Ganga king Būtuga fought on behalf of Krishna. Būtuga's subordinate who took part in this battle was a soldier by name Manalera. This Manalera fought in an exemplary way and defeated the enemies. Būtuga was greatly pleased by the valour of Maṇalera and expressed his appreciation. At this juncture Maṇalera requests his master Būtuga to give him his pet dog by name Kāḷi as a reward. Būtuga obliged him and the dog Kāḷi was taken away by Maṇalera. In course of time the dog Kāḷi while on a hunting expedition with his new master killed a boar but died in the fight. Maṇalera felt great sorrow at the death of his dog and established a herostone in commemoration of this dog. Further he appointed a gorava (priest) to perform daily worship to this herostone set up in memory of dog Kāḷi. To sustain this worship, a grant of land was also made by him. It also stipulated that if any farmer or governor of the area or any officer of the village who destroyed this land given to maintain this stone shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by the dog itself. The inscription ends with a note that if the priest eats the food without worshipping the stone, he would also incure the sin of killing a dog. The upper portion of the inscription has a panel in which is sculpted the dog Kāḷi fighting against the boar. By any standards this instance is very rare wherein a dog has been elevated to the status of a hero by setting up a herostone and making provision for its worship.

An inscription of 975 A. D. from Melagani (Mulbagal taluk of Kolar district) refers to two dogs by name Dhaḷaga and Loga and

2. Epigraphia Carnatica (EC), vol. 7, Maddur 42

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describes in graphic terms the heroism of these two dogs.[3] The son of Parisandi went on a hunting expedition accompanied by these two dogs Dhaḷaga and Loga. The former helped his master by killing twentysix boars whereas the latter dog Loga killed seventyfive boars. Unfortunately, both the dogs were killed in the encounter. Though the master became richer by the hunt he became poorer by the death of these two pet dogs. He decided to set up a stone commemorating this event. He was not satisfied by simply inscribing a record and so the entire scene of the hunt was elegantly sculpted on a stone. There are two friezes of sculpture. The first one depicts the dog Loga killing seventy five boars whereas the second frieze represents the other dog Dhaḷaga. Thus this is a fitting sculptural and inscriptional tribute paid to the heroism of these two dogs by a grateful master. It is interesting to note that dogs were given names even in the ancient period as is done today. From the present epigraph and also the Ātakūr inscription referred to above, it becomes clear that this practice is atleast a thousand years old, if not earlier.

Another interesting herostone is found in Nelavāgilu (Bangalore district). It depicts vividly a scene of hunting in which a hero is assisted by two dogs. One of the dogs is charging the boar almost tearing of its front portion while the other one is attacking the animal from the top.[4] The hero is shown as piercing the boar from his long and sharp weapon. Another inscription of the first quarter of the eleventh century from Kannala mentions that Pallavagauṇḍa took his faithful dog Madakesari on a hunting expedition to a forest in which the dog died after killing a boar.[5] A similar incident is referred to in another epigraph from Madakasira. It states that the chief of Tannur had a dog called Pūṇiga which died while fighting against a boar.[6] The inscription praises the valour and faithfulness of the dog in highly graphic terms. Unfortunately, there are no sculptural representations in the case of the two incidents referred to above.

A fine viragal in the usual three tiers is seen at Balligave in Shimoga district. It is in the classical style of vīragals and has three

3. *Ibid*, Mb 85
4. Sesha Sastry; *op cit*, plate 40
5. *Ibid* page 132
6. South India Inscriptions, Vol IX, part i, no 37

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friezes depicting the various scenes of a hunting expedition. It is dated 1183 A. D. The bottom most fieze depicts a vigorous fight against a boar where three dogs are depicted as attacking the animal. The second panel depicts the celestial damsels carrying the hero to the heaven and the third depicts the heaven itself.[7] Another good representation of a hunting scene is depicted in a vīragal from Koḍihalli in Bangalore.[8] Here three dogs are shown as attacking the boar from various directions making the boar almost immobile. A similar vīragal is found at Kattigenahaḷḷi in the Hosakote taluk. At Vaṇkamahaḷḷi is a vīragal in which a boar is shown as being attacked by two dogs. One dog attacks it from the back whereas the other one is in the front.[9] This is again a forceful representation of a fight. Equally important is the vīragal from Yelahanka where there is a fine depiction of a fight between a dog and an elephant. Below this sculptural representation is an inscription extolling the valour of the dog.[10]

The vīragal at Tāvarekere is important as it refers to a fight against a tiger by a person called Kambaḷadāna.[11] The sculpture above shows a fight between a dog and a tiger. The dog died in the fight and its service and heroism are referred to in the inscription.

Horses were generally used in fighting and also as a means of transportation in ancient period. We have a large number of memorial stones and sculptural panels depicting soldiers sitting on horses and fighting the enemies. Even some of the herostones depict such scenes in sculpture. Usually such stones are memorials to the hero rather than the horse. Hence, though there are a large number of such panels, they have to be carefully examined if they were really meant as memorials to the horses. Barring such doubtful instances we may refer to some memorials for horses found in Karnataka. Kumārarāma was a great hero who attracted the attention of men of letters. *Kumārarāmanasāngatya* is a work dealing with him in Kannada. Kumārarāma had a horse called Boḷḷa to which he was greatly attached as it carried him in many battle fields successfully. Naturally Kumārarāma developed great love

7. Sesha Sastry; *op cit*, p. 289
8. *Ibid*, p. 73
9. *Ibid*, p. 304
10. *Ibid*, p. 135
11. EC, vol. 10, Mb 162

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and affection for this horse. There is a sculptural panel in the vicinity of the Kumārarāma temple at Kummaṭa and tradition identifies it as Bolla, the pet horse of Kumārarāma. Thus it is a fine memorial, perhaps set up by Kumārarāma himself for his horse. There is a bronze horse in the temple at Beḷagere in Challakere taluk of Chitradurga.[12] It is supposed to the representation of the horse used by the soldier Vīrachikkaṇṇa. There is a small temple of a hero at Nagaragere in Kolar district, in which is found a sculpture of horse made of bronze. The horse may be connected to the herostone being worshipped in the temple.[13] A sculptural representation of a horse is seen in a boulder at Taḷagavāra in Chintamani taluk of Kolar.[14] Obviously, this is a memorial to the horse because there is a vīragal in the vicinity which represents a man and his wife. There are some sculptures of horses in Chitradurga hill and obviously they are memorials set up by the Nayaks of Chitradurga. There are different types of representation of horses at Śravaṇaguḍḍa, Baḷḷigāve, Kamalāpura, Gourasamudra, Lakshmeśvara, Bandaḷike and Abbalūr. They are all memorials to horses.

A large number of vīragals depict cows with heroes fighting to rescue them. Stealing of cow though started for economic reasons became a practice of political significance in course of time. In fact '*gograhaṇa*' was considered a prelude to a major political clash in Karnataka. There are hundreds of such instances in the early history of Karnataka. These herostones are mostly in the form of memorials to heroes who saved the cows from the thieves and robbers. However, cows are depicted in sculptural panels along with the heroes. A vīragal from Shimoga belonging to 1140 A. D. states that the hero rescued the cows from the robbers and died in the fight.[15] Another viragal from Soraba of 1187 A. D. states that when the enemies took away the cows of the village, Kāmagauḍa fought against the enemies, rescued the cows and died.[16] Even a woman taking part in such fights is seen from a viragal from Sarakanur dated 1041 A. D. Lakshamma, daughter of Machagaunda killed the miscreants who stole the cows but died in the encounter.

12. Sesha Sastry, *op cit*, p. 19
13. *Ibid*, p. 302
14. *Ibid*, p. 317
15. EC, vol. 7, Sh 37
16. *Ibid*, vol. 8, Sb 47

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Nevertheless, she is credited to have rescued the cows. Such instances are available in good numbers.

Elephants are also shown in vīragals. Most of these viragals depict scenes of fighting in which the heroes sat on the elephants and participated in the wars. As we do not find inscriptions on most of these stones, it becomes difficult to ascertain if they are memorials to elephants or to the heroes on them. In this connection it is worth referring to a sculpture of a silver elephant now kept in the Iggatappa temple at Padi in Coorg. Though it is not a memorial to an elephant, it refers to the hunting by king Lingaraja II who killed 34 elephants and captured eight calfs alive. To commemorate this event he granted an image of a silver elephant to god Subbarāya of the temple at Padi.[18] The inscription is engraved on the floral band on the back of the elephant.

Thus these are some of the instances in which memorials were erected to household animals or references were made to them in gratitude. A detailed survey of all these evidences is bound to yield very interesting results on this neglected aspect of history, namely the love and affection of man towards household animals.

Professor and Head
Dept of Ancient History and Archaeology
Mysore University, MYSORE 570 006

17. *Ibid*, vol. 9, Ht 11
18. *Ibid*, vol. I, no 26

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THE VARDHANAS AND THE PANJAB : A STUDY OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE

DR. JASWANT KUMAR SHARMA

Sthānviśvara or modern Thanesar, situated in the state of Haryana (Kurukshetra district), came into the limelight with the establishment of the Vardhana or the Puṣpabhūti dynasty in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Emboldened by the political confusion caused by the Hūṇa invasions, increasing internecine wars, and ever-changing boundaries, many ambitious feudal families began to fill up the vacuum by setting up their own principalities. The Vardhanas seem to be one of such families of eastern Panjab, who also tried to establish their foothold in the region. The family acquired prominence with the accession of Prabhākaravardhana in c. A. D. 580, who enhanced its stature by pursuing an aggressive foreign policy. His son, Harsha, who was politically ambitious and intellectually vigorous, was destined to herald a new era of imperialism.

Since the Vardhanas belonged to one of the regions of the eastern Panjab, either it was taken for granted that they must have extended their sway over the whole of the Panjab, or a negative view was taken about their actual sphere of influence. However, while discussing the same, certain specific historical problems, viz. Harsha's priorities of eastern India, the shifting of capital to Kanauj and the subsequent neglect of the Panjab thereby, and the increasing dependence of the Vardhanas on the armies of their *sāwantas* have not been taken into consideration. Thus the relations of the Vardhanas with the Panjab requires an objective study of source-material. In the present paper, an attempt has been made to analyse the same within the historical perspective.

The historiography of the Vardhanas has attracted probably more attention than any other single dynasty of Ancient Indian History. While describing Harsha and his father, both the extremes are taken up. To some, Harsha was the last important king of Northern India,[1] while

1. V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 4th rev. ed. (1962), 370-71, C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India* (1921), Vol. I, 58.

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to others he was not very powerful one, and all his achievements are due to the exaggerating and eulogistic accounts of Bāṇa and Hsien-Chwang.[2] Still some have gone to the extent of suggesting that his empire was indeed a very small one.[3] R. C. Majumdar was the first who refused to regard him as the last important king of Northern India, but his attempt to bring about an objectivity is receded into the background, because of his pro-Saśāṅka-bias and concerted efforts to underestimate the towering personality of Harsha.[4] On the contrary, in certain works on Harsha emphasis is laid on the authenticity of the literary sources.[5] M. Ettinghausen and K. M. Panikkar regard Harsha as the overlord of the whole of Northern India.[6] R. C. Majumdar,[7] V. A. Smith[8], and R. S. Tripathi[9] argue that the northern limits of his empire cannot be stretched beyond the state of Jalandhar. S. Chattopadhyaya suggests that the entire region lying to the west of Karnal district must have been outside the jurisdiction of Harsha.[10] D. Devahuti expresses the opinion that he exercised his influence over the kingdoms of Sindh and Takka (between Beas and the Indus rivers)[11]. Buddha Prakash goes to the extent of placing the entire North-Western region, Sindh, Kapiśa, Bamiyan, etc. under his suzerainty.[12] These

2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, IX (1923), 311 ff; that the fame of Harsha is due to the eulogistic account of Bāṇa and Hsien-Chwang, A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (*Rep.*) (1961), 68.
3. Sukla Das, *Socio-Economic Life of Northern India*, (1980), 3; the fact that the Chinese pilgrim does not refer even to a single dependency of Kanauj has tempted R. C. Majumdar to suggest that "so far atleast as these accounts are concerned, Harshavardhana was merely king of Kanauj", *J. B. O. R. S.*, IX (1923), 318.
4. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, (Rep.), 1971), 68.
5. D. Devahuti, *Harsha—A Political Study* (1970), 60-63; B. N. Sharma, *Harsa and His Times* (1970), 101-110.
6. R. C. Majumdar (ed.) *The Classical Age* (*C. A.*), Vol. III, 2nd ed. (1962), 112.
7. *Ibid.*, 113.
8. Smith, op. cit., 365, 368.
9. R. S. Tripathi. *History of Kanauj* (1964), 116, 118-120.
10. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, 2nd ed. (1968), 327
11. Davahuti, op. cit., 90.
12. Buddha Prakash, *A. New Light on the Political Career and Military Conquests of Harsa*, (*Journal of Indian History*) (Trivandrum) Vol. LVI, Pt. II (August, 1978), 278-281.

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diametrically opposite conclusions with regard to the extent of Harsha's empire in the north and the north-west have been drawn either by taking into account the description of the literary sources without examining their validity, or ridiculing them by denouncing them as the works of panegyrists and sycophants. Thus while some have taken up too wide a view, others too narrow. Surprisingly, even those who take the limits of his empire upto the state of Jalandhar fail to determine its exact limits. Hence, there is no unanimity. Even if we take a negative view, Harsha's empire was certainly not a small one. The epithet *sakalottarāpatheśvara* for him coming down from his enemies' records,[13] may not be true literally, but it shows definitely that he was one of the most powerful rulers of Northern India. However, while determining the limits of his Kingdom in the Panjab, none has cared to take into account certain significant historical developments. It is an established fact that the crown-prince Rājya probably fought the last battle in the Panjab against the Hūṇas, whose principality must have been located in the close vicinity of Thanesar. Thus if the exact location of the Hūṇa principality is traced out first, it would not be difficult for us to draw the exact boundaries of the Vardhanas. Secondly, the Chinese pilgrim informs us that the Bodhisattva advised Harsha that he should neither occupy the throne of Kanauj nor assume the title of Mahārāja, rather he should contend with the title of Rājaputra and the style of Śīladitya only.[14] It is quite apparent that the throne of Kanauj was not an easy walk-over for him. Probably it was with a view to cool down the local opposition coming mainly from the scions of the Maukhari royal house and to some extent the people of Kanauj that Harsha kept his widowed sister Rājyaśrī with him throughout. There is no wonder that the *Fang-chih* represents Harsha and Rājyaśrī as ruling co-jointly.[15] This explains as to why Harsha gave priority in going to the Vindhyas to save the life of his sister. Her very presence, may be shadowy, was very essential politically to strengthen his claim for the throne of Kanauj. This doubtlessly enhanced his stature, but at the same time it also

13. The Nirpan Grant, *I. A. IX*, 124-25; The Karnul Grant, *IA, XI*, 66; The Togarchedu Grant, *IA, VI*, 85 ff.
14. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, (ed.) Rhys Davids & S. W. Bushell, 2nd ed. (1973), I, 343.
15. *C. A*,, op. cit., 102.

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minimised the chances of his muddling in the affairs of the Panjab, for it must have taken a lot of time for him to get settled there. Thus if while describing Thanesar, the Chinese pilgrim does not refer to its being under Harsha, it is not because the latter had lost it, rather it is because the capital of his paternal kingdom must have remained in a state of constant neglect for long. Thirdly, in view of a vow taken by Harsha to avenge the murder of Rājya against Śaśāṅka, the ruler of Gauḍa,[16] and his failure to do so for long also refutes any possibility of making any thrust against any fresh area of the Panjab. The Ganjām plate of the year 300 (c. A. D. 619) represents Śaśāṇka with all the imperial titles.[17] More-over, the Chinese pilgrim refers to the cutting down of the Bodhi tree by Śaśāṅka as a recent event, when he visited the place in A. D. 637.[18] This goes well in conformity with Bāṇa. Harsha is stated to have become a Buddhist after the subjection of Śaśāṅka, but the former's Banskhera and Madhubana records of the years 22 and 25 respectively refer to him as *paramamāheśvara*. Thus he continued to be a staunch Śaivite as late as A. D. 631, or may be afterwards. Generally speaking, when his priorities of the east kept him so pre-occupied throughout, how could he afford to open other sensitive issues. There does not seem to be an iota of evidence in support of the assertion that instead of uprooting Śaśāṅka Harsha had to patch up with him probably due to some upsurge on the northern and western frontiers of his kingdom.[19] This does not explain precisely as to why Harsha left his arch enemy unhumbled for long. Lastly, it is amazing that while making their generalisations, none has cared to take into account certain revolutionary changes which had taken place in the contemporary polity. Bāṅa's unique description of the *sāmantas* as a class to reckon with is indeed a clear testimony of the emergence of a class of landed magnates who were vested with not only the right to collect taxes but also the right to maintain law and order. The emergence of the class of feudal lords with feudal property and with seignorial rights created a new

16. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, *The Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa* (Eng. tr.), 2nd ed. (1968), 187, 257-58; Watters, op. cit., I, 343.
17. *E. I.*, VI, 141.
18. Watters, op. cit., II, 115.
19. Buddha Prakash, op. cit., 278.

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situation in Indian polity for the first time. This led to decentralisation of power, and when the powers are delegated, the State disintegrates. Thus from the stand-point of incipient feudalistic trends, the Vardhana period marks the beginning of the early medieval period. The Vardhana armies were in fact a feudal militia, and the description of Harsha's army camp highlights corruption, lack of cohesion and grumblings among the soldiers, the nobility, the menial workers and the peasantry.[20] Now the suzerain confronted danger both from within and without and the contemporary literature and epigraphs give numerous instances when it became difficult for him to keep the *sāmantas* under his control. With such heterogeneous armies Harsha or Prabhākar were not expected to achieve laurels in the east, the west, the north and the north-west. This explains as to why Harsha took long time to subdue Śaśāṅka. Thus while discussing the Vardhana spheres of influence in the Panjab, we should restrain ourselves from using conventional description about their grand successes.

Bāṇa's rhetoric describes Prabhākara as "a lion to the Hūṇa deer", and a menace to the kings of Sindh, the Gurjaras, Gandhāra, the Lāṭas and the Mālavas.[21] It is supported indirectly by the Banskhera copper-plate inscription of Harsha which describes his father as one "whose fame crossed the four oceans and who subjugated other kings by means of his valour or love".[22] Whether he actually humbled or over-awed these six states has evoked a mixed reaction.[23] But the Chinese pilgrim gives a somewhat different account of these regions. He refers to atleast three

20. *H. C.* (tr.), 207-09.
21. *Ibid.*, 101.
22. *E. I*, IV, 208 f.
23. That Prabhākara actually conquered these six states : Smith, op. cit., 349; Devahuti, op. cit., 60-63; Sharma, op. cit., 104-10; Vaidya, op. cit., I, 1-2; R. K. Mookerji, *Harsha*, 3rd ed., (1965), 11; B. C. Sen, *Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, 258.

That the description of Bāṇa about his conquests is untrue historically : *C. A.*, op. cit., 97-98; Tripathi, op. cit., 79; Upendra Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India* (1967), 201, G. S. Chatterjee, *Harṣavardhana* (Hindi), 1950, 67; S. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., 283; R. S. Tripathi, *A Note on the Extent of Harsha's Paternal Empire* (Śrīkaṇṭha Janapada), (*Journal of Haryana Studies*, (Kurukshetra), X, no. I, (1978), 17 ff.

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independent and powerful kingdoms of Kashmir, Ṭakka and Sindh. He found Gandhāra a subject to the kingdom of Kapiśa. So much so, he does not refer to even Jalandhar's being in the orbit of the Vardhana influence. Thus he places the entire Western Panjab, Gandhāra, Sindh, Kashmir and even certain parts of Eastern Panjab beyond the pale of Vardhana suzerainty. Since the Chinese pilgrim not only travelled extensively in the concerned regions, but also enjoyed the hospitality of a few local kings, his description appears to be more reliable than Bāṇa. While describing a particular state, Hsien-Chwang refers to both its existing political set up and certain changes which it had undergone recently. Curiously enough, there occurs no reference to Vardhanas' hold over any region of the Western Panjab. It is likely that barring the Hūṇas, the other states do not seem to have come into contact with Prabhākara, though their opposition to his rising power cannot be ruled out. This is explained from the very description of Bāṇa himself. While in the case of the Hūṇas more valuable information is given, but no details are given about the rest. So, Bāṇa's narrative appears to be more a poetical and exaggerating account of Prabhākara's conquests rather than the historical ones. Interestingly, the Indian panegyrists do not take into account the geographical limitations while composing their rhetorics. It was a heroic age and the bestowal of such conventional praises on the kings even without making actual conquests by them had become the fashion.

It becomes imperative to make a discussion of the political set up of the Panjab, Sindh, the North-west and Kashmir. As regards the conquests of the Hūṇas, passages in the *Harsha-Charita* are indeed very clear in associating Prabhākara with their conquest twice, first when he was at the zenith of his power, and the other in the last year of his reign when the troops were despatched under the crown-prince Rājya. Thus "the Hūṇa deer", instead of being overawed and cowed, was trying to pounce upon the "lion" himself for towards the close of his reign the kingdom was seriously disturbed by the Hūṇa menace, and Prabhākara had to despatch the crown-prince at the head of a strong force to cope with the danger".[24] But R. C. Majumdar doubts the possibility of any conflict with the Hūṇas as Rājya was recalled suddenly owing to the

24. Tripathi, op. cit., 79; Thakur op. cit., 202.

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serious illness of his father.[25] However, it must be emphasized that Rājya came back anly after his decisive victory. Bāṇa presents him with long white bandages, bound about arrow-wounds received in battle while conquering the Hūṇas, dotted his form like side-glance from his approaching royal glory."[26] Bāṇa also refers to the enormous force (*aparimitabala*) consisting of the Vardhanas and their *sāmantas*, with which Rājya was despatched.[27] In our opinion, the possibility of a single battle cannot be ruled out. Since Rājya was ordered to march against them by his father, the entire credit for the success has been given to the latter by Bāṇa.

About the nature of the success of Rājya's Hūṇa campaign one point of view is that though it was a crowning success militarily, it could not yield any political results, for their menace continued to haunt Rājya even after he became the king.[28] So much so that immediately after his accession, Rajya had to march against Mālava, and while he demanded only Bhaṇḍi and some 10,000 horse, he ordered Harsha to remain in the capital with all the kings and elephants, probably with a view to guard the rear against any fresh Hūna attacks.[29] "This alertness on the part of the Vardhanas, even when they had to face a greater enemy makes it absolutely clear that the Hūṇas, though admittedly defeated and subdued, were yet a political menace whom they could ill-afford to ignore, say at their own peril."[30] The other point of view is that the crowning success of Rājya against the Hūṇas seems to have been the basis of Bāṇa's phrase *Hūṇa-hariṇa-kesarī* for Prabhākara.[31] The latter view appears to be true historically, and certain facts can be put forth in support of it. The *Harsha-charita* states explictly that Harsha also wanted to accompany Rajya, but it was the latter who persuaded him to remain in the capital,

25. *C. A.*, op. cit., 98; However in the opinion of V. S. Agrawala it is not possible to ascertain the amount of Rājya's success. *Harsha-Charita Eka Sāṁskṛitik Adhyayana*, (Hindi), 2nd ed. (1968), 118.
26. *H. C.* (tr.), 165; Chatterjee, op. cit., 78; L. P. Pandey, *Prāchīna Himachal : Itihāsa, Dharma Evam Sanskṛiti* (Hindi), (1981), 58.
27. *Ibid.*, 132.
28. Thakur, op. cit., 202; Tripathi, op. cit., 64-65; Pandey, op. cit., 58.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Thakur, 202.
31. Devahuti, op. cit., 60-61, 68.

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since he was confident of his easy victory. The fact that the Vardhanas remained immune from the Hūṇa menace throughout the long reign of over forty years of Harsha itself reflects the decisive success. Right from Prabhākara's death till the recovery of Rājyaśrī, fatal calamities befell the Vardhana family in quick succession, but the Hūṇas did not disturb the balance of power. They did not raise head even after Harsha had shifted his capital to Kanauj. The absence of any description of Hūṇas as a formidable power in the Punjab by the Chinese pilgrim is also an ample proof of the reduction of their status to an insignificant power. If the Vardhanas were seriously exposed to the Hūṇa menace, Harsha would not have left the company of his elder brother in the way.

It is indeed very difficult to decide the place of Rājya's encounter with the Hūṇas. To some, the crown-prince was despatched against them in the North-West or Gandhāra.[32] While doing so, neither the consideration of the status of the Vardhanas at the time, nor the description of the Chinese pilgrim has been taken care of. It should be borne in mind that the Vardhanas had not become a great power as yet, hence they could not be called upon to assume the role of the custodians of the natural frontiers of the country. Bāṇa's separate mention of the Hūṇas and Gandhāra is quite remarkable in the sense that Gandhāra is not placed under the Ephathalite rule.[33]

R. C. Majumdar argues that the Hūṇa kingdom did not extend far beyond the foothills of the Himalyas and might be located in the northern Panjab.[34] But without assigning any particular region for their principality, it is illogical to agree with it.

The *Harsha Charita* refers to the entry of Rājya into "the region which blazes with Kailāsa's lustre."[35] Mt. Kailāsa is a spur of the Gangri region which lies at its foot in the south-west.[36] Thus it has been sugges-

32. Smith, op. cit., 349; Chatterjee, op. cit., 67; Tripathi, op. cit., 63; Agrawala, op. cit., 88; S. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., 284; some include Sākala also Vaidya, op. cit., I, i; Mookerjee, op. cit., 11; K. M. Panikkar, *Śrī Harsha of Kanauj*, 9-10.
33. Thakur, op. cit., 201.
34. *C. A.*, op. cit., 98.
35. *H. C.* (tr.), 132.
36. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, (1927), 82.

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ted that the Hūṇas might have their small principality on the banks of the Sutlej, where the river flows in the hilly tracts of the Gangri region.[37] But to depend solely on the poetical description is to make confusion worse confounded rather than solving it objectively.

Instead of following literally the poetical description of Bāṇa to the effect that Rājya entered into "the region which blazes with Kailāsa's lustre", we should take into account the entire description of chapter V and VI of the *Harsha-Charita*. While Rājya continued his march against the Hūṇas, Harsha preferred to spend his time in hunting, probably not far from the place of encounter. But after hearing the news of his father's serious illness, Harsa started towards Thanesar, and it took him less than two days' time to reach there on the horse back. Immediately after his arrival, he sent express couriers and swift camel riders to manage the speedy arrival of his elder brother. However, the latter could come back only after the expiry of the period of impurity (*gateṣū-aśaucadivaseṣu*), which comes to an end on the eleventh day.[38] This does not show in any way that he had gone too far away from the capital. The courtiers were sent on camels, hence the unusual delay in his coming was quite apparent. It appears that Rājya was in the thick of battle at that time, so it was but natural on the part of the courtiers to withhold the message deliberately till the successful outcome of the battle was ensured. Moreover, the connotation of the term *uttarāpatha* does not denote the whole north rather there is tendency among the writers to use it more loosly for any portion of the north. Thus if Rājya was sent against the Hūṇas in the *uttarāpatha*, it does not mean that he went to the extreme north, or Kashmir or Gandhāra,[39] rather it refers to some Hūṇa principality situated to the immediate north of Thanesar. Interestingly, Hsien-Chwang refers to *She-to-tu-lu* or Śatadru, identified variously with Sirhind and Sanghol.[40] In the absence of any archaeological or material evidence, its identification with Sirhind is ruled out. However, on the other hand,

37. Devahuti, op. cit., 60.
38. V. S. Agrawala, *The Deeds of Harsha* (1969), 142.
39. *Ibid.*, 112.
40. That Śatadru is Sirhind (in Patiala district), A Cunninghum, *The Ancient Geography of India*, ed., S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), 166; That it is Sanghol, S. S. Talwar, *A Glimpse of Punjab Archaeology at Sānghol and Dholabana*, presented to the 7th session of the *Punjab History Conference*, Patiala.

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excavations reveal that Sanghol was a prolific centre of Buddhism, and it corroborates with the description of the Chinese pilgrim, who speaks of ten monasteries in and around it, in a dilapidated form. The discovery of large number of Hūṇa coins from a single site of Sanghol and their continued tradition of issuing Toramāna and Mihirakula type of coins alongwith quite a few names in the line of its kings, viz. Śrī Bhīmsena, Śrī Bala, Śrī Chandragupta, provides evidence to the fact that it continued to be a great Hūṇa stronghold, despite great fluctuations in their fortune.[41] Moreover, coins of the Hūṇa variety are so numerous there that it has no parallel elsewhere in any area of the eastern Panjab. Cunnigham also takes the south-east boundaries of Jalandhar upto Śatadru.[42] Thus the combined testimony of literary and archaeological evidence show that Sanghol was a great stronghold of the Hūṇas. It was against the Hūṇas of Sanghol that Rājya was despatched by his father. This places the Hūṇas in the vicinity of Thanesar. That it took less than two days' time for Harsha to join his ailing father shows doubtlessly that the place of encounter might have been located somewhere Thanesar and Sanghol. The absence of any reference to the Hūṇa stronghold in Kashmir, Gandhāra, or any region of western Panjab by the Chinese pilgrim also speaks of their complete extinction there. This also reflects the great political transformation that had taken place in the entire region towards the close of the sixth century. Places like Kashmir and Gandhāra which were the strongholds of the Hūṇas during the middle of the sixth century were now placed under the kings who had nothing to do with them.

The kingdom of Jalandhar was about 1,000 *li* in length from east to west, and 800 *li* in breadth from north to south. If these dimensions are taken as correct, it included the state of Chamba on the north, Mandi and Suket on the east and Śatadru on the south-east.[43] It was ruled by a Buddhist king named Wu-ti, or Udita, or Buddhi, who was rewarded the august designation of the sole inspector of the affairs of

41. G. B. Sharma and Manmohan Kumar, *Some More Huna Coins From Sanghol*, (*The Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*), III, (1980), 33.
42. Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki* (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*), II, 276, 279-80; Watters, op. cit., II, 256-61.
43. *A. G. I.*, op. cit., 156.

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religion throughout the "Five Indias" by the king of Mid-India (Harsha?).[44] It is in this capacity that he travelled widely throughout India and erected topes or monasteries at all the sacred places of Buddhism.[45] He not only participated actively in Harsha's religious assemblies but was charged by the latter to escort the distinguished Chinese pilgrim in safety to the frontiers of India as well.[46] Following this description, it is argued that the state of Jalandhar was under the suzerainty of Harsha.[47] There does not seem to be any truth in arguments placing Jalandhar under the suzerainty of Harsha, simply because its king acted as an escort to the pilgrim on the explicit instructions of Harsha. Probably it was his Buddhist fervour which prompted him to attend the religious assemblies of Harsha. It was with a view to enlighten him more from the thought-provoking discourses of the Master of the Law that the king of Jalandhar agreed to act as his escort. There is hardly anything in the passage which can prove about the political relations of the two kings, and the story about the visits of the king of Jalandhar to the various parts of the country has no historical value, except that he visited only in his capacity as a Buddhist Bhikṣu.[48] Moreover, the *Life* calls the king of Jalandhar as "a king of North India",[49] which indicates his independent status. But did Harsha make him an ally to secure an unhindered passage through his territories in order to establish his links with Kashmir, the Panjab, the North-western region, and Sindh ? These are the questions which require better comprehension in order to ascertain Harsha's influence in the northern region.

The state of Jalandhar also included Chamba. It is curious that the Chamba inscriptions do not furnish any records of its first three kings, namely, Ādityavarman, Balavarman and Divākaravarman,[50] which show that they were the feudatories of the kings of Jalandhar.[51] However,

44. Beal, op. cit., I, 176; S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, 2nd ed. (1973), 189-91.
45. Watters, op. cit., I, 296.
46. *Life*, op. cit., 189-90.
47. Pandey, op. cit., 58; Tripathi, op. cit., 87.
48. R. C. Majumdar, *I. H. Q.*, V, 231.
49. *Life*, op. cit., 189.
50. *ASIR*, 1902-03, 242-44; J. P. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I (1911), 142 ff.
51. S. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., 326-27.

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Vogel places Chamba under the suzerainty of the powerful rulers of the Karkota dynasty of Kashmir in the 7th and 8th centuries.[52] But he himself does not appear to be sure about such a probability. "It is, however, worthy of note that none of the epigraphical records of the chiefs of Chamba bears any evidence of their having recognised Kashmir as the paramount power."[53] On the other hand, H. Goetz argues that Chamba was included in Harsha's dominions.[54] But the geographical proximity of Chamba to the state of Jalandhar minimizes the probability of its being under Harsha.

The non-mention of the king of Kulu (*Ku-lu-to*) by Hsien-Chwang, and the probability of the dating of the Nirmaṇḍ copper-plate inscription (Kulu district) of Mahāsāmanta and Mahārāja Samudrasena in the Harsha Era of the year 6 (c. A. D. 612-613) is taken to mean that the entire Kulu region was included in the empire of Harsha.[55] But the pilgrim also does not mention the name of the king of Kashmir. Are we to place Kashmir under the suzerainty of Harsha, simply because the name of its king is also not mentioned. Similarly, there has been unending controversy regarding the date of the Nirmaṇḍ inscription.[56] It is evident from the description of the Chinese pilgrim that the eastern boundaries of the state of Jalandhar included Mandi and Suket. This rejects any possibility of Harsha having any control over these regions for he could take his sway to Kulu only if Mandi and Suket were placed under his subjection first. Thus the year 6 of the Nirmaṇḍ inscription was probably the regional year of

52. Vogel, op. cit., 96
53. *Ibid.*, 96-97.
54. H. Goetz, *Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (1955), 10; Tripathi, *J. B. O. R. S.* XVIII, 296 ff.
55. Tripathi, op. cit., 115-16; Pandey, op. cit., J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 2nd revised ed. (1963), Vol. III, no. 80, 287.
56. Fleet endeavours to place the inscription in 7th century on palaeogriphical grounds, though he is not certain about its being dated in the Harsha Era, op. cit., 287; Gen. Cunningham finds it dated in the Vikrama-Saṁvat 1227 (A. D. 1160-61), *A. S.* I., Vol. XIV, 120 ff, which is also refuted by Fleet, 288; that appears to be dated in the Harsha Era and indicates the expansion of Harsha's empire in that direction, H. Goetz, op. cit, 10; R. S. Tripathi, *J. B. O. R.* S., Vol. XVIII, 296 ff, also Tripathi's *History of Kanauj*, op. cit., 136.

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Mahārāja Samudṛasena and it is not unlikely that the kings of Kulu were the vassal chiefs of the kingdom of Jalandhar. In view of the ambiguities in the traditional description, it becomes necessary to determine afresh the relations of Harsha with the Western Himālayas. However, his suzerainty over certain hilly regions of Himachal Pradesh, like a part of Sirmur district etc. which are adjacent to Thanesar cannot be ruled out. From the perspective of the peculiar inter-state relationship, the states of Sugh (Śrughṇa) which is in Ambala district of Haryana, Śatadru (probably Sanghol in Ludhiana district of the Panjab) and those existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Thanesar might have acknowledged the Vardhana suzerainty of their own accord. The *Records* confirm this tendency by pointing out that in many countries there were no independent kings and they were the dependencies of some other countries.[57]

The State of Chīna-bhukti, which was above 2000 *li* had its capital probably at modern Patti (Amritsar district), situated 27 miles to the north-east of Kasur and 10 miles to the west of Beas river.[58] Since the Chinese pilgrim travelled for over 500 *li* eastward from Ṭakka to reach here,[59] the proposed identification does not seem to be improbable. Thus Chīna-bhukti can be placed between the kingdoms of Ṭakka and Jalandhar. To say that it was a part of Harsha's dominions,[60] is to betray the historical realities.

It appears from the description of the Chinese pilgrim that Ṭakka (*Cheh-ka*) which was above 10,000 *li* in circuit, and situated between Beas and the Indus rivers was a powerful kingdom.[61] It had its capital at Sākala and exercised suzerainty over Multan and Parvata. Similarly, Kashmir also exercised tremendous influence on the Panjab and the North-Western region. Thus Takṣaśilā, Siṁhapura (the Salt Range) and Uraśa (modern Hazara) were the dependencies of Kashmir. Ṭakka seems to have nothing to do with the Vardhanas and it continued to remain an independent kingdom. Harsha's letters to the princes of

57. Beal, op. cit., I, 90-91, 98, 136, 143, 163; II, 193, 268, 274-76, etc.
58. *A. G. I.* op. cit, 230; Watters does not accept Cunningham's identification, I, 293.
59. Watters, op. cit., I, 291.
60. Chatterjee, op. cit., 158; Devahuti, op. cit., 89.
61. Watters, op. cit., I, 286.

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the region to provide conveyances and carriages to the Chinese pilgrim during the latter's departure should not be construed that the region was under some kind of his control. The letters were sent with a view to ensure safe passage for the distinguished pilgrim only. It seems to be a simple request of Harsha to the fellow kings, and probably nothing more than that.

Sindh (*Sin-tu*) was a powerful kingdom having under it three dependenceis of *A-tien-po-chih-lo*, *Pi-to-shih-lo*, and *A-fan-t'u*.[62] It had its capital at *P'i-shan-p'o-pu-lo*, identified with Abhijānavapura or Alor. It is evident from Bāṇa that Sindh was subject to Vardhana invasions twice, once by Prabhākara and the other by Harsha. Whether Prabhākara actually invaded Sindh is difficult to believe. But it must have been hostile to him which led Harsha to organise an abortive campaign against it.[63] On the other hand, it has been suggested that Harsha's victory was not decisive and Sindh continued to be ruled by a Śūdra king.[64] Since both the observations are based on hypothesis and are in sharp contrast to what we actually find in the description of Bāṇa and Hsien-Chwang, it is therefore difficult to stretch these points.

Buddha Prakash holds the view that after his accession Harsha was deeply embroiled in the affairs of Kanauj, which ultimately took him to the east. Taking advantage of his preoccupations, some of the kings of the north and the North-West must have tried to create certain problems for him. This obliged Harsha to patch up with Śaśāṅka and give priority to Sindh and the North-West. "Thus, whereas his father only sent a fever into the body of that king, he completely crushed him and annexed his kingdom".[65] However, it gives credence to the pithy phrases of Bāṇa. It is doubtful whether Harsha could have patched up with Śaśāṅka. Of course, everything is fair in politics, but could be afforded to alienate the members of his family and the people by resorting to such a base deed.

The description of Ma Tuan-lin and other Chinese historians to the effect that Harsha fought unique battles between A. D. 618 and 627

62. *Ibid.*, II, 256-61; Beal, op. cit., II, 276, 279-80.
63. *C. A.*, op. cit., 98, 106.
64. Tripathi, op. cit., 114; Watters, II, 252; Beal, II, 272.
65. Buddha Prakash, op. cit., 276; *H. C.* (tr.) 76.

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has been taken into account to assert that the occupation of Sindh and Bengal by Harsha took place during this time.[66] We also gather an impression from the Chinese pilgrim that the entire Sindh region and the North-West was undergoing the worse political stalemate and instability. Whether Prabhākara in general and Harsha in particular could have succeeded in exploiting the same to their advantage, appears to be a remote possibility. If the Vardhanas defeated its king or kings on two different occasions, how was it that Hsien-Chwang noticed a Śūdra king as ruling there, independent of Harsha's influence.

As regards Gandhāra, the Chinese pilgrim found it without a royal family, and a subject to the kingdom of Kapiśa. However, its northern part, which included certain regions of western Panjab and a part of the North-West was mostly subject to Kashmir.[67] In order to prove that Gandhāra was conquered by Prabhakara, it is held that the political set-up of the Panjab was quite different in his time and the entire region was in the process of shifting its loyalties quickly.[68] It is an undeniable fact that the entire region witnessed an almost unique phenomenon as it continued to remain for long politically unstable. But for our purposes, the pertinent question is whether Prabhākara endeavoured to take his arms upto Gandhāra or not.

Following Bāṇa's expression that Harsha "took tribute from the inaccessible mountainous land of Tuṣāra".[69] Buddha Prakash argues that it was after the conquest and annexation of Sindh, Harsha invaded the kingdom of the Turks in Gandhāra and penetrated upto the Tukharian country, which resulted in the replacement of the Turkish rule in Kapiśa by the rule of a Kṣatriya prince, who was a devout follower of Buddhism.[70] Further, the kingdom of Bamiyan which lay to the north of Kapiśa was also probably under the influence of Harsha as its king not only held quinquennial

66. Devahuti, op. cit., 91.
67. Watters, op. cit., I, 240, 248, 256, 283-84; *C. A.*, op. cit., 111.
68. Devahuti, op. cit., 63; Sharma, op. cit., 107.
69. Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, 145-46; M. L. Ettinghausen, *Harṣavardhana : Empereur et Poete de L'Inde Septentrionale* (1906); 47, H. C. (tr.) 76; *atraparameśvareṇa tuṣaraśailabhuvo durgaya gṛhītaḥ karaḥ*, Jagan Nath Pathak *Harsacaritam* (text), 3rd. ed. (1972), 154.
70. Buddha Prakash, op. cit., 279-80.

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assembly but also gave away everythiug in philanthropic activities to the monks.[71] The passage of the *Harsha-Charita* on which Buddha Prakash relies solely to take Harsha's arms as far as upto the Tukharian country, is full of puns, and consequently, has been translated variantly by scholars. Thus such a controversial passage cannot serve a suitable basis to draw such revolutionary conclusions. There is absolutely no justification in placing Gandhāra, Kapiśa, and Bamiyan under some sort of Harsha's influence simply because the king of Kapiśa was a Kṣatriya and a Buddhist, and that of Bamiyan's king's philanthrophic activities ran almost parallel to that of Harsha. The latter's conflict could be escalated to Gandhāra, Kapiśa, and Bamiyan if the conquests of Ṭakka and Kashmir were ensured first. That the political set-up of the Panjab, Kashmir, Gandhāra and Sindh was quite different in the time of Prabhākara becomes paradoxical when we find the entire region completely outside the orbit of the empire of Harsha. Thus, Bāṇa's description about the conquests of these regions either by Harsha or by his father appears to be the figment of his imagination. At the most, Prabhākara was a powerful king, and by making some conquests in the immediate neighbourhood of Thanesar, he made a deviation from his predecessors by declaring his independence. Interestingly, none of the states mentioned in Bāṇa's narrative were under the orbit of Harsha's influence when the Chinese pilgrim visited them after more than twenty five years of the death of Prabhākara.

Kashmir's political power extended to all the adjacent regions on the west and the south including Rājapura (Rajauri), Parṇotsa (Poonch), Bhimbar, Uraśa (Hazara), Takṣaśilā and Siṁhapura (the Salt Range).[72] It is generally believed that its king Durlabha-vardhana of the Karakoṭa dynasty was the contemporary of Harsha. The description of the *Harsha-Charita* to the effect that Harsha collected tribute from "an inaccessible land of snowy mountains",[73] and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that "from that period

71. *Ibid.*, 281; also Buddha Prakash's *Glimpses of Ancient Panjab* (Patiala, 1966), 66-67; Mookerji, op. cit, 45.

72. G. M. D. Sufi, *Kashmir : Being a History of Kashmir from the earliest times to own* (1974), I, 51.

73. *H. C.* (tr.) 76; that it refers to Kashmir, Mookerji, op. cit., 40; that it may refer either to Kashmir or Nepal, Vaidya, op. cit., I, 43; that it denotes the modern Garwal region, Chatterjee, op. cit., 102-03; see above f. n. 69 for its identification with the Tukharian country.

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onwards this country, which had suffered from internal dissensions was for some time, subject to Harsha and other kings",[74] has been taken to mean wrongly that it refers to Harsha's suzerainty there.[75]

However, the 'Records' and the 'Life' mention a very fascinating story of the tooth of the Buddha lying in a famous *stūpa* of Kashmir and its subsequent carrying off forcibly by Harsha.[76] "That the ruler of an important kingdom with various dependencies could be cowed down into submission by Harsha merely by 'relying on his superior strength in arms' is a positive proof of the latter's power and prestige."[77] But all available evidence is opposed to Harsha having established any rapport with Kashmir. Wars between the two equals cannot be ruled out, but without casting any covetous eye over Kashmir, Harsha could not dare to threaten a mighty king. Probably the Chinese pilgrim invented this story with a view to enhance the image of Harsha among the Buddhists." Thus the whole evidence harmonizes remarkably well, and it is high time to give up all exaggerated notions of Harsha's sovereignty or political jurisdiction extending upto Kashmir...Such a view is flagrantly opposed to the unimpeachable contemporary testimony of Hsien-Chwang."[78] But the chances of Harsha's visiting the place as a pilgrim cannot be ruled out for such pilgrimages are quite common among the members of the royal families. The pressure exerted on the Bhikṣus by the king of Kashmir to hand over the Buddhist relic to Harsha does not reflect in any way his pessimism, rather it should be taken as a goodwill gesture.

Thus the Vardhanas could not have maintained their hold beyond Saṇghol. Bāṇa's description about the conquests of Prabhākara and Harsha is not corroborated by Hsien-Chwang who finds all the territories

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74. *R. T.*, book II, verse 7.
75. R. C. Majumdar, (*I. H. Q.*, 1929), 233 ff. refutes it on the basis of Kalhaṇa's faulty chronology; also Devahuti op. cit. f. n. 3, 97.
76. *Life*, 183; Watters, op. cit., I, 279; Beal, op. cit, I, 158.
77. Devahuti, op. cit., 96; That Harsha's suzerainty over Kashmir was a fact, see Mookerjee, op. cit., 40; Vaidya, op. cit., I, 17, 206; Sharma, op. cit.,190; K. S. Saxena, *Political History of Kashmir* (B. C. 300-A.D. 1200) (1974), 45; R.N. Ray argues that "it is not, therefore, improbable that Kashmir for once atleast bent her knees before the king of Mid-India", *I. H. Q.*, III (1927), 780.
78. Tripathi, op. cit., 119.

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from Sanghol to Bamiyan beyond the pale of their influence. So much so, he does not refer to even the jurisdiction of Harsha over his ancestral kingdom of Thanesar. This may not be true but this shows Harsha's lack of interest in his paternal kingdom after he assumed the reins of government at Kanauj. This refutes all possibilities of his having taken any action beyond Sanghol.

It is a fact that the entire region of the Panjab and the North-West was undergoing the worse kind of political instability. The Chinese pilgrim refers to this tendency in certain states like Lampā, Nagar, Gandhāra, Varaṇa, Takṣaśilā, Siṁhapura, Uraśa, Parṇotsa, Rājapura, etc. He is quite particular not only in providing us a useful information with regard to the present ruler, but to the recent changes which might have taken place there at the top as well. But the Vardhanas' sphere of influence, if any, is conspicuous by its non-mention. Thus neither before his visit, nor during the time he visited those regions, there occurs any reference to their linkage with any portion of the region. It is likely that the political balance of the region never tilted in their favour. It is an ample proof to refute Bāṇa's description about Prabhākara's conquests. Otherwise, how was a region conquered or annexed by a father, was allowed to be lost by his illustrious son ? Harsha's zeal in maintaining the honour of his family is an open secret. Instead of loosing his grip over the territories he got in inheritance, he would have not left anything unturned is strengthening his hold over them. Curiously enough, neither any coin nor any archaeological remains of the Vardhanas have been found in the entire region. If they had succeeded in maintaining any nominal suzerainty over any territory beyond Sanghol, Hsien-Chwang would have certainly mentioned it. Above all, this was the age of the *sāmanta* polity, and we find a growing tendency among the small or weak states to acknowledge the overlordship of great power in order to save themselves from the wrath of their immediate powerful enemies. Surprisingly, there is no such indication about the extension of the Vardhana influence anywhere beyond Sanghol. Even upto Sanghol it was more or less nominal.

Similarly, the Vardhanas do not seem to be enjoying paramountsy over the whole of Western Himālayas. The probability of their suzerainty over Chamba, Kulu, Mandi and Kangra is ruled out outright. However,

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their linkage with some portions of the present Sirmur district of Himachal Pradesh cannot be ruled out because of its nearness to Thanesar.

Reader,
Department of History
Panjab University, Chandigarh

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THE MAHĀPARINIBBĀNA SUTTA AND THE FIRST COUNCIL

P. GNANARAMA

The connection between the *MPS* and the first council has been discussed by many a scholar and different views have been put forward by them in regard to the authenticity of the council on the basis of the evidence found in the *Sutta* and in the *Cullavaggapāli* of the Pali canon. According to the *Cullavagga* the irresponsible utterance said to have uttered by Subhadda who had entered the order in the old age is the cause that led to the convening of the first council.[1]

Two concluding chapters i. e. chapters II and 12 of the *Cullavagga* deal with the first two councils held within a hundred years after the demise of the Buddha. The text dealing with the first council at length, has recorded the utterance of Sabhadda in Maha Kassapa's words whereas in the *MPS* Subhadda himself is represented as saying that they are freed from the great ascetic and now they can do or not do what they like.[2]

Therefore as the fundemental reason that said to have led to the council is found in the body of the *Sutta* an examination as to the connection between the *Sutta* and the council would necessarily become an integral part of the study of the *Sutta.*

With the demise of the Buddha the conservation of the doctrine and the rules of the order became a bounden duty of the leading disciples. For the doctrine and the rules of the order had come to occupy the place of the Teacher in his absence. In fact, the Buddha himself in the *MPS* addressing Ananda had said; "It may be Ananda, that in some of you the thought may arise the word of the Master is ended, we have No Teacher More:—But it is not thus Ananda, that you should regard it. The doctrine and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them after I am gone be the Teacher to you".[3]

1. Cullavagga ch. II
2. D. Vol. II p. 162.
3. Siyā kho pana Ananda, tumhākam evamassa, atītasatthukaṃ natthi no satthāti. Na kho pana etam Ananda daṭṭhabbaṃ. Yo kho Ananda mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito pannatto, so vo mamaccayena satthāti. D. Vol. II p. 154.

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Undoubtedly, Mahakassapa, must have played a leading role in initiating the council in order to take steps to safeguard the doctrine and the rules of the order. Neverthelss, analysing the evidence found in the different sources, scholarship divides as to it's historicity. As stated by N. Dutt, opinions expressed with regard to the historicity of the first council cannot be however under estimated.[4]

A vast number of both eastern and western Orientalists, such as Thomas, Majumdar, Law, Oldenberg, Poussin, Prasilaski etc., have expressed their views either to prove or to disprove it's historicity, with aid of Pali, Buddhist Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan sources.[5]

The opinions expressed by these scholars with regard to the council and causes that led to the convening of the council could be revalued and verified not only in the light of the *MPS* but on other canonical evidence as well.

The record of the first council as found in the *Cullavagga* of the Pali canon is regarded as the earliest of the different traditions preserved by many Buddhist sects. The *Cullavagga*, emphatically states the conduct of Subhadda as the leading cause of summoning the council. Mahakassapa, proceeding towards Kusināra from Pāvā come to know from a wandering ascetic that the exalted One had passed away, seven days ago. Some of the monks who were in the company of Mahakassappa and were not free from passions "stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought-Too soon has the Exlted One died; Too soon has the Happy One passed away; Too soon has the Light gone out in the world."[6]

Subhadda who had entered the order in his old age said to have consoled them saying "enough sirs, weep not neither lament; We are well rid of the great *samana*, We used to be annoyed by being told—this beseems you. This beseems you not—but now we shall be able to do

4. Dutt N. Early Monastic Buddhism p. 324.
5. I. Thomas E. J. History of Buddhist Thought pp. 27-9 II. Law B. C. Buddhistic Studies, Chapter I.
6. Tattha ye te bhikkhu avītarāgā appekacce bāhā paggayha kandanti. Chinnapapātaṃ papatanti avaṭṭanti. Vivaṭṭanti atikhippaṃ bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhumā loke antarahitoti.
D. Vol. II, p. 162.

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whatever we like and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do."[7]

Though with slight variations, this incident is found in the *Vinaya* of the Dharmaguptas Mahasanghikas and the Sarvastivadins according to *Asokavādāna*, the Buddha before his passing away addressed Mahakassapa and asked him to collect pitakes and asked the gods to protect them. N. Dutt, however, states that the record found in the *MPS* translated into Chinese somewhere between 290 AD-306 AD is more realistic and trustworthy than the rest of the Buddhist Sanskrit and Tibetan records.[8]

Nevertheless Oldenberg referring to the Tradition of the first council found in the *Cullavagga*, comes out with a different story. To him it was a mere fabrification invented on the second council which was authentic and historical. For he says discussing the point in question; "What we have here before us is not history but pure invention of no very ancient date, apart from internal reasons that might be adduced to prove this, we are able to prove it by comparing another text which is older than this story and another of which cannot yet have known it."[9]

Here he is pointing to the *MPS* where the Subhadda episode is recorded and attempts to reject the authenticity of the council on the ground that it is not found in the *MPS*. Therefore he further states; "This silence is as valuable as the most direct testimony. It shows that the author of the *MPS* did not know anything of the first council."[10]

Continuing his argument further; he totally rejects the authentic settlement of the canon in the first council. "It can hardly seem strange in order to give this continuance the right legendary expression at authentic settlement of the doctrine by community, was invented and that for the strict preservation of the chronological continuity. This settlement was supposed to have taken place directly after the Buddha's death. To

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7. Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha, ma paridevittha. Sumuttā mayam tena mahā Samanena. Upaddutā ca homa idam vo kappati idam vo na kappatī'ti. Idam pana mayam yam icchissāma, Tam karissāma. Yam na icchissāma na tam karissāmāti.

D. Vol. II, p. 163.

8. Dutt N. Early Monastic Buddhism pp. 325-8.
9. Oldenberg H. Vinayapitakaṃ Vol. I, pp. xxvi.

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finish the picture of the proceedings the council of vesali furnished the necessary materials."[11]

We shall examine what internal and external evidence we can adduce against this argument put forward by Oldenberg. Was there actually, a council held after the demise of the Buddha ? If so, what were the historical and social factors led to it ? These questions are to be critically examined in this connection. How far is it reasonable to reject the entire tradition of the first council merely on the ground that it has not been recorded in the *MPS* ? Very many scholars who dived deep into the problem throw flood of light on the question of the first council as well as the structure of the *Sutta* we propose to subject to critical analysis. In this connection it is to be stated that the Mulasarvastivadins have preserved the record of successive events beginning from the Great Decease upto the first council as a continuous matrative. It was Finot who pointed out that the narrative from the *Parinirvana* upto the first council had been preserved as a complete whole even before the breaking away of sarvastivadins for the original Sangha.

Mulasaravastivada *Vinaya work* called *Samyukta vastu* gives the record of both the events i. e. *Parinirvana* and the convening of the council as a continuous record, whereas the *Theravadins* included events pertaining to the Great Decease in the *MPS* while proceedings of the first council in the *Cullavagga*.

These two events comparatively cover a long period, for; the council is recorded to have taken place three months after the demise of the Buddha. On the other hand, immediate reason that motivated Mahakassapa to summon the council is connected with discipline, because Subhadda persuaded the monks to disregard the *Vinaya* rules set out by the Buddha. Therfore Finot contends that in that context *Vinayapitaka* could be regarded as the most appropriate place to have records of the procedure adopted at the council as well as the steps taken to safeguard the purity of the teaching.[12]

Finot's contention has been proved by Obermiller too, with the aid of Tibetan Sources. He has shown that a detailed description of the

10. & 11. Oldenberg H. Vinayapitakam Vol. I. pp. xxix.
12. Indian Historical Quarterly 1932 p. 242 ff.

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Great Desease and the council found in Buston's *History of Buddhism in Tibet* is originally a part of the Tibetan *Kanjur* which is a Tibetan Translation of the *Vinaya Khsudraka.*[13] He is of opinion that the chapters eleven and twelve have been added to original *Cullavagga* of the Pali Canon in a much later date; but Dutt taking the composition of both *Vinaya* and *Sutta Pitakas* into account, points out that it is plausible to think that as the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the *Cullavagga* are records of the two successive councils, the eleventh Chapter must have been taken out from an original continuous narrative where the Great Decease and the proceedings of the first council had been narrated and included in the *Cullavagga.* He further states that his argument is vouchsafed by the fact that the eleventh chapter of the Cullavagga begins with "*atha kho bhagavā*" the recurring phrase in the Sutta pitaka with which the *bhāṇavāras* begin in the *Sutta Pitak* as against "tena kho pana Samayena" found in the *Vinaya Pitaka.*[14] Thus it is evident that Oldenberg's opinion does not hold water and it is totally disproved by the findings of Finot and Obermiller.

The first council is named "*Vinayasangati*" in the *Cullavagga,* which too, has been adduced as a point for his argument by Goldenberg; for he says, "the influence exercised by the tradition of the second council upon the first also explains why the first is called a *Vinayasangiti* in the *Cullavagga,* although, it was believed to have had to do first as well with the *Dhamma* as with *Vinaya.* The Second Council confined itself wholly to the domain of *Vinaya* and did not occupy itself with *Dhamma* in strict sense of the word".[15]

Theravadins were necessarily *Vinayavadins.* Even the Buddha said that he was a *Vinayavādin.* Many Canonial evidence could be cited to this effect. In the *Pāsādika Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya,* The Buddha categorically says "and so Cunda, Concerning things past, future and present the *Tathagata* is a speaker of the hour, a speaker of fact, a speaker of good, a speaker of the norm, a speaker of the discipline for this, is he

13. Indian Historical Quarterly 1932 p. 781 ff.
14. Dutt N. Early Monastic Buddhism p. 325-8.
15. Oldenberg H. Vinayapitakam Vol. I. p. xxiv Foot Note
Oldenberg's same introduction appears in the Vinayapitaka Vol. I Mahavagga P. T. S. Edition Oxford University Press 1929.

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called *Tathāgata*".[16] Besides, elders such as Mahakassapa showed a particular inclination to *vinaya* or the discipline. It is because of *vinaya* that govern the bahaviour of monks that they were distinguished from different sects of *Sramanas* lived during the time of the Buddha. Therefore the consolidation as well as the conservation of *Vinaya* was a fundamental duty of the elders, because it will help to preserve the prestine purity of the order, which will in turn ensure the longevity of the order itself. Subhadda too anticipated that they would be free to behave as they wished without any disciplinary obligation when the Buddha is no more. Hence, necessity arose to preserve the originality of the *vinaya* as expounded by the Buddha himself.

Even Buddhagosa in his introduction to *Samanta-pasadika* has portrayed this selfsame partiality to *Vinaya* by the elders of yore, very vividly.[17]

However, our oldest chronicle the *Dīpavansa*, in a number of instances refers to the first council very freely as "*dhamma sangaha*" "*pathama samgaha*" "*dhammavinayasangaha*" sad "*sad dhammasamgaha*" and "*samagaha*" which shows that chronicler was well aware of the events that took place at the council and that he had a traditional knowledge in regard to its proceedings.[18] The concluding stanza at the end

16. "iti kho cunda atītānāgatapaccuppannesu dhammesu Tathagato Kālavādi bhūtavādi atthavādi dhammavādi vinayavādi Tasmā Tathagatā ti vuccati."
D. III, p. 135.
See also DI p. 4 M III p. 49.

17. Samantapāsādika p. 3 ff.

18. I. Varaṃ varaṃ gahetvāna
akāsi dhamma sangahaṃ — DV. VI 3
II. Sattamāsehi niṭṭhāsi
paṭhamo Saṇgaho ayam — DV. VI 5
III. pancasatehi therehi
dhamma vinaya samgaho — DV. VI 10
IV. akamsu dhamma samgaham
Vinayam cāpi bhikkhavo — DV. VI 12
V. yāva tiṭṭhati saddhamma
samgahaṃ na vinassati — DV. VI 23
VI. evam sabbaṃga sampannam
dhamma vinaya samgahaṃ — DV. VI 27

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of the Chapter eleven of the *Cullavagga* too take it to a recital of the *Dhamma Vinaya.*[19]

Moreover, as revealed in the text itself, the council has been held as a formal act of the order *(Vinayakamma)*. Mahakassapa, addressing the monks just after the cremation said, "let us friend rehearse the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*. In future what is contrary to the *Dhamma*, and the Vinaya will prevail the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* will be disregarded. Those who hold views contrary to the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* will hold sway while those who profess the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* will become powerless."[20] Therefore, N. A. *Jayawickrama* rightly remarks, "though both Dhamma and Vinaya are said to have been rehearsed, here the council is called *Vinayasamgiti*"[21]

What was the actual reason of summoning the council? Subhadda's utterence found in the *MPS* could not be the immediate cause that tempted Mahakassapa to take steps to hold a council? Thomas discussing the council says "it is true that we cannot say that the reason given for Mahakassapa summoning the council was the actual one."[22] Mahvastu says that the argument as to what were the lesser and minor rules resulted in summoning the council.[23] Kerk quoted even by Thomas says that it is not incredible to think that the disciples after the death of

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19. ekeñūna paṃca satam
anandampi ca uccini
dhammavinaya samgītim
vasanto guhamuttamo— Uddānāgāthā Cullagagga ch. II

20. Handa mayam āvuso dhammaṃ ca vinayaṃ ca samgāyeyyāma. Pure adhammo dippati. Dhammo patibhāhīyati. Avinayo dippati. Vinyo patibāhīyati. Pure adhamma Vādino balavanto honti. Dhammavādino dubbalā honti. Avinaya-vadino balavanto honti. Vinayavādino dubbalā honti.

Vinaya II, p. 284.

But Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema takes 'pure' in the above passage in the sense of–in the past–and two verbs "dippati and patibāhīyati" as historic present.

Vide, *Inception of Discipline* p. 97.

Miss Horner however takes "pure" to mean 'before' Vide, *The Book of the Discipline* Vol. v p. 339 SBB xx.

21. Jayawickrema N. A. *Inception of Discipline* p. 67.

22. Thomas E. J. *History of Buddhist Thought* p. 29.

23. *Mahavastu* I, p, 69.

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the founder came together to come to an agreement concerning the principal points of the creed and the discipline.[24]

In fact both Thomas and Kern lead us to think in any case there might have been a council following the decease of the Buddha.

The monks in general; had an experience as to how the followers behave with the death of a founder, when preventive measures had not been taken in the initiative of a leading personality. In this context incidents following the death of Nighanthanāthaputta could be quoted. When the Buddha was staying at *Pāvā* Nighanthanāthaputta passed away. The followers thereafter became quarrelsome and began to interpret the doctrine at their will. The *Samagiti sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* gives in detail how they behaved. It reads thus, "after his death the *Nighanthas* became divided, falling into opposite parties and into strife, disputes broke out and they went on wounding each other with wordy weapons—Thou does not confess this norm and discipline : I do confess it : wilt thou confess it : Thou art in the wrong, I am practising it rightly : I am speaking to the point : Thou sayst last what should be said first and first what should come last. Thy challenge is taken up. Thou are proved to be wrong : Be gone, get rid of thy opinoin or disentangle thyself if thou canst : Truly : the *Nighantha* followers of Nathaputta were out methinks to kill".[25]

As a result the lay followers boycotted the Jain order. "Even the lay followers of the white robe, who followed Nāthaputta showed themselves shocked repelled and indignant"[26] Now, Sariputta addressing the monks relates the situation of the Jain order after the death of Mahavira and continues "But to us, friends the Norm has been well set forth

24. Kern JHC. *Manual of Indian Buddhism* p. 103.

25. "Tassa kalakiriyāya bhimna nighanthā dvedhika jātā bhaṇḍana jātā kalahajāta vivādāpannā annāmannam mukgasattīhi vitudantā viharanti Na tvam imam dhamma vinayam ājānāsi aham imam dhamma vinayam ajānāmi Kim tvam imam dhamma vinayam ājānissasi ? micchā patipanno tvamasi, ahamasmi sammāpatipanno, sahitaṃ me. asahitam te, Pure vacanīyam paccha avaca. Paccha vacaniyal pure avaca. Avicinnam te viparavattam Āropito te vado. Niggahito tvamasi. Caravādappamokkāya. Nibbethehi sace pahosīti. Vadho yeva eko añño nignthesu nataputtiyesu anuvattati." D. III 210.

26. "yepi te niganthassa Nataputtassa savakāgihī odatavasanā tepi tesu niganṭhesu nātaputtiyesu nibbinnarūpā vivattarūpā pativāṇarūpā." D. III p. 210

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and imparted by the Exalted One. It is effectual for guidance conducive to self-mastery and is imparted by One Perfectly Enlightened. Herein there should be a recital by all in Concord not a wrangling that thus this holy life may persist and be long maintained".[27] The Buddha in this occasion had already entrusted Sariputta to admonish the monks saying" "Let a religious discourse occur to thee. My back is aching I will stretch".[28]

Here Sariputta recites the teaching in a numerical order as found in the *Anguttara Nikaya*, upto ten, at the end the Buddha praises Sariputta saying "Excellent Sariputta excellent ! Excellently Sariputta have you uttered the Scheme of reciting together for the brothers".[29]

Yet, in another *Sutta* in the *Digha Nikaya* the Buddha speaks himself of the fate of the Jain monkhood just after the death of Mahavira and addresses Cunda thus "wherefore, Cunda do ye to whom I have made known the truths that I have perceived, come together in company and rehearse all of you together those doctrines and quarrel not over them, but compare meaning with meaning and phrase with phrase and in order that pure religon may last long and be perpetuated.[30]

Here the Buddha has asked categorically for the recital of the teaching and to take steps to safeguard it for the benefit of the posterity. As revealed in the above discussion Sariputta too cherished the idea of holding a recital.[31]

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27. "Ayam kho pama avuso amhākam bhagavata dhammo svakkhāto suppa Vedito, Nīyānīko upasama samvattaniko Sammāsambuddhappavedito. Tatha Sabbehi eva samgāyitabbam, Na vivaditabbaṃ Yathayidam bramacariyam addhaniyam assa ciraṭṭhitikam." D. p. 211

28. Paṭibhātu tam Sariputta bhikkūnaṃ dhammī kathā. Pitthi me āgalāyati. Tamaham āyamissāmīti." D. III p. 209

29. "Sādhu Sādhu Sariputta Sādhu kho tvam Sariputta bhikkhūnam Samgitipariyayam abhāsīti." D. III, p. 271
Rhys Davids puts the word "chanting together" for samgāyitabbam.
Dialogues of the Buddha Vol. IV, Part III p. 249

30. "Tasma iha cunda ye vo mayā dhamma abhinnā desitā yattha sabbehi eva saṃgamma samāgemma atthena attham byanjanena byanjanam samgāyitabbam. Na vivaditabbaṃ, Yathayidam brahmacariyam addhaniyam assa ciraṭṭhitikam. D. III p. 127

31. In the Dasuttara Sutta also Sāriputta emphasises how the teaching should be recited. D. III, p. 272 ff.

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The founder who directed the course of history to a different path by creating a particular monastic institution, however did not name a human successor to succeed him. The *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* were there to take his place. When this question was raised by Ananda the Buddha said that the *Dhamma Vinaya* should be the teacher after him.[32]

Therefore taking measures to preserve and to consolidate the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* was a duty as well as a responsibility of the elders. On the otherhand it was a fulfilment of a sacred task hitherto neglected and could not be accomplished during the life time of the Buddha.

In the *Gopakamoggatana Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikaya* brahmin Vassakara asked Ananda as to whether there was any monk appointed by the Buddha to succeed him, for which Ananda replied in negative. Then he asked whether there was any monk or monks have been appointed by the *Sangha* to lead them. Ananda's one and only reply was "brahmin we are not fefugeless we have dhamma as our refuge"[33].

Unity prevailed among the Sangha was a matter of great concern to those who know the situation of the Jain Order just after the death of Mahavira. On the contrary, even without the founder institution of Sangha was forging ahead.

The Sutta referred to earlier perhaps puts the situation in much more clear terms. When Ananda was asked by Gopakamoggallana whether there was anyone comparable to the Buddha, he emphatically said that the Buddha was unique in every respect and the monks were only followers.[34]

With this background it is evident that immediate steps had to be taken for the conservation and consolidation of the teaching.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that the eleventh chapter of the *Cullavagga* dealt with the proceedings of the council was included

32. See above foot note 3.

33. "Na kho mayam brāhmana appaṭisaranā sappatisaranā mayam brāhmana dhamma patisaranā." M. III. p. 7.

34. "Natthi kho brāhmana ekabhukkhupi tehi dhammehi sabbena sabbam samannagato yehi....." M. III. p. 7

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there just after the first council. When that Chapter was written down *abhidhamma* had not been developed to a separate *pitaka* but it betrays knowledge of five *nikayas* works of the *Sutta Pitaka* also the *Maha Vibhanga* and the *Bhikkuni Vibhanga* connected with the *Patimokkha* precepts. Hence, the Chapter in question should be at least a century later than the actual event recorded there. It can be surmised that the both Chapters eleven and twelve must have been added to the text just after the second council and closed up the *Cullavagga.* It seems that there is a temporary slackening as it were of the literary activity as soon as the memories of the ancient elders were committed to writing.

On the strength of the above evidence it could be said that the utterence of Subhaddha was a historical truth and that it had become the immediate cause that prompted the elders to summon a council.[35]

Principal
Saddharmakara College,
Buddhist and Pali University of Sri Lanka
Pinwatta
Panadura
Sri Lanka

35. In regard to the venu of the council different views have been put forward by many a school. See 2500 years of Buddhism p. 36

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BUDDHISM AND NATIONAL CULTURES—SRI LANKA AS A CASE STUDY

S. G. M. WEERASINGHE

§1. It is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*MV.*), the Great Chronicle, that Sri Lanka has been visited by four Buddhas from Bhārata, Kakusanda, Koṇākamana, Kassapa and Gotama. The visit of Gotama, the fourth Buddha in the 6th century B. C. is recorded vividy in the *MV.* His visit to *Mahiaṅgana, Nāga-dīpa, Kalyāṇi-pura* etc. in Sri Lanka are described in detail. Many people including kings and princes such as Cūlodara, Mahodara and Maṇiakkhika listened to the preaching of the Master and embraced Buddhism. Some of them even trod the Path. This is the traditional story of the beginning of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. However the teaching of the Buddha was officially introduced to this country in the third century B. C. by *Arahant* Mahinda, son of the great Buddhist Emperor Asoka of North India during the reign of king Devānaṃpiyatissa. Thenceforth this land became the stronghold of Buddhism, a centre of attraction for those who sought for the Truth (*Dhamma*) and came to be known as *Dhammadīpa.* Influence of Buddhism resulted in a great cultural awakening in this country. It led to the blossoming of beautiful flowers in our national culture. Our beliefs, language and grammar, agriculture, art and architecture, medicine, law and legal philosophy, music and fine arts, and education were heavily influenced by the serene teaching of the Buddha.

§ 2. The services rendered by *Arahant* Mahinda and his followers for the religious, social, and cultural development of Sri Lanka were inestimable. He not only introduced Buddhism to this land but also got his father Emperor Asoka to send a branch of the Sacred Bodhi Tree through his sister Saṅghamittā an *Arahant Bhikkhunī.* In a golden vessel filled with earth mingled with perfumes the Sacred *Bodhi* Sapling was planted by the Sri Lankan king Devānaṃpiyatissa-Tissa the Friend of Gods—amidst a vast concourse of people in the beautiful *Mahāmegha* Park at Anuradhapura. It is recorded in our Great Chronicle (*MV.*) that this *Bodhi-pūjā*, the religious ceremony in connection with the planting of the

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Bodhi Sapling went on for many days. It was an island wide ceremony. This oldest historical tree in the world has been responsible for many a beautiful flower of our culture in art, literature, law and legal philosophy. The impact *Arahant* Mahinda made upon the populace of Sri Lanka is tremendous and indescribable indeed. The memory of this Saint, Sage and Savant is as green in the minds of the people today as it was twenty centuries ago.

§3. Influence of Buddhism on Sinhala language is quite clear. The Sinhala word *pansala* meaning a Buddhist temple is derived from Pali *paṇṇa-sālā* literally meaning a hall prepared with leaves and branches of trees. The word *ārāma* occurring in Pali phrases such as *anāthapiṇḍikassa ārame* is found in the same sense even today in Sinhala in many a compound such as *vimalārāma* and so on. The term *pāra*, for example, meaning, path, way or road in Sinhala language is derived from Pali *pāraṃ* conveying the sense of the other side of a *nadī* or river and so on. In Sinhala it means path, way or road, for it leads one to the end of the journey. Hence, the derivation is not wrong logically and semantically. One of the oldest words in Sinhala language is *aṭuvā* meaning commentaries and it is derived from Pali *aṭṭhakathā*. Many words such as *vāla* (Pali, *valli*) creeper, *sivura* (Pali, *cīvara*), robe, *pirivena* (Pali, *parivena*) educational centre are of Buddhist origin. Our ancient legal terms, as we may see later, are clearly of Buddhist origin (see § 9). In brief, a large number of words in Sinhala language are of Pali and Buddhist origin. The *Siḍat Saṅgarā*, the only available classical Grammatical Work on Sinhala language was written by a Buddhist monk famous as *Patiraja Piruvan Himi* who lived in the middle of the 13th century A. C.

§4. We may now have a glance at the toponyms and anthroponyms of Sri Lanka. The well known toponym of *Mihintale* is derived from *Mahinda-t-thala*, place of Mahinda, is clearly of Buddhist origin. The name *Missaka- pabbata* is the place where the *Arahant* Mahinda had his famous dialogue with king Devānampiyatissa in order to test his ability to understand the teaching of the Buddha. The *pabbata* or the rock in question was later known as *Missaka* because it was the place where they so-to-say mixed or exchanged their views in the form of question and answer. *Sri-pāda* (lit. Sacred Food), *Divā guhā*, *Budu-ruva-kanda* are but a few of the place

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names of Buddhist origin. Anthroponyms of Buddhist origin are many and varied. Ananda, Buddhadāsa are but a few of the many thousands of anthroponyms of Buddhist origin in Sri Lanka. Names ending with *-dāsa* are interesting from the point of view of historical linguistics, for they all have developed on the analogy of the famous *Vedic* name *Divo-dāsa* (lit. Heaven's Slave) (*R. V.* 1. 112. 14 : 116.18 etc.). But they have evolved differently in Sinhala under Buddhist influence in the forms of *Buddha-dāsa, Dhamma-dāsa, Saṅgha-dāsa, Bodhi-dāsa* and so on. Thousands of Buddhist monks of Sri Lanka bear the names of the great followers of the Masters such as Ānanda, Anuruddha, Sīvalī who were living in the days of the Buddha.

§5. Influence of Buddhism on Sri Lankan literature is tremendous. As a language with written records dating from the 3rd century B. C. Sinhala is one of the oldest literary languages. The *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās*, the Sinhala commentaries on the Pali *Tipiṭaka* were written at the direction of *Arahant* Mahinda. They were later translated into Pali by the venerable Buddhaghosa *ācārya* in the fifth century A. C. This has resulted in the disappearance of the *Sīhala Aṭṭhakathās*, a few phrases of which are preserved in some classical Sinhala writings such as the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya* by king Abhāsalamevan (9th century A. C.) and the *Dharma Pradīpikā* by Guruḷugomi (end of 12th century A. C.). Classical Sinhala texts dating from 3rd century B. C. have dealt with various aspects of Buddhism. The *Bodhivaṃsa* and the *Kesadhātuvaṃsa*, for example, were two of our early Sinhala prose texts which are lost to us now. They have dealt with the stories of *Srī Mahā Bodhi* and *Kesadhātu*, the Hair Relic respectively. Almost all our classical Sinhala poems are of Buddhist origin. Two master-pieces of classical Sinhala poetry, the *Kavsiḷumiṇa* (= Skt. *Kāvya-cūḍāmaṇi*) *(circa* middle of 13th century) and the *Kāvyaśekara* (Skt. *Kāvyaśekhara*) (*circa* 1449), for example, deal with the *Kusa Jātaka* and the *Satthubhatta Jātaka* respectively. The entire Sinhala literature in general has been influenced by early Buddhism. The *Gotama Gītaya, Song of Gotama* dealing with the life-story of the Buddha written very recently by the reputed scholar Mr. Alav Isi Sābihela is a master-piece. The *Buddha-vaṃsa, Dynasty of the Buddha* dealing with the entire story of the Buddha written recently by the famous poet Mr. Arīsen Ahu Budu in *Maha-Piyum-Gī* (lit. Great-Lotus-verses) metre

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is again a great poem of modern Sinhala literature. Sri Lanka Pali literature is mainly devoted to Buddhism and subjects related to it. Our national Chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa* written in Pali is greatly influenced by Buddhist thought and culture. Local Sanskrit texts too exhibit Buddhist influence. Buddhist influence can be seen, for example, in the *Jānakīharaṇa* dealing with the story of Rama and Sītā written by the Sinhala poet Kumāradāsa. The *Padya-cūḍāmṇi* (lit. Crest-Gem of Poetry) by Buddhaghoṣa is a beautiful poem dealing with the life-story of the Master. The *Buddha-Gadya* is a panegyric of the Buddha in verses full of *rasa* and *bhāva*. The authorship of this book is traditionally attributed to the great scholar-monk, Srī Rāhula, the Saṅgha-rāja.

§6. Even the ancient Grammatical works of Sri Lanka were written under Buddhist influence. The *Moggallāyana*, the *Rūpasiddhi*,, the *Bālāvatāra*, the *Sidat Sanarā*, the *Pañcikāpadīpa*, the *Buddhippasādanīya* are but some of the Grammatical Treatises written in Sri Lank. The *Moggallāyana* was written by Maudgalyāyana *mahā thera* in the 12th century. The author of the *Rūpasiddhi* was Buddhappiya *mahā thera* who was an immigrant from the *Chola-deśa*. This is seen in the colophon of the text where the author refers to himself as *damila-vasumati-dipa* meaning a "lamp unto the land of the *Damilas* or Tamils." This work was written in the 12th century. The *Bālāvatāra* was written by *Dharmakīrti mahā thera* of Palābatgala in the 13th century. It is an abridgement of the *Moggallāyana* referred to above and is an introduction (*avatāra)* for the beginners (*bāla*) of Pali grammar. The *Pañcikāpadīpa* and the *Buddhi-p-pasādanīya* were written in the 15th century by Shrī Rāhula Sangha Rāja of Toṭagomuva, a prince of letters in mediaeval Sri Lanka. The first is a commentary of the *Moggallāyana* mentioned above. The other is a treatise dealing with the formation of Pali nouns; hence it is also known as the *Padasādhana-ṭīkā*. The *Sidat Sangarā*, the well known Sinhala Grammar, as mentioned elsewhere was written by the Incumbent of *Pratirāja Parivena* (Sinhala : *Patiraja Piruvan Himi*) (see §) in the middle of the 13th century. Some believe that he was the great monk Vedeha whereas others think that he was the reputed scholar-monk Anavamadassi.

§ 7. Our agricultural life in ancient Srī Lanka gradually progressed under the influence of the concept of right conduct preached by the

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Buddha, the Enlightened One. Tank *(vāpi)*, temple (*vihāra*) and village (*gāma)* was the model of early settlements of people. The temple *(vihāra)* was usually situated on a higher elivation by the side of the tank (*vāpi*) wherein the *sthūpa* of the *vihāra* was reflected with great splendour as referred to, for example, in the *Hatthavanagalla Vihāravaṃsa*. This cultural triangle was in force in general throughout the history of our island till the western powers began to be felt in it. Our great monasteries such as the *Mahāvihāra* and the *Abhayagiri* were maintained by the waters of the tanks such as the *Tisāvāva* at Anuradhapura. Buddhism emphasising the significance of *Sammā-kammanta*, right behaviour (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V. 421 etc.) and *Sammā-ājiva*, right living, right means of livelihood or right occupation (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V. 421 etc.) encouraged agriculture which blossomed its finest flowers already during the Anurādhapura-Polonnaruva periods of our history. Upholding the Buddhist ideal *(parama dhamma)* of *avihiṃsā* (or *avihesa)*, absence of cruelty, conveying the sense of mercy, humanity, and love *(Dīgha Nikāya*, 111, 213, 215, 240 etc.) many kings of ancient Sri Lanka, as we shall see later, passed decrees (*ājñā | aṇa*) against the hunting of wild animals. Many tanks were constructed in different parts of the island for the benefit of monasteries. We may, for example, refer to the case of one Abhaya offering a tank to the *mahā-saṅgha*. Thus it is said : *parumaka puta ahaya parumaka tisaba vapi agata anagata catudisa sogasa dine*, meaning, the tank Tisaba was offered to the *saṅgha* arriving from the four quarters by Abaya, son of a chieftain. Along with the tanks great irrigation systems came into being. Thus *Yodha-ala*, the Grand Canal with a slope of almost an inch for a mile was a *tour de force* in ancient irrigation engineering. Tanks were the primary source of plenty and prosperity of ancient and mediaeval Sri Lanka. The grandeur that was Anuradhapura was mainly due to the agriculture of the land. The glory of this great Buddhist city has been beautifully described by Fa-hian, the great Chinese traveller of the 5th century A. C. in his historical records. The tank culture gradually made Sri Lanka the Granery of the East by the time of Parākramabāhu the Great (*kātabbo sabbapaṭhamaṃ|bahudhā dhaññasaṃgaho, MV.* LVI. 7), who decreed that not a single drop of water falling from the sky should be allowed to pass into the sea without utilising it for the purpose of agriculture that would sustain the lives of human beings. This immedia-

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tely reminds us of the well known teaching of early Buddhism, *sabbe sattā āhāraṭṭhithikā*, meaning, all living beings have food as their primary ground of existence, a doctrine which has clearly influenced the learned king.

§ 8. The sytem of Sinhala medicine has been famous among many nations. *Sinhala Marundu* in Tamil, a very old language with a rich literature, means *Sinhala medicine*. When something is to be referred to as being of sure efficacy it is said to be like *Sinhala Marundu* in Tamil. This system of medicine has greatly been influenced by Buddhism. This *Bhesajja-k-khandhaka* in the *Mahāvagga-pāli* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* was in Sri Lanka right from the time of the third century B. C., the period in which Buddhism was introduced to this land by *Arahant* Mahinda along with the *Tipiṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathās* on it. The *pūti-mutta-bhesajja*, urine of cattle used as medicine by the *bhikkhus* (*Vinaya*, I.58=96) is well known in Sri Lanka. The Buddha maintained that there were two kinds of diseases. Thus he says : "Monks, there are two kinds of diseases. What are they ? Bodily diseases and mental diseases. Hence, he was known by names such as *Salla-kattā* (*M.N.* I. 42.9; II. 216; *Sn.* 562; *Iti.* 101; *Miln.* 110, 169; *Vism.* 136; *KhA.* 21), a Great Surgeon, *Bhaiṣajya-Guru* (lit. Master of Medicine) a Great Medical Man, *Bhiṣag-rāja* (lit. King of Medicine) Master Physician, *Sarvajña Vaidya*, the Omniscient Physician and so on. Many Pali medical terms such as *pitta-roga*, bile diseases, *gaṇḍābādha*, swelling as a disease have found their way into Sinhala. *Mūla-bhesajja* and *phala-bhesajja* in the *Bhesajja-k-khandhaka* have evolved into Sinhala as *mul-behet* and *pala-behet* respectively. They are the medicines prepared from herbal roots and fruits respectively. One of the origins of Sri Lankan medicine for snake-bites can be traced back to the *Bhesajja-k-khandhaka* where the Buddha is soon prescribing medicine for snake-bites too. Many a medical term in our system of medicine such as the *Buddharāja taila*, *Buddharāja kalka* and *Buddharāja guli* are of Buddhist origin. Finally we may refer to the famous teaching of the Buddha, *yo gilānaṃ upaṭṭheyya, so maṃ upaṭṭheyya*, he who attends on the sick is verily attending on me, which has exercised great influence on the culture of Sri Sanka. Physician-kings such as Buddhadāsa who cured even animals are nothing but direct results of the teaching of the *Sākya-Muni*.

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§ 9. Law and legal philosophy of ancient and mediaeval Sri Lanka was greatly influenced by early Buddhism. When the Aryan migrants entered Sri Lanka in the 6th century B. C. they seem to have brought some elements of Indo-Aryan customary law with them. They may have been familiar with the concepts of 'natural law' (*ṛta*), "will" or "intent" (*dakṣa*), defence based on the absence of *mens rea* (*a-citti*) (*R. V.* VII. 86.6) and so on. But the vocabulary of these concepts was greatly augmented by a large number of legal terms enshrined in the *Tipiṭaka* and the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*) on it introduced to this country by *Arahant* Mahinda. Law-suit (*aṭṭa=attha*) (*Vinaya*, IV. 224; *Jātaka*, II. 22, 75), trying a case (*atta-kāraṇa*) (*Dīgha-nikāya*) (II. 20) *Saṃyutta-nikāya*) (I. 74), bribe (*āmisa*) (*Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, 36, 46), offence (*aparādha*) (*Jātaka*, I, 264, III, 394; IV.495); witness (*sakkhi*) (*DN.* II. 237; *SN.* II. 255; *J.* VI. 280), compellable witness (*sakkhi nuṭṭho*) (*Papañcasūdanī=Pps., Sāloyyaka-sutta*), judgement (*vinicchaya*) (*DN.* II. 58; *J.* I. 176, III. 105), punishment (*daṇḍa*) (*J.* VI. 576) natural law (*dhamma-niyamatā*) (*DN.* II. 8; *MN.* I. 136; *SN.* II. 143 ff) are but a few examples from the rich legal terminology found in the Pali *Tipiṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathās* on it. The concept of law was known in ancient Sri Lanka by several Pali terms such as *dhamma*, *vohāra* (*rajja-vohāra*), *nīti* and *cāritta* (*pubba-cāritta*). The Pali term *vohāra* is directly connected with the *viyohāla* used by Emperor Asoka (B. C. 268-32) in his well known Pillar Edict No. 4 wherein he speaks of *viyohāla samatā*, the equity in the administration of justice. Early Buddhism has influenced both substantive law and adjective law of ancient and mediaeval Sri Lanka. Substantive law defines rights, duties and liabilities of the individuals. Adjective law describes the procedure and proof by which substantive law is applied in practice. An example of substantive law can be seen in a work called the *Lak Raja Lo Sirita* (Part VIII). Here it is metioned that destruction of *sthūpas* and *bodhi*-trees (*da-gab maha-bo nāśa*) was a crime. It was also a crime to hurt wild animals. The decree (*ājñā / aṇa*) against hunting wild animals referred to above was known as *māghātaka* (*MV.* XXXV. 6; XXXXI. 50; LII. 15) in ancient Sri Lanka. Most of the technical terms of adjective law of ancient Sri Lanka were of Pali origin. Adjective law of ancient Sri Lanka dealt with complain (*codanā*), witness (*sakkhi*), trial (*vinicchaya*), appeal (*ukko-ṭana*) etc. All these legal doctrines are ultimately traceable to the *Tipiṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathās* on it. Many other legel terms were taken over from

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the *Tipiṭaka*. A court of justice was known by the terms such as *vinicchaya-sālā* (*Dhammapada-Aṭṭhathā*) (*DhA*. III. 380), *vinicchaya-maṇḍala* (*CV*. 78. 13), *dhamma-sabhā* (The *Samp*.) The judge was generally known as *vohārika* (lit. decider), the one who was connected with law or with law-suit; a name approximating the etymological meaning of the word 'judge'—the one who declares the (relevant) law—in English language. There were erudite Buddhist monks who were great legal luminaries in ancient Sri Lanka. *Ābhidhammika* Godatta *thera* and *Tipiṭaka* Cūlābhaya were two of them. The former was the Chief Justice of Sri Lanka during the reign of king Bhātika Abhaya (B. C. 19—A. C. 9) and the latter a contemporary of king Cūlanāga was a celebrated specialist in Jurisprudence. Right of sanctuary was in Sri Lanka : it was of Buddhist origin (*M. V*. XXIV. 45). The concept of *res judicata* was an accepted legal principle in ancient Sri Lanka (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. V, p. 124). Thus the doctrine of double jeopardy was well established in ancient Sri Lanka at an early age. This means that the famous maxim of *nemo debet bis puniri pro uno delicto* was an important principle in the legal philosophy of ancient Sri Lanka. The story of *bhikkhu* Tissa referred to in the *MV*. (XXXVII. 39) clearly implies that the spirit of legal maxim, *nemo judex in sua causa* was in existence in ancient Sri Lanka. All these clearly imply the influence of Buddhism on law and legal philosophy of Sri Lanka.

§ 10. Buddhism which encouraged soft and mild human qualities such as *mettā* and *karunā* was an excellent background for emergence of arts and architecture. Ancient Sri Lanka was famous for its Fine Arts as seen in many pieces of Fine Arts found at Anuradhapura, Polonnaruva and other places. It is mentioned by Fahian of the 5th century that on his visit to Sri Lanka he saw on a Vasak day the entire route from Anuradhapura to Mihintale decorated with large flags having *Jātaka* stories artistically drawn on them. World-famous Sigiriya frescoes clearly display the influence of Buddhism on them. Master-pieces of art such as the frescoes, for example of Dambulla, Ambakke and Kelaniya *Raja Maha Vihara* are merely the result of Buddhist influence. Ancient Sri Lankan architecture was basically of Buddhist origin. Our earliest architectural activities consisted of caves carved out of rocks for the dwelling of *Arahant* Mahinda and his followers found at Mihintale. The *Thūpārāma* at Anuradhapura built by king Devānampiyatissa

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under the direction of *Arahant* Mahinda was the first *Stūpa* to be built in Sri Lanka. This was followed by many *Stūpas* such as *Ratnamāli* (Sinhala, *Ruvanmāli*), one of the greatest monuments in ancient Asia. The celebrated *Lohapāsāda*, a glittering palace built by king Dutugamunu (161-137B. C.) was a master-piece of ancient architecture. This was built for the benefit of the Buddhist monks. It stood on 1600 granite pillars. The place was four-sided, measuring one hundred cubics on each side and one hundred cubics high. It had nine storeys with one hundred rooms in each storey. They were well furnished with valuable beds, chairs and so on. The story of Buddhist architecture is too long a story to be recounted briefly here.

§ 11. Buddhism indirectly influenced the folk music. The rhythm and melody of pali *gāthās* are well known. Pancasikha's meeting with the Buddha when he was residing in the *Indasāla* cave is seen in the the *Tipitaka*. Here the master observed that the rhythm and the melody of the music of Pañcasikha were harmonious. Our folk songs and ballads are of Buddhist origin. It is said that 60 monks of the Anuradhapura period who listened to some lyrics in Sinhala referring to the impermanence of life recited by paddy reapers attained the path having pondered on the contents of the verses of the song. Sinhala songs are mostly of Buddhist origin. Important occasions are often opened with the recital of *Paritta* or pali *gāthās*. Most of our Tower Hall vintage songs, for example, are of Buddhist origin. The themes of our dramas are primarily taken over from early Buddhism.

§12. Our general education has greatly been influenced by Buddhism. The philosophy of education in Sri Lanka has been heavily influenced by *Buddha Dhamma* throughout the ages. *Arahant* Mahinda was the greatest educationist of ancient Sri Lanka. The tradition created by him resulted in reputed educational centres such as the *Mahā-vihāra* and the *Abhayagiri-vihāra*. This same tradition was the cause of the renowned *Aṣṭamūlāyatanas*, the Eight Great Educational Establishments in ancient and mediaeval Sri Lanka. Thanks to this tradition each Buddhist *vihāra* became an educational centre imparting knowledge and wisdom (*paññā* through the medium of Pali, Sinhala and Sanskrit. This liberal education meant for all irrespective of caste or creed carried the

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Buddhist tolerance with it and included even *Vedic* studies in its curriculum. The great scholar-monk Srī Rāhula Saṅgharāja of Toṭagomuva (Skt. *Tīrthagrāma*), adopted son of king Parākramabāhu VI, taught Brahmins the *Vedas* at the reputed centre of studies : the *Vijayabā Pirivena*. History and the role of Buddhist education in Sri Lanka has been subject to several excellent academic studies such as those of Lankāputra G. Hewage, retired Professor and Head of the Department of Education of the University of Colombo, Sri Lanka.

§13. What we have discussed so far very briefly may give an idea of the extent of Budddhist influence on Sri Lankan culture. There is not a single corner of our culture which has not been influenced by the teaching of the Buddha in some form or other. It has been remarked by our ancient writers that the job of a poet was to sing the virtues of the Buddha, the Enlightened one. Our kings such as Buddhadāsa had taken to medicine while ruling the country. This was primarily due to the influence of the teaching of the Master. Some of the greatest legal luminaries of ancient Sri Lanka, as mentioned early, were Buddhist monks (see §9). That was very probably due to the reason that Buddhism was a fertile ground for the development of legal acumen and logical reasoning. Buddhism as an analytical doctrine *(vibhajja-vāda)* gave rise to legal thinking resulting in justice and fair play. This was the reason of the emergence of the concept of *res judicata* in Sri Lanka at an early period of its history as referred to above. Influence of Buddhism on Sri Lankan culture is tremendous and inestimable. What we have discussed here is just a small fraction of the great influence of Buddhism on Sri Lankan culture. It is indeed an eternal and unfailing light on Sri Lanka, the Pearl of the Indian Ocean.

Long live the friendship between India and Sri Lanka !

Professor and Head, Dept. of Philosophy,
University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka.

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CONFLICTS IN STATE-SAṄGHA RELATIONS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN SRI LANKA : AN EPISODE

A. LIYANAGAMAGE

I

Buddhism came to be established in the island of Sri Lanka in the third century B. C., as a result of the zealous missionary activity which followed the Third Buddhist Council. The mission to the island headed by *thera* Mahinda achieved signal success, due to several facilitating factors such as generous royal patronage extended by king Devānampiya Tissa (250-210 B. C.) and his successors, lack of opposition from other religious groups none of which seems to have had an islandwide following, the unreserved dedication of the mission to its cause, and the harmonious blending of the new way of life with the aspirations of the islanders in an early stage of social formation. The rapid spread of Buddhism in the island finds ample testimony in the glowing accounts of the Pāli chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (4th c. A. D.) and the *Mahāvaṃsa* (6th c. A. D.) and in archaeological evidence, in the form of lithic records of donations to the Saṅgha scattered in many parts of the country, apart from remains of numerous monastic complexes, *Stūpas* and shrines. The principal monastery founded by Devānampiya Tissa at Anurādhapura, which came to be known as the Mahāvihāra (Great Monastery), became the pivot of Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka.[1]

The intimate relationship between the state and the Saṅgha which, thus originated with the foundation of the new religion in the island, continued unabated during the centuries that followed. This bilateral relationship seems to have contributed to mutual benefit. Devānampiya Tissa gifted land to the Saṅgha, built monasteries and *stūpas* in addition to the provision of alms and other requisites, a policy continued by his successors with equal enthusiasm.[2] As recipient of such generous support,

1. Rahula, Walpola. *History of Buddhism in Ceylon, 3rd Century B. C.—10th Century A. D.*, Colombo, 1956, pp. 48-77.
2. *Mahāvaṃsa* (*Mv.*,) ed. Wilhelm Geiger, Reprinted London, 1985, (first published, London, 1908), translated into English by the editor with the

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the Saṅgha on its part extended its goodwill and blessings to the rulers, thereby facilitating the harnessing of the allegiance of the people to the state. Thus the mutually beneficial State-Saṅgha relationship continued along a smooth and even course, but for rare exceptions of strain and uneasiness, leading even more rarely to a confrontation. In this paper, we propose to examine such an exceptional situation which led to a major crisis in the State-Sangha relationship, during the reign of Mahāsena in the last quarter of the third century A. D. Though a less penetrative view of our sources may show it as a passing phase, and that normalcy returned taking the State and the Saṅgha back to the traditional path of friendship, a deeper analysis would show that it had led to far-reaching consequences, affecting not only the State-Saṅgha relations but also the entire course of the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka as a whole. Indeed the events of Mahāsena's reign are unique in some respects, much as they are important in many other ways, which is why they are examined in detail in this essay. While examining these events we would also have occasion to comment on the historiography of our sources which, in passing we may say, is an important segment of the Buddhist heritage of Sri Lanka.

Before taking up the events of Mahāsena's reign for consideration, it is necessary to draw attention to certain antecedents which foreshadowed the crisis of the third century. Among the successors of Devānampiya Tissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya's (161-137 B. C.) lavish patronage to the Mahāvihāra is extolled in eloquent terms in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[3] On account of the power and influence which the Mahāvihāra came to wield as a result of such royal patronage, its inmates on occasion seem to have outstepped the limits of proper conduct. After the death of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's brother and successor Saddhā Tissa (137-119 B. C.), there is a recorded instance of the Saṅgha engaging in an act of political impropriety. Disregarding the claims of Tissa's eldest son Lañja Tissa, who should have succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, the Saṅgha together with the counsellers decided in favour of the

assistance of Mabel Haynes Bode, reprinted Colombo, 1950 (first published 1912); all translated passages cited in this paper are from Geiger's English translation, XV, 1-214, XVI, 1-65; Rāhula, *op. cit.*; pp. 62-91.

3. *Mv.*, XXVI-XXXII.

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younger prince Thūlatthana (119 B. C.) and enthroned him. Lañja Tissa (119-109 B. C.) who overpowered his brother and captured the throne was understandably annoyed with the Saṅgha over this incident and maltreated them in the early years of his reign.[4] Though this is a minor incident, it shows how the Saṅgha would come into conflict with the state authority, once its members bypassed the perimeter of its legitimate activity.

Some years later, with the accession of Lañja Tissa's youngest brother Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (103-102 and 89-77 B. C.), perhaps not altogether unexpectedly, Mahāvihāra's relations with the ruler had taken a clearly adverse turn. Events of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's reign as described in the *Mahāvaṃsa* point in that direction.[5] His way to the throne was beset with great hardships. Very early in his reign, a Brāhmaṇa called Tīya (or Tissa) raised a revolt in Rohaṇa, the south eastern sector of the island.[6] While this revolt was on in the far south, in the north where his capital Anurādhapura was situated, he had to face an invasion of his kingdom by a group of seven Damiḷas from South India, apparently a group of adventurous fortune-seekers, who succeeded in ousting him from power.[7] While the Damiḷas ruled the island for fourteen years and seven months Vaṭṭagāmaṇī remained in political wilderness. In the end Vaṭṭagāmiṇī overpowered the last of the Damiḷa rulers and regained the throne. His reign seems to have been marred by the visitation of a severe famine. According to Buddhist Commentaries, the famine became so severe that *bhikkus* had to sustain themselves with the barks of trees. It is added further that the Saṅgha caring for the future safety and continuance of the *Dhamma*, committed into writing the *Tripiṭaka* together with the Commentaries which had been handed down by oral tradition.[8] That roughly is the background in which Vaṭṭagāmaṇī asserted his authority after years of struggle and hardship. What followed from that point onwards, however, is really the more relevant to our discussion.

It emerges quite clearly from the account in the *Mahāvamsa* that Vaṭṭagāmaṇī never received even the blessings of the Saṅgh in his

4. *Mv.*, XXXIII, 17-20.
5. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 33-103.
6. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 37-42; *Sammohavinodanī*, (P. T. S., London), 1923, pp. 445-6.
7. *Mv.*, XXXIII, 39 ff.
8. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 100-101, *Sammohavinodanī*, pp. 445-46.

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long drawn struggle against the Damila invaders, let alone active support and material contribution. This stands out in contrast to Mahāvihāra's unreserved cooperation extended to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161-137 B. C.) in his war against the Damiḷa invader Eḷāra earlier.[9] Whatever be its authenticity, the chronicle states that as many as five hundred *bhikkhus* were provided by the Mahāvihāra at the request of the king and that they accompanied Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's army.[10] Similarly, about a century later, the Mahāvihāra seems to have extended its tacit support to a rebel, Vasabha by name, a nephew of the commander of the army of the reigning monarch Subha (59-65 A. D.), who ultimately captured the throne. Saddled in power, Vasabha (65-109) accorded generous patronage to Mahāvihāra by way of gratitude.[11]

Mahāvihāra's lukewarm attitute to Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, in contrast to its favourable view of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Vasabha cited above, remains obscure, unless we presume that the shadow of estrangement between his eldest brother Lañja Tissa and the Saṅgha, lingered with its bitter memory to sour the relations between Vaṭṭagāmaṇī and the Order. However, Vaṭṭagāmaṇī did receive support and encouragement in his years of struggle and hardship from individuals, though not from a powerful institution like the Mahāvihara. Among them may be named Mahātissa *Thera* of the Kupikkala-vihāra, who was the fugitive king's great benefactor who entrusted him to a householder named Tanasīva. Then in the house of this Tanasīva, his subject, the king lived for fourteen years, maintained by him.'[12] Soon after being dislodged from power, the grateful king granted lands to Mahātissa *thera's vihāra*, and after his regaining the throne, the *thera* became a close ally of the king who received enormous royal patronage.[13] Similarly, another monk named Tissa, of the Hambugallaka-vihāra, possibly a pupil of Mahātissa *thera* referred to above, together with the latter, reconciled Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's ministers with the king, after they had deserted him on account of summary justice meted out to one

9. *Ibid.*, XXV, 1-6, 98-116, *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon, (UCHC.)*, ed. S. Paranavitana, Vol. 1, Part 1, Colombo, 1959, pp. 144-63.
10. *Mv.*, XXV, 1-6.
11. *Ibid.*, XXXV, 59-127; *UCHC., op. cit.*, 179-81.
12. *Mv.*, XXXIII, 49-53.
13. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 49-50.

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of their colleagues, Kapisīsa.[14] Thus Tissa *thera* and Mahātissa *thera* both, became recipients of generous favour at the hands of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī and his ministers.

An event of enormous historical importance was the construction of Abhayagiri-vihāra by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī.[15] Its significance lies not ony in its impact on the relations between the State and the Saṅgha, but also in the history of Buddhism as a whole in Sri Lanka. That the Mahāvihāra watched the foundation of the Abhayagiri-vihāra with the utmost concern, is clear from the fact that its own chronicle had dated its construction with meticulous precision : 'When two hundered had seventeen years and ten months and ten days had passed since the founding of the Mahāvihāra, the king filled with zeal, built the Abhayagiri-vihāra.[16] Of the hundreds of religious edifices built in Sri Lanka over the centuries, many of which are indeed recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself, none with the possible exception of the Mahāvihāra, matches such precise dating. The Abhayagiri *stūpa*, simply in its physical size, seems to have easily surpassed Mahāvihāra's *Mahāthūpa* as it rose in the sky to the north of the city.[17] Thus, the giant Abhayagiri *stūpa* seems to have stood as a silent symbol of the challenge that the Mahāvihāra was to face in the years ahead. Even more significant is the manner of its consecration. In the normal course of events, the obvious recipient of this newly-built great monastery would have been the Mahāvihāra. Surprisingly, the king by-passed the Mahāvihāra and gifted it personally to Mahātissa *thera* who had stood by him in his years of hardship and deprivation.[18] Evidently, following the example of the king, his seven warriors built seven *vihāras* namely the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra, Mūlavokāsa-vihāra, Sāliyārāma, Pabbatārāma, and the Uttratissārāma, most of them named after their founders. Once

14. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 67-76.
15. Devendra, D. T., 'Abhayagiri-vihāra', *Buddhist Encyclopaedia*, Specimen Volume, Colombo, 1957, pp. 1-4.
16. *Mv.*, XXXIII, 80-81.
17. Devendra, D. T., 'Abhayagiri-vihāra', *Buddhist Encyclopaedia*, Specimen Volume, Colombo, 1957 p. 3; Paranavitana, *UCHC.*, pp. 259-60, Mahāthūpa originally had a height of 300 feet and a diameter of 294 feet at the base, while the Abhayagiri Stūpa in the second century A. D., seems to have had a height of 350 feet and a diameter of 325 at the base.
18. *Mv.*, XXXIII, 80-82.

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again the Māhāvihāra was bypassed : 'When the *vihāras* were completed they sought out the *thera* Tissa and gave them to him with the words : "In gratitude for thy kindness we give thee these *vihāras* built by us."[19] The *thera* established sundry *bhikkhus* everywhere (in these *vihāras*), according to their rank, and the ministers bestowed upon the brotherhood the different (things) useful to a *samaṇa*. The king provided those *bhikkhus* living *in his* vihāra with the (needful) things for use so that nothing was lacking; therefore were they many in number.[20] The Tissa *thera* who received these *vihāras* from the ministers, is the *bhikkhu* of the same name who figured as the mediator in the dispute between the king and his ministers. It is reasonable to assume that these *vihāras* built by the ministers turned to the Abhayagiri-vihāra for inspiration, an establishment founded by their king. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi thus became the founder of an influential religious complex, which had its own independent identity, owing little, if any, allegiance to the Mahāvihāra, the centre of orthodoxy which held sway since the foundation of Buddhism in the island. If the Mahāvihāra had been indifferent to Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, as is evident from the course of events, then the Abhayagiri-vihāra would necessarily have filled that void by supporting its benefactor. Thus the foundation of the Abhayagiri-vihāra seems to have led to the emergence of a citadel, which was a challenge to the supremacy of the Mahāvihāra. We may discern here the first distinct rupture in the State-Saṇgha relationship which, so far, had taken an even course.

The Mahāvihāra reacted to these developments in its own way, leading to far-reaching consequences. In the chronicler's own words, the sequence of events is as follows : 'A *thera* known by the name Mahātissa, who had frequented families of laymen, was expelled by the brotherhood *from here* (*i. e.* from our monastery) for this fault, the frequenting of lay families. His disciple, the *thera* who was known as Bahalamassutissa, went in anger to the Abhayagiri (*vihāra*) and abode there forming a (separate) faction. And thence forward these *bhikkhus* came no more to the Mahāvihāra; thus did the *bhikkhus* of the Abhayagiri (vihāra) secede from Theravāda. From the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra those of the Dak-

19. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 88-92.
20. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 93-94.

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khiṇa-vihāra separated afterwards; in this wise those *bhikkhus* (who had seceded) from the adherents of *Theravāda*, were devided into two groups[21]

Before any further comment, mark the words 'from here' which stands for 'our monastery,' the reference being to the Mahāvihāra as noted by Geiger.[22] This is an anwitting exposure of the angle of vision of the *Mahāvaṃsa* making its view of the events essentially that of the Mahāvihāra. In another passage cited earlier, we noted the reference to *his vihāra* (*i e.* Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's *vihāra*) denoting the Abhayagiri-vihāra.[23] To the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, therefore, Mahāvihāra was *our vihāra* and Abhayagiri-vihāra was *his vihāra.* Considering the circumstances under which the Abhayagiri-vihāra came to be built, and the background against which its architect and benefactor had risen to power, the partisans of the Mahāvihāra would hardly have permitted the emergence of a fair picture of the rival monastery and its dedicated supporters, in their chronicles. This limitation has to be borne in mind in the present investigation, where our sources weigh heavily on the side of the Mahāvihāra.

It is most probable that the Mahāvihāra's reaction to the gifting of the Abhayagiri-vihāra to Mahātissa *thera* was one of intense disfavour, and the guilty verdict would have fallen on him anytime afterwards. It is interesting to note that punishment indeed followed speedily, and the *bhikkhu* was expelled from the Mahāvihāra on the ground that he had frequented lay families. Whatever be the guilt or the innocence of Mahātissa *thera*, the timing of the accusation and the penalty which it led to, would keep one wondering whether it was the antecedents of the accused, or the offence he is charged with, that led to the penalty. The charge levelled against Mahātissa *thera* is significant, too. It is quite possible that as the recipient of a stupendous newly built *vihāra*, possibly associated with seven other new vihāras gifted to (his pupil) Tissa *thera*, much to the displeasure of the Mahāvihāra, he would have faced considerable embarrassment, as his task would have been onerous indeed. He would certainly have had to build up a fund of goodwill among the lay devotees, so that the new *vihāras* headed by the Abhayagiri vihāra

21. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 95-98.
22. *Mahāvaṃsa*, op. cit., *Eng. Tr.*, p. 236, note 3.
23. *Mv.*, XXXIII, 94.

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could make headway, despite the hostility of the Mahāvihāra. It is possible that Mahātissa *thera* set about his task in that manner, when he came to be accused of 'the offence of frequenting lay families' (*kulasaṃsaggadosa)*. We are presented here with the version of the prosecution only and therefore, we cannot be certain that justice had been meted out to Mahātissa *thera.*

Offended by the treatment meted out to (his teacher) Mahātissa *thera*, (his pupil) Bahalamassutissa *thera* evidently the Tissa *thera* who figured earlier as the recipient of the monasteries built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's ministers, is said to have left the Mahāvihāra to take residence in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. The statement that 'thenceforward these *bhikkhus* came no more to the Mahāvihāra : thus did the *bhikkhus* of the Abhayagiri-(vihāra) secede from the *Theravāda*', brings out the clear-cut institutional separation between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra, reinforced further by doctrinal differences, though differentiation on the latter basis, should not be overemphasized. Thus the first schism in the Saṇgha in Sri Lanka seems to have taken place in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. This again was to leave its impact on future State-Saṅgha relations and on dealings among the different sects. Taken as a whole, the events of Vaṭṭagāmaṇīs reign, in many ways, foreshadowed a crisis which loomed large in the horizon.

Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's successors, during a period of a little over two hundred years, maintained a balanced relationship between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra, extending patronage to both. On the whole it was a continuation of the policy of supporting the Mahāvihāra with the difference that its rival monastery was not discriminated against. This period was free of religious upheavals. The picture, however, began to change with the beginning of the third century. King Vohārika Tissa (214-36 A. D.), 'suppressing the *Vetulla* doctrine and keeping heretics in check, he made the true doctrine to shine forth'[24]. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* (A History of Buddhism), whose *bhikkhu* author was ardently pro-Mahāvihāra in his attitude, amplifying the incident, possibly with some exaggeration, adds that the Dharmarucikas of Abhayagiri put forward the *Vaitulya Piṭaka* as the teachings of the Buddha, which was rejected by

24. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 41.

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the Therevādins as a false doctrine (*adharma*). Minister Kapila, an expert on the subject who ajudicated in the disputed issue, declared that it was not the true doctrine of the Buddha. It is added further that books containing the Vaitulya doctrines were set on fire and that *bhikkhus* who adhered to these false doctrines were discredited.[25] Less than two decades later, once again the issue of *Vaitulyavāda* surfaced in controversy during the reign of Goṭhābhaya (253-266 A. D.). Like Vohārika Tissa, he decided in favour of *Theravāda* : 'Purifying the doctrine by suppression of heresy, he seized *bhikkhus* dwelling in the Abhayagiri (vihāra), sixty in number, who had turned to Vaitulya doctrines and were like a thorn in the doctrine of the Buddha, and when he had excommunicated them, he banished them to the further coast.'[26] The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* which recounts the incident with greater indignation, goes on to add that, before the monks were banished brand marks were placed on their bodies and that books of *Vaitulyavāda* were set on fire.[27]

The events and incidents surveyed so far, reflect the strained relations between the State and the Saṅgha, gathering momentum in the direction of a crisis. The construction of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, and the evident affiliation of a number of *vihāras* built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's ministers, forming one vast monastic complx, with which the king aligned himself without reservation, as stated earlier, became a serious challenge to the orthodox Mahāvihāra. At that stage, as seen in the above survey, one gets the impression that individuals and individual issues, had led to the conflict. But the schism in the Saṅgha which occurred about the same time, lent the differentiation of the two establishments, the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra, a new dimension, with the entry of doctrinal implications to sharpen the differences. By the time of king Vohārika Tissa (214-236 A. D.), the *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* refers to the residents of the Abhayagiri-vihāra as Dharmarucikas who upheld *Vaitulyavāda*, which is equated with *Vitaṇḍavāda* in the older *Dīpavaṃsa*.[28] Unlike its orthodox rival, the Abhayagiri-vihāra seems to have been more open and freer in its outlook, sensitive to new developments in religion and philosophy

25. *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya*, (*Nks.*), ed. D. P. R. Samaranāyaka, Colombo, 1960, pp. 74-75.
26. *Mv.*, XXXVI, 110-12.
27. *Nks.*, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
28. *Dīpavaṃsa*, (*Dv.*), ed. P. Nānānanda Thera, Pānadura, 1897, XXII, p. 41.

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which were making headway in Southern India about this time, and had accordingly become, in some ways, a haven for those who upheld or adhered to doctrines unacceptable to the orthodox Mahāvihāra. It would, however, be an overstatement to say that the entire community of the Abhayagiri-vihāra had accepted Vaitulya doctrines without reservation, and that this *vihāra* had become a centre of Mahāyāna as against Mahāvihāra's *Theravāda*, though no doubt it had sheltered adherents of heterodox views.

Much as the emergence of internal dissension within the Saṅgha facilitated the germination of non-*Theravāda* doctrines, it is equally natural in the light of Sri Lanka's geographical location, that important philosophical developments that were taking place in Southern India, especially in the Andhra region, about this time, were bound to influence the religious spectrum in the neighbouring island. Sri Lanka's relations with that part of India the extreme south included, had indeed been very close and intimate as a result of commercial and cultural exchange. There is inscriptional testimony to the presence of members of the Saṅgha from Sri Lanka, engaged in missionary activated, in a second century epigraph at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa.[29] Nāgarjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamaka School according to tradition and exponent of Mahāyāna, is believed to have been a native of South India. His *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Mādhyamakakārikā* containing the Mahāyāna teachings of that School would have influenced developments in religious thought in Sri Lanka.[30] Nāgarjuna's pupil Aryadeva, who composed several philosophical works including a commentary on his teacher's *Mādhyamakakārikā*, is regarded as a Sri Lankan monk.[31] Other schools of Mahāyāna, such as the Yogācāra, which developed later under renowned *ācāryas* such as Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, are likely to have influenced the course of religious development in Sri Lanka, especially in view of the existence of centres like the Abhayagiri-

29. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, p. 22.
30. *UCHC.*, p. 203 ff., Sinhalese sculpture had been considerably influenced by the art traditions of the Āndhra region, *Ibid.*, pp. 264-7; the renowned Buddhist logicians Dignāga and Dharmakīrti were also natives of South India, see, *Buddhist Logic*, St. Stcherbatsky, Vol. I, (reprinted) London, 1962, pp. 32-36.
31. *UCHC.*, 249-50.

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vihāra, which were receptive and sensitive to the philosophical changes that were taking place in the mainland.[32]

II

And that brings to the threshold of a major crisis in Sri Lanka's State-Saṅgha relations, not unexpectedly, when viewed against the background outlined above. We refer to the religious explosion which took place during the reign of Mahāsena (278–303 A. D.). The events of Mahāsena's reign had been commented on in previous publications, but in the light of their enormous historical significance, further investigation requires no apology.[33]

Mahāsena's violent conflict seems to have begun right from the inception of his reign. His consecration as ruler and the attendant ceremonies were performed by a *thera* named Saṅghamitta, who was a native of the Coḷa country, portrayed in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as the mastermind behind the destruction of the Mahāvihāra. It was under this *thera* that Mahāsena and his elder brother received their education, being entrusted with that assignment by their father Gothābhaya (253–266 A. D.) who seems to have been impressed by his abilities. The very first reference to thera Saṅghamitta in connection with certain events of Goṭhābhaya's reign displays the chronicler's attitude to the *thera* in no uncertain terms : 'A *bhikkhu* from the Coḷa people, named Saṅghamitta, who was versed in the teachings concerning exorcism of spirits and so forth, had attached himself to a *thera* banished thither, and he came hither embittered against the *bhikkhus* of the Mahāvihāra'.[34] It is the ironic combination of circumstances, that led king Goṭhābhaya, who had excommunicated and banished as many as sixty monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, for being adherents of Vaitulya doctrines, in his ardent attachment to the orthodox Mahāvihara, to entrust the education of

32. Godakumbure, C. E., 'References to Buddhist Sanskrit writers in Sinhalese litererature', *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. I, (1943), pp. 86-93.

33. Codrington, H. W., *A Short History of Ceylon*, London, 1926, (reprinted, London, 1947), Mendis, G. C., *The Early History of Ceylon*, Calcutta, 1932. Paranavitana's contribution to the *UCHC*. marks a substantial advance in the treatment of this theme. pp. 250-5.

34. *Mv.*, XXXVI, 112-13.

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his own sons to *thera* Saṅghamitta, who was later to become the architect of the destruction of that monastery. The *Mahāvaṃsa* states that Saṅghamitta *thera* left the island and returned to the Coḷa country with Jeṭṭhatissa's (266–276 A. D.) accession to the throne, as the latter was ill-disposed to the *thera*.[35] On learning the death of Jeṭṭhatissa, *thera* Saṅghamitta returned to the island to be warmly welcomed by Mahāsena, who succeeded to the throne. It is not inappropriate to set out the sequence of events which followed, in the words of the chronicler himself: 'After king Jeṭṭhatissa's death, his younger brother Mahāsena ruled twenty seven years as king. And to consecrate him as king, the *thera* Saṅghamitta came thither from the further coast when he heard the time (of the death of Jeṭṭhatissa). When he had carried out the consecration and other ceremonies of various kinds, the lawless *bhikkhu*, who would bring about the destruction of the Mahāvihāra won the king to himself with the words: "The dwellers in the Mahāvihāra do not teach the (true) *Vinaya*, we are those who teach the (true) *Vinaya*, O king", and he established a royal penalty: 'Whosoever gives food to a *bhikkhu* dwelling in the Mahāvihāra is liable to a fine of a hundred (pieces of money)'. The *bhikkhus* dwelling in the Mahāvihāra, who thereby fell into want, abandoned the Mahāvihāra, and went to Malaya and Rohaṇa. Thus was *our Mahāvihāra* desolate for nine years and empty of those *bhikkhus* who (else) dwelt in the Mahāvihāra. And the unwise *thera* persuaded the unwise king: 'Ownerless property belongs to the king', and when he had gained leave from the king to destroy the Mahāvihāra, this *(bhikkhu)* in the enmity of his heart, set on people to do so. An adherent of the *thera* Saṅghamitta, the ruthless minister Soṇa, a favourite servant of the king, and with him shameless *bhikkhus*, destroyed the splendid Lohapāsda, seven stories high, and carried away (the material of) the various buildings *from hence* to the Abhayagiri (vihara), and by means of the many buildings that were borne away from the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri-vihāra became rich in buildings. Holding fast to his evil friend, the *thera* Saṅghamitta, and to his servant Soṇa, the king wrought many a deed of wrong. The king sent for the great stone image from the Pācīnatissapabbata (vihāra) and set it up in the Abhayagiri (vihāra). He set up a building for the image, a temple for the Bodhi tree, a beautiful

35. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 122-123.

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relic-hall, and a four-sided hall, and he restored the *(pariveṇa)* called Kukkuṭa. Then by the ruthless *thera* Saṅghmitta was the Ạbhayagiri-vihāra made stately to see.[36]

At this stage of the narrative, reference is made to the intervention of a minister named Meghavaṇṇābhaya, who is described as a close friend of the king. Angered by the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, he turned a rebel and went to Malaya (central hill country) and to Rohaṇa in the south east of the island, evidently to mobilize opposition to the king's policies. Later, we are told, the two friends, the king and the minister met at a military camp on the initiative of the latter, partook of a meal and reconciled their differences. We are made to believe that their misunderstanding ended when the king promised : 'I will make the *vihāra* to be dwelt yet again, forgive my fault.'[37]

The rest of the narrative bears no indication of a return to peace; on the contrary fresh violence breaks out, bringing us to the climax of the tragic events : 'One of the king's wives, who was exceedingly dear to him, the daughter of a scribe, grieved over the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, and when she in bitterness of heart, had won over a carpenter to kill the *thera* who had destroyed it, she caused the violent *thera* Saṅghmitta to be done to death as he came to the Thūpārāma to destroy it. And they slew likewise the violent and lawless minister Soṇa.[38] After this, reference is made to a feeble attempt by Meghavaṇṇābhaya referred to above, to resume some building activity; he is said to have built several *pariveṇas* within the ravaged premises of the Mahāvihāra.[39] Perhaps encouraged by the assuaging interlude, *bhikkhus* who had earlier abandoned the Mahāvihāra, began to trickle in to their monastery, only to witness with horror and dismay, the forcible establishment of a new *vihāra* called the Jetavana-vihāra, within the premises of the Mahāvihāra, thereby violating its boundaries *(sīmā)*. 'Being well-pleased with the hypocrite, the plotter, the lawless *thera* Tissa, his evil friend who dwelt in the Dakkhiṇārāma, he, although he was warned, built within the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, in the garden called Joti, the Jetavana-

36. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 1-16.
37. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 17-24.
38. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 26-28.
39. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 29-31.

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vihāra. Then he called upon the brotherhood of monks to do away with the boundaries, and since the *bhikkhus* would not do this, they abandoned the *vihāra*. But now to make the shifting of boundaries void of effect, if others should seek to do this, certain *bhikkhus* hid themselves in various places. Thus was the Mahāvihāra abandoned for nine months by the *bhikkhus*, and the other *bhikkhus* thought : "We will begin to shift (the boundaries".) Then when the attempt to shift the boundary was given up, the *bhikkhus* came back *hither* and dwelt a gain in the Mahāvihāra.[40]

That, however, is not the end of the chain of events. The community of monks of the Mahāvihāra raised an accusation of 'an offence of the gravest kind' (*antimavatthu*) against *thera* Tissa, who had received from the king the gift of the newly built Jetavana-vihāra. On the decison of a minister 'known to be just' who adjudicated in the dispute, 'excluded him according to right and law, from the Order, albeit against the king's wishes.[41] That marks the end of the account of Mahāsena's conflict with the Mahāvihāra.

The rest of the narrative, interestingly, is not an account of destruction, but an annalitic survey of Mahāsena's vigorous building activity, which included a large number of *vihāras* and irrigation reservoirs. While this information is not of direct relevance to the central theme of this discussion, we will have some comment on it in the sequel, from the point of view of historiography.

We quoted at length from the *Mahāvāṃsa*, in order to demonstrate the intensity of indignation and horror of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, at the destruction of their monastery. To the author of the chronicle, it was the ravage of his own monastery, and indeed the narrative un-wittingly refers to 'our monastery' and 'from here' (italicized in the above quotation), from which his angle of vision becomes explicit. Rarely does the pitch of the chronicler rise to this height of emotional out-burst, and perhaps the only parallel with matching effect comes much later, in the early thirteenth century, in the description of the invasion of the island by a ruler named Māgha who came from Kaliṅga, which led to

40. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 32-37. Note the word 'hither' which indicates the authors' angle of vision (*idhāgantvāna*).

41. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 39.

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the persecution of Buddhism in a manner, unprecedented in the history of Sri Lanka.[42] It may be noted that both contexts were situations of acute religious persecution, where Buddhism in general and its clergy in particular, were exposed to unmitigated violence. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* (14th c.) cited earlier, which is partly if not mainly dependent on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, contains a more or less similar version of the events, sharing the general tone of the older chronicle, if only with a deeper feeling of loss and anger.[43] Its narrative in some parts adds new information, and elsewhere amplifies the *Mahāvaṃsa* version, possibly with some exaggeration. It is stated that the residents of the Mahāvihāra and all the neighbouring monasteries, such as Maricavaṭṭi and Cetiyagiri abandoned their *vihāras* and fled to Malaya and Rohaṇa. And it goes on to add that about three hundred and sixty four *pariveṇas* and *mahāpāsādas* including the Lohapāsāda were razed to the ground and that 'the land of the *vihāra* was ploughed and planted with *mungo* beans.' And the Dharmarucikas of the Abhayagiri-vihāra are said to have taken up residence in the Cetiyagiri-vihāra, bringing the latter under the influence of the heterodox wing. A legend related to the prevention of the removal of Mahāvihāra's boundary, by the intervention of a monk with psychic power belonging to the Cittalapabbata-vihāra (in Rohaṇa), by appearing on the scene in the guise of a *rakṣasa* is included. It is also added that books of *Vaitulyavāda* were set on fire at the instance of the queen, who had both *thera* Saṅghamitta and minister Soṇa put to death, in an earlier stage of its narrative. Thus, apart from these details, the *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* says much the same as the older chronicle.

Being the voice of the aggrieved party, these accounts are bound to express in eloquent terms the harm inflicted upon the Mahāvihāra and its inmates, possibly with considerable exaggeration. But then the question that must necessarily be raised is : Why did the chroniclers rise to such a high pitch of emotion at this point and why, if at all, did they resort to exaggeration ? Quite clearly, it is because of the enormous suffering that the Mahāvihāra had had to undergo during these years of violence. So

42. *Cūlavaṃsa*, (*Cv.*), ed. Wilhelm Geiger, 2 Vols. London, (P. T. S.), 1925, 1927. Translated into English from the German by Mable Rickmers, 2 Parts, Colombo, 1953, LXXX, 52-80.

43. *Nks.*, pp. 76-79.

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the substance of Mahāvihāra's grievance as reflected in these chronicles, seems to rest on a valid basis. Its building complexes consisting of residential quarters, shrines and other allied structures, not excluding the splendid Lohapāsāda and the Thūpārāma, which were its cherished monuments dating back to almost the founding years of Buddhism in the island, were destroyed. What is more, even the building materials of the ravaged buildings are said to have been taken away to make the Abhayagiri-vihāra 'rich in buildings' and 'stately to see.' Not only was Mahāvihāra's rival monastery heavily patronised and enriched at the expense of the former, even its physical integrity came to be violated by the erection of the Jetavana-vihāra within the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra. According to the Commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, the residents of the Mahāvihāra insisted with the king not to shift its boundary explaining that their *vihāra*, founded six hundred years ago and sanctified by its close association with *thera* Mahinda himself and successive *Arhants*, should not be treated in that manner.[44] Mahāsena does not appear to have heeded these arguments. Further, following the decree that no alms be given to the inmates of the Mahāvihāra, its residents together with those of the neighbouring monasteries within its fold, unable to fend for themselves, abandoned their *vihāras*. Mahāvihāra remained abandoned and desolate for as long as nine years. In the light of these events, one cannot be surprised about the chroniclers' indignation in recalling the violence inflicted upon their monastery using state power in full force, to the loss of all that this centre of *Theravāda* cherished. That, roughly, seems to have been one side of the picture.

It is most unlikely that these pro-Mahāvihāra chroniclers would have presented the case of Mahāvihāra's opponents with equal enthusiasm or even in such a manner as to mete out justice to them on a minimum scale. To these authors, *thera* Saṅghamitta was none other than their arch enemy who masterminded the destruction of the Mahāvihāra. In almost every reference, *thera* Saṅghmitta's name is prefixed with derogatory adjective such as 'lawless' (*asaññato*), 'unwise' (*dummati*), 'violent' (*dāruṇo*) and 'ruthless,'[45] In short he is portrayed as the personification of evil

44. *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, (*Vmp.*), ed. G. P. Malalasekara, 2 Vols., London, 1935, 1936; Vol. II, 681-82, 5-30.

45. *Mv.*, XXXVI, 114; XXXVII, 8, 16, 28.

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itself. *Thera* Saṅghamitta's collaborators, minister Soṇa and *thera* Tissa too, are condemned. The latter who received the incumbency of the Jetavana vihāra was 'the hypocrite, the plotter, the lawless *thera*' and the former was always 'violent' and 'lawless'. While thus the strongest possible language has been used in the condemnation of Mahāvihāra's opponents, as Paranavitana righly observes, not a word of blame, either explicit or implicit, is found in the record of the brutal murder of *thera* Saṅghamitta and minister Soṇa by the protagonists of the Mahāvihāra.[46] Curiously, not the killers but their victims, 'the violent *thera* Saṅghamitta' and 'the violent and lawless minister Soṇa' are accused of violence. Here, while noting the chronicler's manifestly partisan attitude, we should not lose sight of the highly acute sense of grievance which coloured Mahāvihāra's view of the tragic events. As for Mahāsena, the ruler with whose approval *thera* Saṅghamitta and his collaborators set out on the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, surprisingly, the chronicler seems to set the accusation in a much lighter tone, in comparison to the uncompromisingly harsh treatment meted out to *thera* Saṅghamitta and his allies. The king is referred to as being 'unwise' but the stronger adjectives such as 'violent', 'ruthless' and 'lawless' were reserved for *thera* Saṅghamitta and Soṇa.[47] The *Mahāvaṃsa* is emphatic in its view of Mahāsena as a person who had been led to the path of evil, following the association of bad friends (*asādhu saṃgama*). And at the end of it all, the chronicler never sentenced him to hell, though other rulers who had harmed the interests of the Saṅgha very much less in comparison, such as Coranāga (62-50 B. C.) had to pay the penalty in the Lokantarika Hell.[48] The relative leniency shown to Mahāsena immediately raises the question why he had been treated differently when, in fact, the destruction of the Mahāvihāra had taken place with the full knowledge and approval of the king. This question will be examined at a later stage of this discussion.

Coming to our major theme, several questions can be raised : What were the issues that led to this unprecedented religious explosion ? What factors led to the estrangement of the ruler from the traditional role of supporting the orthodox Mahāvihāra ? And what impact has the violent

46. *UCHC., op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.
47. *Mv.*, XXXVII, 8, 10, 28; see above fn. 45 too.
48. *Mv.*, XXXIV, 11-14.

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conflict left on the future of State-Saṅgha relations? The rest of this essay will be devoted to an explanation of the issues raised above subject of course to the limitations set by our sources of information, some of which have been pointed out already. The *Mahāvaṃsa's* implicit view of pinpointing on *thera* Saṅghamitta as the almost entire causal factor of the crisis is, at once, inadequate and unconvincing. Though *thera* Saṅghamitta is portrayed as a villain 'who was versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits *(bhūtavijjā)* and so forth', circumstantial evidence in the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself, however, points to a strong personality with abilities of a high order. The circumstances under which *thera* Saṅghamitta became a constant guest at the royal place soon after his arrival in Sri Lanka, during the reign of Goṭhābhaya (253-266 A. D.), lends support to this hypothesis. *Thera* Saṅghamitta is stated to have entered an assembly of *bhikkhus* at Thūpārāma, and refuted the arguments of *thera* Goṭhābhaya, a resident of Saṇghapāla Parivena, who was an uncle of king Goṭhābhaya. The king himself was present at this meeting. The subject of the discussion is not mentioned, but Geiger thinks it was 'an assembly of the brotherhood convened to settle dissensions between the various contending parties.[49] At this meeting, *thera* Saṅghamitta expounded his heretical doctrines, speaking against the monks of the Mahāvihāra, and he succeeded in convincing the king. Beaten in argument, the *thera* of the Saṅghapāla Pariveṇa seems to have addressed the king affectionately by his first name, being his nephew, and tried to win him round to the orthodox views, though without success. *Thera* Saṅghamitta seems to have carried the day; the king was so pleased with the *thera* that the education of his two sons, Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena, was entrusted to him. Thereby *thera* Saṅghamitta became a close friend *(kulūpaka)* of the king. It is interesting to observe that the king whom thus *thera* Saṅghamitta won over, was one whose zealous attachment to *Theravāda* had led him to banish some sixty monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, who were adherents of Vaitulya doctrines. It is inconceivable that Goṭhābhaya entrusted his sons to *thera* Saṅghamitta, unless he had been fully convinced of the *thera's* abilities and competence as a teacher. At the same time, one has to be naive to presume that Goṭhābhaya was unaware of *thera* Saṅghamitta's background, being one who

49. *Mv.*, XXXVI, 114-117; see *Eng. Tr.*, Geiger, note 1, p. 265.

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had crossed over to Sri Lanka from the neighbouring Coḷa country in South India, as well as his adherence to Vaitulya doctrines. Attention was drawn above, to the new developments in Buddhist thought which were giving rise to different philosophical systems, such as the Mādhyamaka and the Yogācāra in Southern India about this time. Associated with these developments was another sphere, namely Buddhist Logic, in which tremendous advances were made a few centuries later, under renowned *ācāryas* of the calibre of Dignāga and Dharmakirti.[50] In all probability, *thera* Saṅghamitta had been exposed to these new waves of philosophical development, and had possibly acquired a grounding in Buddhist logic. If *thera* Saṅghamitta had these attainments, it is not surprising that he was able to make the mark in his encounters with the Therevādins of the Mahāvihāra, the meeting in the Thūpārāma referred to above, being one recorded instance. *Thera* Saṅghamitta certainly seems to have been much more than 'an excorcer of spirits' to say the least. It is also reasonable to hold that, just as *thera* Saṅghamitta became tutor and mentor to the two young princes, Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena, he had also won over their father Goṭhābhaya, the ardent champion of orthodoxy, thus becoming the king's *kulūpaka.* These developments certainly heralded the imminent misfortunes of the Mahāvihāra. The elder prince, possibly with a conservative frame of mind, had not taken a liking to his teacher, and was not to be detracted from the traditional path set for him. On the contrary, Mahāsena's exposure to *thera* Saṅghamitta's penetrative influence in his formative years, was to leave a lasting impact on him. Saṅghamitta *thera's* strong personality and his convincing abilities led to the emergence of an intimate relationship between Mahāsena and the *thera* which was to influence the future course of events in a very decisive way.

The personal factor considered above, namely that of *thera* Saṅghamitta, is no doubt relevant to our discussion, but though it is highlighted as the almost only causal factor which led to the religious explosion of Mahāsena's reign in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, as stated earlier, it would not be an adequate explanation. At this stage, attention may be drawn to the events of the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya, outlined in the initial stages of this essay, namely the establishment of the Abhayagirivihāra which foreshadowed a challenge to the orthodox Mahāvihara,

50. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 27-39.

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and the schism in the Saṅgha which led to dissident factions breaking away from the parent monastery. As shown above, these developments continued along a track where the seams of separation began to show out more clearly over the centuries. The Abhayagiri-vihāra continued to grow in its resources and influence, becoming a haven for the adherents of heteredox teachings. Followers of unorthodox schools of thought seem to have trickled into the island over the years, rendering their numbers and influence considerable. The infiltration into the island of Indian philosophical thought of the different Buddhist Schools in the contemporary Indian mainland, referred to above, could not be prevented either by the orthodox Mahāvihāra or by royal decree which, kings such as Vohārika Tissa (214-236 A. D.) and Goṭhābhaya (253-266 A. D.), resorted to without success. In order to get a proper perspective of the events, *thera* Saṅghamitta should be placed in this broad context and not in isolation, however significant his personal role may have been. He was, therefore, part and parcel of a heteredox movement, which had progressively advanced over the centuries. *Thera* Saṅghamitta's personal contribution to its success need not be underestimated on this score. The adherents of *Theravāda* were called upon to face this growing challenge. Apparently the Mahāvihāra seems to have adopted a complacent attitude, unaware, though, of its magnitude. Accustomed to centuries of almost exclusive royal favour, they seem to have left it to their royal patrons to work out the remedies. The latter, on behalf of the Mahāvihāra, intervened from time to time, in the suppression of heresy. There is indeed little evidence of Mahāvihāra's own preparation to defend the validity of the teachings of *Theravāda* in open debate and disputation, in order to disarm the challengers. A recorded instance of such an open debate comes much later in the sixth century. In a brief statement the *Cūlavaṃsa* refers to 'a Grand *Thera* called Jotipāla (who) had beaten in controversy the adherents of the Vetulla School on the Island', during the reign of Aggabodhi I (575-606 A. D.).[51] Apart from the fact that this had been undertaken single-handed on the part of Jotipāla *Thera*, the *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* reveals that this *ācārya* had come over to Sri Lanka from India (Jambudvīpa).[52] So, even there, *Theravāda* had had to be defended

51. *Cv.*, XXXXII, 35-39.
52. *Nks.*, op. cit., p. 80.

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by an Indian teacher who had come to the Island for the purpose. Thus we see that even after several centuries, the Mahāvihāra was unequal to the task of mustering the resources needed to meet its opponents effectively on doctrinal grounds. It is therefore not surprising that the Mahāvihāra found it increasingly difficult to maintain its dominant position despite state support. In the light of these circumstances, the upsurge of *Vaitulyavāda* during the reign of Mahāsena is not amazing but for the violent form it had taken.

Although adherents of *Vaitulyavāda* and other heteredox teachings had increased in number over the centuries, with the Abhayagiri-vihāra as their haven and base, the Mahāvihāra remained dominant with the rulers commited to guard its interests. Perhaps the Vaitulyavādins were not prepared to bear with this state of affairs for too long, having suffered physical suppression several times, at the hands of pro-Mahāvihāra rulers. Once they had gained a secure foot-hold, strengthened as they were in numbers too, it is most probable that securing royal patronage and with it state recognition, came to be one of their principal objectives. Finding themselves placed in the most opportune circumstances with the inauguration of the reign of Mahāsena (278-303 A. D.), they seized the opportunity to achieve their objectives, led by *thera* Saṅghamitta, an effective champion of their cause. This, in all probability, provides the key to the understanding of the unprecedented religious crisis of the reign of Mahāsena, with far-reaching repercussion on State-Saṅgha relations.

Strange indeed it is, that the term *Vaitulyavāda* or any reference to its adherents is not found anywhere in the entire account of the reign of Mahāsena in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, though from the above survey it would become amply clear, that the confrontation was between the followers of *Theravāda* and *Vaitulyavāda*. *Thera* Saṅghamitta is said to have won over the king with this argument : 'The dwellers in the Mahāvihāra do not teach the (true) *Vinaya*, we are those who teach the (true) *Vinaya*, O King.'[53] Significantly, the *thera* had not sought to win royal favour by upholding the superiority of Vaitulya doctrines as against those of the Theravādins of the Mahāvihāra. In the chronicle, the issue of *Vinaya* (Discipline) is seen as the principal and focal point of the dispute. As will

53. *Mv.*, XXXVII, 4.

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be shown in the sequel, it seems reasonable to hold that *Vinaya* had infact been a point at issue. This view gains support from other reliable sources too. The *Dīpavaṁsa*, the oldest extant Pāli chronicle, written in the fourth century possibly, gives a brief account of Mahāsena's reign. Unlike the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Dīpavaṃsa* takes the form of a compilation of the oldest historical traditions virtually in their original condition, displaying little evidence of editorial refinement or orderly re-arrangement of its contents.[54] This account, though brief and much less detailed compared to that of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, takes a sharply different orientation and indeed becomes the more valuable for that reason, though it had scarcely been utilized in previous reviews of Mahāsena's reign. The *Dīpavaṃsa* states : 'On the death of Jaṭṭhatissa, his younger brother king Mahāsena reigned for twenty seven years. Then the King (Mahāsena) gave thought about the numerous monks in the fold (of the Buddhist Order) as to who were (actually) righteous and who were unrighteous. Having considered this matter, in the search for scrupulous members (of the order), saw evil-minded monks who were like unto malodorous putrid carcases, of repulsive, evil behaviour, irreligious and unwholesome (men) posing like monks, defiling the Dipensation of the Conqueror (=the Buddha). He (=the king) approached the evil Soṇa of immoral friends and also other unscrupulous members (of the order) and interrogated them on the letter and the spirit of the Doctrine. Evil friend Soṇa and other unscrupulous evil (minded) persons conspired secretly to discredit the good ones (=righteous *bhikkhus*). The two (parties) collaborated and held out things that had been declared proper (by the Buddha) as being improper for the residents of the Mahāvihāra. (Similarly) the evil (minded) unscrupulous *bhikkhus* held out matters such as *dunnivattha* (mentioned) in the story of Cabbavagga (*bhikkhus*) as having the approval (of the Buddha). (They) got hold of various objects approved (by the Buddha) and held out as being wrong (unapproved) objects. So, after the ruler Mahāsena had in consequence of his association with impious people, done good and evil all his life, he went according to his doing.'[55]

54. See *Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa and their Historical Development*, Wilhelm Geiger, Leipzing, 1905; English translation, Ethel M. Coomaraswamy, Colombo, 1908.

55. *Dv.*, op. cit., XXII, 63-73 (in the printed edition) but should be taken as 1-11 of Chap ter XXII.

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It will be seen from the account cited above, that the *Dīpavaṃsa* highlights the question of *Vinaya* even more clearly, so much so that practically the entire account is devoted to it. Thus both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are in agreement that disciplinary issues figured uppermost in the conflict between the Mahāvihāra and its opponents. It may also be noted that the master-figure *thera* Saṅghamitta is missing in the *Dīpavaṃsa* account, but the less prominent minister Soṇa is mentioned. Nothing is mentioned, too, of the actual destruction of the Mahāvihāra, which is certainly strange, however brief and scrappy its narrative be. Both these sources also agree in their absence of reference to *Vaitulyavāda*, though it should not be assumed on this score that the conflict was devoid of doctrinal implications. The Commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsīnī* elaborates on the specific points of *Vinaya* which led to controversy. It is stated that the residents of the Abhayagiri-vihāra brought confusion into the *Vinaya Piṭaka* as taught by the Buddha, and that they broke away from *Theravāda* calling themselves the followers of *Dhammarucikavāda*. While the Theravādins held that the use of fans made of ivory (=with ivory handles), and the computation of the twenty years of age for the award of higher ordination from the point of conception in the womb, were permitted (by the Buddha), the Dhammarucikas disagreed. Differences of opinion were also evident on the manner of setting up a *sīmā* (boundary). Pointing out these differences to the king, the Commentary adds that *thera* Saṅghamitta claimed, 'O king, we, the Dhammarucikas, are the followers of the (true) *Vinaya*.'[56]

Why did *thera* Saṅghamitta and his followers raise the issue of *Vinaya* with so much emphasis and articulation ? Perhaps, *thera* Saṅghamitta who led the attack on the citadel of *Theravāda*, had identified it as a weakpoint of the Mahāvihāra, which could, therefore, be assailed more effectively. Having lived in Sri Lanka for several years, educating Mahāsena and his brother, *thera* Saṅghamitta had the opportunity of watching at a very close quarters, all that was going on in the Mahāvihāra, its strength as well as its weakness. Thus *thera* Saṅghmitta seems to have planned his strategy in such a way that the Mahāvihāra was reduced to a defensive position. Before we proceed to say more about the question of *Vinaya*, it would be appropriate to consider Mahāsena's attitude and reac-

56. *Vmp.*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 666, 20-25, p. 667, 1-10.

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tion to the issues involved. It pointed out earlier, that the older *Dīpavaṃsa* does not even mention Saṅghamitta, whereas he becomes the key-figure in the conflict in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. A far more significant point that emerges from the *Dīpavamsa* where, notably, *thera* Saṅghamitta and the trail of violence are missing, is that it helps us to set Mahāsena in a considerably modified historical frame, somewhat unlike that of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Reading the *Mahāvaṃsa* account, one may form the impression that Mahāsena was a credulous victim who had succumbed to the sinister designs of *thera* Saṅghmitta, the schemer. In the *Dīpavaṃsa* account which is admittedly brief, Mahāsena emerges in a different light. He comes out as a conscientious and intelligent individual who wanted to find out for himself the truth out of the religious controversy which marred his reign. In his own mind, he raised the question : among the multitudes of *bhikkhus*, who were the righteous and who were the unrighteous ? It is in this search for the righteous *bhikkhus* that Mahāsena identified 'evil-minded monks who were like unto malodorous putrid carcases, of repulsive evil behaviour, irreligious and unwholesome (men) posing as monks, defiling the Dispensation of the Conqueror'. It is stated further, that he even went to 'evil friend Soṇa' and 'other unscrupulous (unrighteous) persons' in order to ascertain the letter and the spirit (*atthaṃ dhammaṃ*) of the Doctrine. The account also refers to Soṇa and 'unscrupulous' persons acting in conspiracy to discredit the righteous monks. One should note the point that, whereas in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *thera* Saṅghamitta approaches the king in order to win him over to his own view of the issues, in the *Dīpavaṃsa* one sees the reverse position when the king takes the initiative to find out for himself who the righteous *bhikkhus* were, when he is described as having called at Soṇa and 'other unscrupulous persons' and enquired of them as to letter and the spirit of the Doctrine. This difference in the two sources may not seem noteworthy at first sight, but it rises to considerable significance if one couples it with the wretched scene of a section of the *bhikkhu* community, which Mahāsena's investigation is said to have revealed.

Turning on to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, who were these unscrupulous monks, given to unworthy and repulsive ways and referred to as persons posing as monks (*samaṇa paṭirūpaka*) and compared to putrid carcases ? If the *Dīpavaṃsa* could be relied upon, Mahāsena in all honesty and sincerity,

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was deeply concerned with the interests of the Dispensation, with those of the Saṅgh in particular, in so far as they led righteous lives. Now if the 'putrid carcases'—like *samaṇa paṭirūpakas* represented *thera* Saṅghamitta's following, it is inconceivable that Mahāsena with his uncompromising ideals of moral rectitude, which he expected *bhikkhus* to conform to, would have joined hands with such a reprehensible multitude and authorised them to destroy the Mahāvihāra. Moreover, it was the issue of *Vinaya*, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, that *thera* Saṅghamitta had so strongly stressed in his bid to win over the king. These considerations, therefore, lead us to the inescapable inference that the *samaṇa paṭirūpakas* sighted by Mahāsena in his search for the righteous monks, were the residents of the Mahāvihāra. It is only in the light of such an inference that one can explain Mahāsena's hostility to the Mahāvihāra, though its destruction would call for further enquiry.

It is possible to discern two distinct traditions in the *Dīpavaṃsa* account of Mahāsena. The first relates to a category of *bhikkhus* who are portrayed in bold relief as 'unscrupulous *bhikkhus*' comparable to 'putrid carcases', whom we have already identified, convincingly in our view, as inmates of the Mahāvihāra. And this first strain of tradition is traceable in four stanzas, from the second to the fifth in the account. The second tradition seems to run from the sixth to the eleventh stanza, six in all, the last two being a didactic summing up. In the second tradition, 'evil friend Soṇa' conspires with 'other evil-minded unscrupulous persons' (*bhikkhus)* to discredit 'the righteous' *(bhikkhus)*. Here one finds no difficulty in noting its conformity with the *Mahāvaṃsa,* both in its content and spirit. The same must be said of the stanzas seven, eight and nine, which briefly refers to the disputed points of discipline, and are elaborated in the Commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, as shown above. The two traditions seem to share the account in two halves. What are the possible origins of the two traditions ? Note the point that 'unscrupulous persons' (*bhikkhus*) figure in the first as well as the second tradition. In the first, as shown above, they are brought to sharp focus in a highly derogatory tone. This cannot possibly be a tradition emanating from the Mahāvihāra, as it is most unlikely for the Mahāvihāra to have castigated its own inmates so mercilessly, at a time when the *vihāra's* very exisence was threatened.

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Thus the origin of this tradition must be traced to a source outside the Mahāvihāra, possibly to the Abhayagiri-vihāra or to any other monastery within its fold. Coming to the second tradition, the contents and the tone of that part of the narrative, make it clearly attributable to the Mahāvihāra. The presence of 'the evil friend' Soṇa and his conspiracy with 'the other unscrupulous persons' (*bhikkhus*) to discredit 'the righteous *bhikkhus*', of the Mahāvihāra obviously, apart from the points of difference of opinion on disciplinary matters referred to therein, should leave us in no doubt that this tradition had originated in the Mahāvihāra. Considering the nature of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the manner of its compilation, it is not surprising to find in it, different and even conflicting traditions concerning the same events. A non-Mahāvihāra view of Mahāsena's reign, however faint and feeble it may be, can indeed be most valuable and instructive, as proved by the glimpse considered above.

It would be relevant to consider at this stage the tenability of the accusation of indiscipline, pointed at the inmates of the Mahāvihāra. After the foundation of Buddhism in the Island, successive Sinhalese kings extended generous patronage to the new religion as a result of which, the Mahāvihāra grew up to become a great centre of power and influence. To mention a few of the notable patrons, Devānampiya Tissa (250–210 B. C.), Duṭṭhāgāmaṇī Abhaya (161–131 B. C.), Saddhā Tissa (137–119 B. C.) and Vasabha (65–109 A. D.), granted lands and fields, irrigation tanks and other diverse sources of revenue to the Mahāvihāra.[57] On account of the wealth which thus accumulated, and the power and influence which the Mahāvihāra wielded, a certain degree of laxity may have set in, in regard to the discipline of its inmates. This tendency is bound to have gathered momentum over the centuries, so that the Saṅgha had come a long way from the self-denying, simple community known to early Buddhism. Some members of the Mahāvihāra came to be discredited on account of intervention in politics. The case of Thūlatthana (119 B. C.) had been referred to already. Kaṇirajānu Tissa (31–34 A. D.) is said to have hurled down a precipice at Mahintale, sixty monks who were found guilty of conspiring against the king.[58] While these are a few of the recorded instances, many others would

57. *Mv.*, XXXII, 26-47, XXXIII, 4-13, XXXV, 77-100.

58. *Ibid.*, XXXV, 9-11; see also *Vmp.*, op. cit., Vol. II, 640, 20-30.

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have passed unnoticed in the principal sources. As time went on, each *vihāra* came to be a property-owning institution with its own sources of revenue, and no longer exclusively dependent on alms provided by the laity for their sustenance. In this manner the Mahāvihāra had become a wealthy and influential religious establishment. The dictum that 'Where wealth accumulates men decay' seems to have been true of the Mahāvihāra too.

An important inscription discovered at the Jetavana-vihāra, issued in the first year of a king who has been identified with Mahāsena, throws welcome light on the religious conflict of this reign.[59] The stone slab on which it had been inscribed is partly damaged, and as revealed by that part of the text preserved on the rest of the slab, as shown by S. Paranavitana who edited and commented on it, its purport had been the regulation of the ecclesistical affairs of the Mahāvihāra, very unlike most other ancient inscriptions which were records of donations of land, fields, tanks and so forth to Buddhist monasteries. As the text is incomplete, it is difficult to grasp the full implications of its contents. The preserved portion, however, goes on to state that 'though rebuked, sins in various ways...' (....*avana kaṭapi ca nana magini pavenana)* were being committed, evidently, by the inmates of the Five Great Residences (*paca maha avasa*) mentioned in the next line. Then comes the important statement that *Vayatuḍaḷa* was written in books (*potahi*), and the books so written *layitaka pota*), according to Paranavitana who is guided by the immediate reference thereafter to the Five Great Residences, were deposited therein. He equates *Vayatuḍaḷa* with *Vaitulyavāda* or *Vetulla* doctrines as referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, a form of Mahāyāna embodied in the *Vaipulyasūtra*.[60] The interpretation of *paca maha avasa* (=*pañca mahā āvāsa*), the Five Great Residences, as a reference to the Mahāvihāra is well attested and rests beyond doubt.[61] Paranavitana's text and his interpretation of its

59. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 281-82.

60. *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G*, Voll. II, pp. 35 ff. It is interesting to note that excavations in progress now within the premises of the Jetavana Vihāra have brought to light a set of gold plates on which an extensive section of the *Prajñāpāramitā* have been inscribed. These have not been published yet and are now in the custody of the Department of National Museums. They have been tentatively dated to about the ninth century A. D.

61. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 278, note 4.

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contents, though tedious and baffling no doubt, seem to rest on an acceptable basis.

The first point to be noted is the reference in this record, to the Five Great Residences which are said to have comprised the Mahāvihāra, Cetiyagiri-vihāra, Thūpārāma, Issarasamaṇa-vihāra and the Vessagiri-vihāra, meaning the larger Mahāvihāra complex, whose residents are accused of committing 'sins in various ways, though rebuked'.[62] There is no doubt that the accusation is against the Theravādins of the Mahāvihāra fold. This statement brings to one's mind at once, Mahāsena's search for the righteous malodorous monks, in the course of which he 'saw evil-minded monks who were like unto putrid carcases, of repulsive evil behaviour, irreligious and unwholesome (men) posing as monks, defiling the Dispensation of the Conqueror' as stated in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, cited earlier. Thus Mahāsena's own epigraph, and the *Dīpavamsa*, removed from his reign by just about a hundred years, are in agreement that the Mahāvihāra, had fallen away from the code of discipline they were expected to conform to. Much as the Mahāvihāra's view of the Abhayagiri-vihāra is biased against the latter, so also Abhayagiri-vihāra's view of its rival monastery, could well be partial to its own advantage. Therefore, the Abhayagi-vihāra's glimpse of the state of discipline of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, which yields a lurid picture, as incorporated in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, and as shown above, need not be accepted at its face value. It would be unfair to presume on this evidence, that all or even a majority of Mahāvihāra's residents had been reduced to *samaṇa paṭirūpakas* akin to 'putrid carcases.' But there can be no doubt, taking into account the background of the growth of the Mahāvihār along with the evidence considered above, that there had been quite a considerable decline in the discipline and moral tone of the Mahāvihāra community, affecting at least a fair section of it. All the evidence so far considered, would show that *thera* Saṅghamitta's accusation against the Mahāvihāra on the score of Discipline, as stated in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, is not only not unfounded but perhaps positively tenable to a certain degree. Here again, the disputed points of discipline listed and elaborated in the Commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, seem so trivial and abstruse and more conducive to academic controversy among the members of the Saṅgha. The propriety or impropriety of the use of fans with ivory

62. *Ibid.*

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handles, the reckoning of the completion of the twenty-year age for the purpose of higher ordination, whether it should be counted from the point of conception or from that of the birth, the mode of setting up boundaries (*sīmā*) are matters that would hardly have aroused much interest outside the Saṅgha, possibly even in ancient times. The clue to the actuality of the problem of *Vinaya* has to be traced in sources other than those of the Mahāvihāra. The spectacle of the type of *bhikkhus* described in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 'the carcases' and '*samaṇa paṭirūpaka*' are likely to have been targets of public scorn and hostility on the part of the lay devotees, who in their own way contributed to their maintenance.

Not so much the abstruse details of disciplinary matters which figure in the *Mahāvaṃsa* Commentary, but the larger issues of overall conformity to a righteous way of life as laid down in the *Vinaya*, would have been stressed by *thera* Saṅghamitta, in his bid to win over the king. The *thera* would have pinpointed on the *samaṇa paṭirūpakas* of the Mahāvihāra. The *Dīpavaṃsa* account is a picturesque reflection of Saṅghamitta *thera's* case against the Mahāvihāra on the score of *Vinaya*, curiously though his name is missing in it, as stated earlier. The same source brings out Mahāsena's own concern for the need to get the Saṅgha to lead righteous lives. This is also confirmed by his own inscription at the Jetavana-vihāra. Apart from other factors, Mahāvihāra's decline in the discipline of its inmates, provided a convincing argument for its opponents to prevail upon the king and take the upper hand, which eventually led to the destruction of the citadel of *Theravāda*.

Any one reading the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Dīpavaṃsa* accounts of the reign of Mahāsena, may be led to believe that disciplinary issues alone led to the conflict. We have aleary noted that in these accounts, no reference whatsoever is made to *Vaitulyavāda*. It must, however, be noted that the *Mahāvaṃsa* records the advent of the Vaitulya doctrines to the island prior to Mahāsena's reign, and the attempts of his predecessors to suppress them, on the ground that they were heretical teachings in Mahāvihāra's view. In fact, *thera* Saṅghamitta who led the onslaught on the Mahavihāra, was an adherent of these doctrines who had come over to the island in order to avenge the Mahāvihāra, for banishing from the island a group of Vaitulya monks during the reign of Goṭhābhaya (253–266 A. D.). Earlier, Vohārika Tissa (214–236) had taken steps to

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eradicate Vaitulya doctrines. Once these developments are taken into account, though the term *Vaitulyavāda* does not figure in the chronicle accounts of Mahāsena's reign, prominence being given to the issue of *Vinaya*, it is inconceivable that doctrinal issues had not figured in the conflict. At any rate, differences of opinion in the interpretation of *Vinaya* or any other issues connected therewith, could hardly explain the violent flare-up. There cannot be much doubt that Vaitulya doctrines, too, were a point at issue in the conflict. The most important confirmation in this regard comes from Mahāsena's own record at Jetavana-vihāra, cited earlier. There it is stated that doctrines of *Vaitulyavāda (Vayatuḍaḷa)* were written down in books and deposited in the Five Great Residences. The purpose of depositing these books in these principal monastic establishments of the Mahāvihāra fold, possibly in their libraries, would have been the conversion of their inmates to Vaitylya doctrines, a step which stands unique in the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. No other ruler, either before or after him, seems to have had the audacity to regulate the doctrines of the Saṅgha, which were essentially a matter left entirely to the Saṅgha. This was a sphere in which state intervention was never conceived of, though time and again Sinhalese kings sought to intervene in temporal affairs. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* seems to confirm the intention of depositing books containing Vaitulya doctrines in those monasteries of the Mahāvihāra fold. This work refers to *thera* Saṅghamitta's failure to 'convert the residents of the Five Great Residences to Vaitulya doctrines, after making all efforts in various ways, while residing in the Abhayagiri-vihāra' during the reign of Goṭhābhaya (253–266 A. D.).[63] The same source goes on to state further, in its account of the events of the reign of Mahāsena, that the residents of the Mahāvihāra assembled in the Mahāpāsāda shortly before abandoning their *vihāra* and resolved : 'Now being reduced to starvation, if we accept false doctrines *(adharma)* as the (true) doctrines, many (others) will accept them and go to hell; (thereby) we too become guilty. Therefore, even if our lives are endangered, we will not accept Vaitulya doctrines'.[64] Taking Mahāsena's own inscription together with the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya*, it may be concluded that the reli-

63. *Nks.*, p. 76.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

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gious conflict of the times of Mahāsena, was not simply one of differences of opinion on matters of discipline, but an attempt at the enforced conversion of the Theravādins of the Mahāvihāra to Vaitulya doctrines, by the deployment of the full force of state power to achieve that objective. Considered in that light, the religious conflict of the reign of Mahāsena acquires almost unique significance, as enforced conversion to religious views was totally alien to Buddhist traditions both in India and Sri Lanka.

Now that the issues involved in the conflict have been identified, we may turn to the actual course of events. It is clear from Mahāsena's inscription dated in the first year of his reign and the account in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, that the conflict had begun soon after his accession to the throne. It seems to have taken a violent form right from the beginning. Mahāvihāra's buildings came to be razed to the ground. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* with possible exaggeration estimates the number of buildings including *pariveṇas* and *māhāpāsādas*, thus destroyed at three hundred and sixty four, a stereotype number.[65] Even the seven storied magnificent Lohapāsāda, apparently an architectural masterpiece at Anurādhapura at the time, dating back to the age of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (161–130 B. C.), had not been spared. At a later stage, an entirely new *vihāra*, namely the Jetavana-vihāra, came to be founded within the premises of the Mahāvihāra, violating the sanctity of its boundary, on which further comment will follow at a later stage.

Even more striking than the damage caused to its property is the manner in which life in the Mahāvihāra came to be crippled almost completely. As the king proclaimed a penalty of a hundred (pieces of money) on anyone who offered food to the residents of the Mahāvihār, they were reduced to a state of destitution. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* adds that they went out to the ctiy begging for food for three days. They are said to have returned disappointed, and thus reduced to destitution, finally abandoned the Mahāvihāra.[66] The *vihāra's* own sources of income would not have been a remedy in the chaotic conditions which prevailed. They sought refuge in distant Malaya and Rohaṇa. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* states that

65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*

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not only the residents of the Mahāvihāra, but also those of the neighbouring monasteries, such as the Mirisavāṭi and the Sāgiri (Cetiyagiri), were forced to abandon their monasteries.[67] The *Mahāvaṃsa* states that the Mahāvihāra remained desolate for nine years. Meanwhile the Cetiyagiri-vihāra came to be occupied by Dharmarucikas who were adherents of Vaitulya doctrines.[68]

The chain of events seems to have reached a climax, when a queen who was deeply grieved over the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, is said to have engaged a carpenter to kill *thera* Saṅghamitta when he came to destroy the Thūpārāma. The *thera* as well as minister Soṇa thus came to lose their own lives in the violence that they unleashed. Both were put to death by the defenders of the Mahāvihāra. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* describing their tragic end adds that *thera* Saṅghamitta was slain and put on the stakes. Similarly, it is said that the people of the city broke into Soṇa's house, killed him and dumped his body in the rubbish-heap.[69] The march of violence had not ceased even after these tragic events. Sometime after this, the Jetavana-vihāra came to be erected forcibly within the Mahāvihāra premises. The violation of Mahāvihāra's boundaries was resisted by some monks who remained hiding in the premises. It is said that the Mahāvihāra remained abandoned for nine months once more.[70]

A question that must necessarily be raised at this stage, is the nature of popular reaction to the destruction of the Mahavihāra. The Mahāvihāra was the centre of *Theravāda* dating back to the foundation of Buddhism in the island, sanctified by *thera* Mahinda and endowed by successive Sinhales kings with great devotion. Within its premises were located the Mahāthūpa and the sacred Bodhi Tree as well as its associated shrines, which continue to receive the highest veneration of Buddhists throughout the island to this day. In short it was the premier Buddhist monastery of the island. The most surprising aspect of the conflict is the virtual absence of opposition to the Mahāsena's ravage of the country's premier Buddhist institution. It is a minister named Megha-

67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Mv.*, XXXVII, 36.

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vaṇṇābhaya who tried to raise a revolt which came to be reduced to an ineffective personal protest. Why the people watched in silence, so to say, the sordid spectacle of destroying the Mahāvihāra, is most surprising indeed. If the *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* is to be trusted, monks of the Mahāvihāra who went out to the city for three days, after the proclamation of a penalty for the offence of providing them with food, had no response from their devoted *upāsakas*.[71] One cannot believe it This negative reaction on the part of the people can be contrasted with the active and motivated response to an incident which offended the Saṅgha. The *Cūlavaṃsa* gives a graphic account of this episode of the reign of Udāya III (935 938 A. D.). 'At that time officials of the court fled for fear o the King to the Grove of the Penitents (Tapovana). The King and the *uparāja* went thither and had their heads cut off. Being indignant at this deed, the ascetics living there left the king's land and betok themselves to Rohaṇa. Thereupon the people in town and country and the troops became rebellious like the ocean stirred by wild storm. They climbed the Ratnapāsāda in the Abhayuttaravihāra, terrified the king by threats, struck off the heads of the officials who had helped the strife in the Penitents' Grove and flung them out of the window. When the *yuvarāja* and his friend, the *ādipāda*, saw that they sprang over the wall and fled in haste to Rohana. Later in the narrative, it is said that the king and his *uparāja* went up to the ascetics in Rohaṇa, prostrated at their feet and got themselves pardoned. Only then did the ascetics return to the Penitents' Grove.[72] The offence which led to this upheaval was the contravention of the custom of the inviolability of the precincts of Buddhist monasteries by beheading the officials within the premises of the Penitents' Grove, a minor incident in comparison to the wholesale destruction of the Mahāvihāra by Mahāsena. But there the people had acted promptly to punish the king, and peace was established only after the king was pardoned by the ascetics. It must, however, be noted that the ascetics of the Penitents' Grove, were best known for their piety and were highly respected by the laity. The events of Mahāsena's reign were much graver on all counts. The destruction of its buildings apart, the Mahāvihāra remained abandoned for virtually a decade of his twenty seven year reign. Not only was

71. *Nks.*, 77.
72. *Cv.*, Vo. I, LIII, 14-19, 20-27.

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there no popular opposition to the violent policies of the king, on the contrary, it seems to have been one of peace. His reign of twenty seven years, a relatively long period, was one of stability. This is confirmed by the large number of irrigation tanks, sixteen in all, and the numerous vihāras he built.[73] This spate of constructional activities would have been impossible unless the island enjoyed political stability and economic prosperity. The Minneriya Tank remains a permanent monument to the memory of this ruler.

Several reasons can be adduced to explain why popular opposition had not sprung up against the king's violent religious policy. Mahāsena launched his attack on the Mahāvihāra with the advantage of a powerful religious base in the Abhayagiri-vihāra, which supported him unreservedly while we cannot be certain that the Abhayagiri-vihāra, as an institution approved of the destruction of the Mahāvihāra, there is no doubt that Mahāsena enjoyed the confidence of the Abhayagiri community. Even the building materials of the buidings destroyed at the Mahāvihāra, were taken away to make the Abhayagiri-vihāra 'rich in buildings'. 'By the *thera* Saṅghamitta the Abhayagiri-vihāra was made stately to see'. Thus the Abhayagiri-vihāra gained much at the expense of the Mahāvihāra. Moreover, the Dhammarucikas who were followers of Vaituya doctrines with their champion *thera* Saṅghamitta, were resident in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. Thus there is every reason to believe that Mahāsena enjoyed the unstinted support of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. The latter was no longer an isolated monastery. It had its own affiliated monasteries, seven of them built and donated by the warriors of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya as far back as the first century B. C. Thus the support of the Abhayagiri complex brought with it the allegiance and cooperation of a vast populace of lay devotees. It is not unreasonable to hold, on the basis of the above considerations, that Mahāsena, had thus begun the onslaught on the Mahāvihāra, having insured himself against possible popular insurrection, by securing the Abhayagiri-vihāra. It had certainly strengthened his political anchors too, which accounts for the relative peace and stability that seems to have characterised his reign, despite this religious conflict.

We have shown clear evidence of the decline of the Mahāvihāra in the sphere of discipline. Then as now, to the lay Buddhists, what mattered

73. *Mv.*, XXXVII, 40-50.

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more was not the validity or invalidity of the doctrines they professed, but their piety or impiety measured against the rules of *Vinaya* they were expected to observe. Thus, if the residents of the Mahāvihāra were faltering on this score, for which there seems to be considerable historical testimony as shown above, then they could hardly have counted on public sympathy even when they needed it most. Declining standards of discipline among the inmates of the Mahāvihāra, would have led to a substantial erosion in public confidence and devotion. It had been reduced to a defensive position on account of these deficiencies. One can therefore see for oneself why popular opposition to Mahāsena's anti-Mahāvihāra religious policy failed to emerge.

It is also possible that Mahāsena, seemingly an assertive and powerful personality, had full control of the state machinery. It should also be borne in mind that, by this time, the economic base of the state had widened and strengthened on account of the development of irrigation. Thus we may presume that the Mahāvihāra was exposed to the attack of not an individual but rather to the full force of state authority. But for a couple of disseiting individuals among state officials, Meghavaṇṇābhaya and the minister who adjudicated on the charges levelled against *thera* Tissa, Mahāsena succeeded in directing the entire state machinery against the Mahāvihāra. Individual protests, notably that of Meghavaṇṇābhaya, hardly led to the emergence of widespread popular opposition, and it fizzled out ultimately. The cumulative operation of the factors considered above, prevented the crystalisation of opposition to Mahāsena's policies.

A further question that arises here is why Mahāsena was led to this course of action, which marks a violent departure from the policies of his predecessors in their dealings with the Sangha. It he found the Mahāvihāra wanting in its conformity to *Vinaya*, one may say, he had other ways of dealing with it, such as a withdrawal of state support and the persuasion of the order to adopt corrective measures. On the other hand, if in his view *Vaitulyavāda* represented the teachings of the Buddha, he could have extended his patronage, even exclusively, to the adherents of these doctrines. And we have seen above, that the Abhayagiri-vihāra wherein adherents of these doctrines were resident including *thera* Saṅghamitta himself, had supported Mahāsena in full measure. Indeed, as

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will be shown in the sequel, Mahāsena's successors, depending partly on their own predilections, favoured the orthodox Mahāvihāra, or its rivals who accommodated adherents of non-Theravāda teachings. Some rulers stuck to a middle-way stand by striking a balance between the orthodox and the heteredox factions. Mahāsena went much further than any of these rulers, discarding as it were, the milder alternatives that were available to him. Instead, he opted for the extreme path and aligned himself with the adherents of Vaitulya doctrines in full measure, and set out with them for the destruction of the Mahāvihāra. Its objective, at least initially, seems to have been the total elimination of *Theravāda* and its bastion, the Mahāvihāra.

Apparently Mahāsena was firm in his convictions, with little evidence of hesitation or reservations about his course of action. We have seen that *thera* Saṅghamitta had officiated at the consecration of Mahāsena, Mahāvihāra being left out of the scene completely. The destruction of the Mahāvihāra seems to have commenced right from the commencement of his reign. His inscription at the Jetavana-vihāra recording the deposition of books of *Vaitulyavāda* in the Five Great Residences had been issued in the first year of his reign. The narrative in the *Mahāvaṃsa* too, agrees with the inscription about the outbreak of the conflict very early in his reign. It appears, therefore, that Mahasena had decided on his future course of action even before his accession to the throne. It is true that *thera* Saṅghamitta may have exerted a powerful influence on the prince in his formative years, and naturally he may have been attracted to the doctrines which his teacher, *thera* Saṅghamitta professed. Moreover, if the inmates of the Mahāvīhāra had declined in discipline and taken to unrighteous ways of living in the manner highlighted in the *Dīpavaṃsa* as shown above, the formation of a repulsive attitude in the prince towards the Mahāvihāra even before his consecration, may well be natural. Granted that this may have been the background to the formation of a frame of mind in the young prince cast against the Mahāvihāra, it would still seem inadequate to explain the quantum of physical violence inflicted upon the property of the Mahāvihāra and the merciless harm done to its inmates thereby destroying practically all that the Mahāvihāra possessed and, what is more, all that the *vihāra* cherished and lived for over the centuries. We would fall into a serious error of judgement, if we accept without questio-

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ning the unqualified view of the *Mahāvaṃsa* that *thera* Saṅghamitta, 'the lawless' and 'ruthless' *bhikkhu* was the sole factor behind the conflict. In the preceding survey we have attempted to modify this rather one-sided view of the events.

At this stage, we are trying to understand why Mahāsena acted so mercilessly and without restraint, displaying if we may say, a personal abhorrence of the Mahāvihara which, ironically, his father Goṭhābhaya had defended and protected, by going even to the extent of banishing its doctrinal opponents who had become the trusted friends and spiritual mentors of his son. If we hazard a guess, we may have to turn to his pre-accession years of association with *thera* Saṅghamitta, in our search for the reasons why Mahāsena had taken such a hardened anti-Mahāvihāra attitude. When Goṭhābhaya entrusted his two sons Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena to *thera* Saṅghamitta, we are told : he (Saṅghamitta) made the second (Mahāsena) his favourite, therefore prince Jeṭṭhatissa bore ill-will to the *bhikkhu*.[74] The Mahāvihāra which had looked after the educational interests of the hairs-to-the throne, would have viewed Goṭhābhaya's decision with understandable disfavour, as them Saṅghamitta was a newcomer to the island outside the fold of the Mahāvihāra, an exponent of Vaitulya doctrines which were heretical teachings in the eyes of the Mahāvihāra. The *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya* reveals that *thera* Saṅghamitta had taken up residence in the Abhayagiri-vihāra along with the Dhammarucikas who were adherents of Vaitulya doctrines.[75] In this context, it is quite conceivable that, much as *thera* Saṅghamitta favoured Mahāsena as against Jeṭṭhatissa, seeing the different reactions of the two princes to their teacher, conversely the Mahāvihara would have favoured Jeṭṭhatissa and ignored Mahāsena, in all probability. The estrangement between Jeṭṭhatissa and *thera* Saṅghamitta was such that the latter left the island when the former succeeded to the throne. Jeṭṭhatissa's ten year (266-276) reign was devoted almost completely to the promotion of the interests of the Mahāvihāra. If thus the Mahāvihāra had taken a hostile attitude to Mahāsena during these early years, and favoured his elder brother, it is most probable that *thera* Saṅghamitta, taking the maximum advantage out of the wedge so created between Mahāsena and the Mahāvihāra,

74. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, 116-117.
75. *Nks.*, p. 76.

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would have cemented and reinforced it so strongly, such as to leave no prospect of Mahāsena's return to the fold. If this had been the course of events and the meaning behind them, then it has to be conceded that Mahāsena, even before his accession to the throne, had a built-in animosity against the Mahāvihāra, to the formation of which the Mahāvihāra itself may have contributed in some measure, though unwittingly. The inconceivable destruction and violence unleashed on Mahāvihāra's life and property alike, scarcely after Mahāsena had seated himself on the throne, which seems to have been continued almost unabated throughout the first half of his reign at least, will remain a puzzle, unless the events are viewed from the angle set above.

One other question to be examined is the nature of the settlement of the conflict between Mahāsena and the Mahāvihāra. It has been shown earlier that the *Mahāvaṃsa's* statement of a reconciliation between the king and the Mahāvihāra, as a result of the intervention of minister Meghavaṇṇābhaya, is unconvincing. Subsequent events such as the destruction of the Thūpārāma in the course of which both, *thera* Saṅghamitta and Soṇa lost their lives, and the construction of the Jetavanavihāra within the premises of the Mahāvihāra, thereby violating its boundary, point to the failure of Meghavaṇṇābhaya's mediation efforts. While that being so, somehow peace seems to have returned at some stage, possibly about the middle of his reign, though not so much as a response to any popular opposition. Perhaps Mahāsena may have realized for himself, especially after the tragic events which ended in the deaths of his principal supporters, *thera* Saṅghamitta and Soṇa, the futility of the long-drawn compaign against the Mahāvihāra. Though there is no direct statement of abandoning his hostility to the Mahāvihāra after the events referred to above, indirect testimony from the *Mahāvaṃsa* points in that direction. The chronicle names ten *vihāras*, two nunneries and one *stūpa*, apart from the controversial Jetavana-stūpa, built by him, in addition to restoring 'many ruined buildings'.[76] The list ends with the statement : 'To one thousand *saṃghattheras* he distributed alms for the *theras* at a cost of a thousand (pieces of money), and to all (the *bhikkhus* he distributed) yearly a garment. There is no record of

76. *Mv.*, XXXVII, 40-46.

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his gifts of food and drink.[77] The general tone of this section of the narrative is factual, free from personal animosity and sounds complimentary to Mahāsena. In the last ten stanzas, an exact one fifth of the entire account, one cannot see a trace of the disfavour shown to Mahāsena in the rest of the chapter. It recounts faithfully the various *vihāras* and shrines built by him, and ends with a list of sixteen irrigation tanks and one canal constructed by him.[78] The *Mahāvaṃsa's* relaxation of its hostility to Mahāsena as reflected in the narrative, is perhaps the best indication of a return to peace, achieved in our view, about the middle of his reign. This is further confirmed by the Commentary to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, in its explanation of an unusual reference to the destruction by Mahāsena of three temples of the (brahmanical) gods and the erection of three Buddhist *vihāras* in their places, namely at Gokaṇṇa, Erakāvilla and in the village of Kalanda. The Commentary in its explanation states that 'everywhere in the island of Laṅkā, he established the doctrine of the Buddha, having destroyed the temples of the unbelievers *(kudiṭṭhikā)*, *i. e.* having abolished the phallic symbols of Śiva and so forth.[79] These brahmaṇical temples, including the first a Gokaṇṇa which is clearly identified as the site of the Gokarṇeśvara Temple in Trincomalee on the east coast *(puratthimasamuddatīre)* and the other two in Rohaṇa according to the Commentary, seem to have been established much earlier. It is difficult to explain why they came to be destroyed in this manner, and the reasons, whether religious or political, remain obscure. Whatever be the reasons, the Commentary's addition that 'Mahāsena' established the doctrine of the Buddha everywhere in the Island' confirms further his reconciliation with the Mahāvihāra, though it may still be maintained, as will be shown subsequently, that the old wounds had never healed completely. The restored relationship with the Mahāvihāra would not have been quite the same, as that which bound successive Sinhalese kings with the Mahāvihāra in the past.

III

Mahāsena's conflict with the Mahāvihāra seems to have had a far-reaching impact on the nature of the relations between the state and

77. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 45-46.
78. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 40-50.
79. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 40-41; *Vmp.*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 685, 13-15.

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the Saṅgha in the following centuries. Apparently the Mahāvihāra never recovered fully from the paralizing blow. There can be some doubt on whether Mahāsena's reconciliation with the Mahāvihāra, had actually led to a complete effacement of previous bitterness and the restoration of the cordial relationship, which marked State-Saṅgha dealings in the past. The *Mahāvaṃsa* never states that Mahāsena had latterly come to repent over his misdeeds, though elsewhere in the chronicle, reference to such repentence when kings who had hurt the Saṅgha had founded new *vihāras* in atonement, are found.[80] At the same time, there is no specific reference to Mahāsena as having rebuilt the Mahāvihāra which he once destroyed. If he rebuilt at all, the only identifiable *vihāra*, from among those credited to him in the concluding of the chronicle, is the Thūpārāma. The point made here is confirmed by the continuation of the chronicle, the *Cūlavaṃsa*, written by a different author. Mahāsena's son and successor, Sirimeghavaṇṇa (303-331 A. D.), is stated to have visited the Saṅgha of the Mahāvihāra and asked them : "What then has been destroyed by my father in company with Saṅghamitta ? The *bhikkhus* answered the Lord of men : "Although thy father strove to bring about the removal of the boundary, he was unable to do so, as there were still *bhikkhus* within the boundary. Seven *bhikkhus* namely, were hidden in an underground. The minister Soṇa and the still worse Saṅghamitta influenced the king and determined to do evil. They destroyed the seven storied Lohapāsāda as well as various other buildings and carried off (the material) to the Abhayagiri-vihāra. In the court of the Cetiya, where the four Buddhas had sojourned, the deluded ones had *mungo* beans planted."[81] It is added that Sirimeghavaṇṇa "had everything which his father had destroyed, restored to original form. To begin with he set up the Lohapāsāda, making visible as it were the magnificent palace of Mahāpanāda on (the island of) Sīhala. He built up all the demolished *pariveṇās* and fixed the revenues of the helpers of the monastery as heretofore. The wise (Sirimeghavaṇṇa) refilled the *vihāras* which had become sparsely inhabited through his unwise father having stinted it of necessaries. In the *vihāra* begun by his father in Jotivana, the

80. *Mv.*, XXXIII, 20 ff.
81. *Cv.*, XXXVII, 54-60.

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monarch had all the unfinished work completed."[82] In this account there is not the slightest trace of Mahāsena having rebuilt the destroyed Mahāvihāra or of having restored its sources of revenue. No, is there any evidence to that effect in the older *Mahāvaṃsa* either. And here, too, Mahāsena continues to be accused much as in the older *Mahāvaṃsa*. Going by the tone of the account and its contents, one gets the feeling that, even if reconciliation of a sort had taken place such as that commented on above, it appears as a half-hearted arrangement which probably lacked the former spirit of cordiality.

Other evidence, too, seems to confirm this impression. Chronicles of the Tooth Relic, written from time to time, especially the *Daḷadāsirita* (14th century) contains evidence to suggest that Mahāsena had taken steps to get down the Tooth Relic from Kaliṅga in India to Sri Lanka. When the Relic was ultimately brought to the island going through various hardships, Mahāsena had passed away, but his son and successor Siri-meghavaṇṇa (303-331) received it with appropriate reverence and made fitting arrangements for its safety and for people's devotion.[83] As testified by the *Cūlavaṃsa* and the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hsien who visited the island in the fifth century, the Tooth Relic came to be associated with the Abhayagiri-vihāra.[84] The Mahāvihāra seems to have not shown much interest in the Relic despite its great sanctity for Buddhist devotees. Perhaps the residents of the Mahāvihāra, were reluctant to be closely associated with the Tooth Relic, as it had been secured on the initiative of Mahāsena, of whom they continued to have bitter memories. This adds testimony to the contention that Mahāsena's reconciliation with the Mahāvihāra had not quite led to the restoration of the traditional relationship.

Perhaps the most significant outcome of the conflict is to be seen, in the diminished fortunes of the Mahāvihāra. The Mahāvihāra appears to have lost the dominant position it had continued to hold, from the

82. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 62-65.

83. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 92-99; for Mahāsena's relations with Kaliṅga, see *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya, circa* 1180-1270, A. Liyanagamage, Colombo, 1968, pp. 22-25.

84. *The Travels of Fa-Hsien*, ed. H. A. Giles, (reprinted), London, 1959, 70-71.

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foundation of Buddhism in the island. It was no longer the sole recipient of royal patronage. Nor was it the only centre of religious power which the state had to reckon with. Two other influential religious power bases emerged, namely the Abhayagiri-vihāra and the Jetavana-vihāra. While the former which had grown in resources and influence over the centuries, came to acquire new vigour and greater importance with Mahāsena's generous support, the latter was founded within the Mahāvihāra premises. Their *stūpas*, towering into the sky above the pinnacle of Mahāvihāra's *Mahāthūpa*, was symbolic of the challenge to the Great Monastery. These two *vihāras* forged ahead with their base structures heavily fortified with generous material support, leaving the Mahāvihāra to recover from the effects of the crippling blow. The three *vihāras* moved forward independently with institutional structures of their own, each managing its own economic interests. Lithic records throw much light on the elaborate machinery which evolved in each *vihāra*, especially in the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra, geared to the management of their economic resources.[85] They came to be referred to as the *tun nikāya* (the Three Nikāyas) which signified the independent identity of each, the formerly dominant Mahāvihāra being reduced to a position of one among the three. A comparative view of the monastic remains at Anurādhapura, lying within the perimeters of each of these three *vihāras*, brings out the extensive spread of the built-environment of the Abhayagiri-vihāra and the Jetavana-vihāra, as against the diminished area of the Mahāvihāra complex. The present archaeological remains cover centuries of subsequent building activity, but they nevertheless point to the realignment of the ecclesistical fortunes which followed the eventful reign of Mahāsena. This archaeological testimony is in agreement with the numbers of *bhikkhus* resident in these *vihāras*, estimated by the fifth century eye-witness Fa-Hsien: Abhayagiri-vihāra, 5,000; Mahāvihāra, 3000; Cetiyagiri-vihāra, 2,000.[86] These figures show that the Abhayagiri-vihāra was far head of its rival in its residential strength, which is also a reflection of its temporal resources.

85. *Epitraphia Zeylaniva*, Vol. 1, 41-57, 75-113, 120; economic aspects of Buddhistic establishments in Sri Lanka is dealt with very ably in *Plough and Robe—Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Mediaeval Sri Lanka*, R. A. L. H. Gunawardhana, Association of Asian Studies, Arizona, 1979.

86. *Travels of Fa-Hsien*, *op. cit.* pp. 70-71.

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All this evidence points to the diminished fortunes of the Mahāvihara following the catastrophy of Mahāsena's reign.

The Mahāvihāra seems to have lost ground in other ways too. We have seen earlier, how the Abhayagiri-vihāra with its more open and tolerant attitudes, had become a haven for adherents of heteredox teachings. "The Dhammarucikas who professed Vaitulya doctrines were an influential community, with their leader *thera* Saṅghamitta, during the reign of Mahāsena. About the same time, the Dhammarucikas went into residence in the Cetiyagiri-vihāra, possibly after its abandonment by the Theravādins as stated in the *Nikāya Saṃgrahaya*.[87] Archaeological evidence, especially copper plates on which extracts from Mahāyāna *sūtras* were inscribed, and remains of *stūpas* belonging to that tradition, have come to light from Mihintale where this *vihāra* was sited.[88] Thus the Cetiyagiri with its life-long association with the founder of Buddhism in the island, *thera* Mahinda, had to succumb to Mahāyānists. Similarly, Mahāsena's newly built Jetavana-vihāra, too, would have been a haven for adherents of non-Theravāda doctrines. It would, however, be a mistake to hold that as against the Mahāvihāra which upheld Theravāda, the Abhayagiri-vihāra had become Mahāyānic establishments. Indeed both these *vihāras*, though independent and no longer owing allegiance to the Mahāvihāra, continued to remain within the broad *Theravāda* fold.[89] The important difference to be noted, is that they were not hostile to adherents of heteredox doctrines in their attitudes, and indeed went so far as to accommodate them in their *vihāras*

One other important result of Mahāsena's conflict with the Mahāvihārs, was the recognition that adherents of heteredox teachings gained, in the sense that they came to receive state patronage, as much as the *vihāras* within the *Theravāda* fold. No longer were they persecuted on account of the doctrines they professed as in the past. In that sense, one could well say, that the protracted struggle of the adherents of Mahāyānic

87. *Nks.*, p. 77.

88. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 242-52.

89. For an excellent documentation of the differences, disciplinary as well as doctrinal, between the Abhayagiri-vihāra and the Mahāvihāra, see R. A. L. H. Gunawardhana, op. cit., *Plough and Robe*, pp. 24-30.

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teachings, though marked by violence, ended in their favour. For they seem to have achieved, what we marked out as their primary objective in the early stages of this essay, namely, winning state recognition, which was to bring them the same benefits that the adherents of *Theravāda* had enjoyed for centuries. That they indeed came to enjoy the fruits of their successful struggle in the next centuries, will be shown subsequently. An ardent campaigner on their side may well have said in the end that their champion, *thera* Saṅghamitta had not laid down his life in vain. Royal patronage necessarily led to economic advantages as will be shown in the sequel. Thus, though disciplinary or doctrinal issues may figure prominently in the accounts of chroniclers, one should not lose track of possible economic considerations, too, beneath the surface of these religious conflicts.

After Mahāsena's reign, the heterodox sects with Mahāyānic orientations, notably the Dhammarucikas and the Sāgalikas, came to hold their own. It appears that Mahāsena's successors had, of necessity, to reckon with the decisive changes that the religious conflict had led to. Henceforth, rulers could not concentrate their generosity on the Mahāvihāra to the disadvantage of the adherents of Mahāyānic doctrines. The latter groups could no longer be ignored, even if the rulers' personal inclinations were with the centre of orthodoxy. Each monastery with its resident community of *bhikkhus* and a following of lay devotees, linked together in the social and economic fabric, and belonging to a particular sect, was an important entity with its own influence. These factors seem to have influenced relations between the state and the Saṅgha, irrespective of the doctrines they professed.

The *Cūlavaṃsa* contains valuable information indicative of the pattern of the distribution of royal benefaction among the different sects, belonging to both, *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna*, during the post-Mahāsena era. As in the past, such patronage consisted the foundation of new *vihāras*, restoration and repair of dilapidated monastic buildings, grants of land, irrigation tanks, money and the provision of monastic needs. While the Mahāvihāra continued to receive attention, one could notice the entry into the scene prominently, of heteredox sects as recipients of state patronage. As stated earlier, Mahāsena's son and successor Siri-

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meghavaṇṇa (303–331 A. D.), repaired and rebuilt the structures and edifices which had been destroyed by his father.[90] Mahānāma (410–432 A. D.) erected three *vihāras*, Lohadvāra, Ralaggāma and Koṭipassāvana, and handed them to the *bhikkhus* of the Abhayuttara (Abhayagiri)-vihara. After having built a *vihāra* on the Dhūmarakkha mountain, he bestowed it at the *mahesi's* instigation to the *bhikkhus* of the Thera School.[91] Thus Mahānāma seems to have supported both, the Abhayagiri-vihāra as well as the Mahāvihāra. Similarly, Dhātusena (459–77 A. D.) who seems to have favoured the Mahāvihāra by granting eighteen *vihāras* which were provided with sources of revenue 'for the adherents of the Thera School'. But he also 'undertook buildings for the enlargement of the Abhayuttara-vihāra' and provided certain other services as well.[92] An interesting situation is recorded of Dhātusena later in the narrative : 'Dhammarucika *bhikkhus* dwelt (at the time) in the Mahāvihāra which had been destroyed by the ruthless Mahāsena. After Dhātusena had built the Ambatthala-vihāra on the Cetiyapabbata, he wished to hand it over to the adherents of the Thera School. But being entreated by the Dhammarucikas, the monarch accordingly made it also over to them.[93] Evidently, the king could not have his own way in granting his *vihāra* and was possibly prevailed upon by the Dhammarucikas to hand this *vihāra* over to them. Kassapa I (477–495) and Moggallāna I (495–512) extended their patronage to both Theravādins and Dhammarucikas.[94] The latter, on his arrival in the city to be consecrated as ruler, visited the Mahāvihāra and paid his respects to the Saṅgha there, and proceeded to 'the two other vihāras', namely the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana *vihāras*. He also built the Daḷha and the Dāṭhākoṇḍañña vihāras at Sīgiriya, and granted them to the adherents of the Dhammarucika and the Sāgalika Schools.[95] The fine balancing of royal support among the different sects is best illustrated by this passage, dealing with the reign of Mahānāga (573–575) : "The weavers' village of Jambelambaya, he affiliated to Uttara (Abhayagiri) vihāra,

90. *Cv.*, XXXVII, 54 ff.
91. *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 212-13.
92. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 61, 45-60.
93. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 75-76.
94. *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 10-15, 3 ff.
95. *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 41.

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and the village called Tintiṇika to the Mahāvihāra. The village of Vasabha in Uddhagāma he granted to the Jetavana-(vihāra); he also instituted a giving of garments for the three fraternities (*i. e. M*ahāvihāra, Jetavana and Abhayagiri *vihāras*). After granting three hundred fields to the Jetavana-vihāra, he instituted there a permanent (gift of) rice soup for the *bhikkhus*. He handed over to the ascetics, a thousand fields, (watered by the tank) called Dūratissa".[96] 'The passages cited above provide ample testimony to the clearly discernible change in state policy towards the Sangha, by extending its patronage not exclusively to any particular sect or school, but to all, orthodox as well as heteredox. Rulers had had to reckon with the changes which followed the reign of Mahāsena.

Just as state patronage came to be divided among the functional institutions, it would also have resulted in none of them singly having a dominant influence over the state, as was the case prior to Mahāsena when the Mahāvihāra was supreme. From the point of view of the state, in a way, it was advantageous to have an institutionally divided Sangha, for at any time when one section of the Saṅgha fell into disfavour with the rulers, they could turn to other sections for support. In a State-Saṅgha relationship, a divided Saṅgha was bound to be disadvantageous to the Saṅgha rather than to the state. Further research could reveal satisfactorily how the changes considered above, interacted on the two sectors, the state and the Saṅgha.

The events of Mahāsena's reign need to be underlined on yet another score, though it falls outside the scope of this essay. This is the clearest as well as the most exceptional instance of the persecution of Buddhism by a Buddhist ruler in Sri Lanka, with an undoubted religious motivation. It may also be described as the persecution of one Buddhist sect by another Buddhist sect, with the active participation of the ruler, a rare phenomenon in the history of wider Asia, not to mention Sri Lanka. One may point to the conflict between the Sinhalese and the Tamils during the times of Duṭṭhagāmiṇī Abhaya (161-137 B. C.), as a precedent of religious persecution when a Tamil ruler is said to have persecuted Buddhism.[97] Though the *Mahāvaṃsa* makes its hero, Duṭṭha-

96. *Ibid.*, XLI, 96-99.

97. *Mv.*, XXXII-XXXII; Paranavitana, *UCHC.*, pp. 144-63.

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gāmaṇī, the leader of a war of liberation, designed to end the persecution of Buddhism in the north of Sri Lanka, these events are open to other possible interpretations. Even if one were to accept the *Mahāvaṃsa* version at its face value, yet the blame falls on a South Indian invader Eḷāra, during whose reign the alleged persecution had taken place, the ruler himself being a non-Buddhist, possibly a Hindu. Therefore, in any case, it would not be an appropriate parallel to be cited. There are a few instances coming from a later period, when Sinhalese kings had ransacked Buddhist monasteries and shrines. However, these rulers were only concerned with plundering monastic wealth, in order to refill their coffers depleted by costly and wasteful wars, and religious persecution was certainly not their motive.[98] Perhaps the only citable parallel of religious persecution, which marked a much higher level of destruction of property and wanton cruelty inflicted upon Buddhist clergy and laymen alike, in comparison to the episode of Mahāsena's reign, comes from thirteenth century Sri Lanka. He was a non-Buddhist, an Indian invader from Kaliṅga, who wrested power after ousting the legitimate ruler about the year 1215 A. D. The merciless persecution of Buddhism by this ruler named Magh had been examined by us elsewhere.[99] In the sources dealing with Magha, it comes out quite clearly that he was a non-Buddhist and this instance of religious persecution, as shown by us, is an exception. Magha besides being a non-Buddhist was a foreign invader, and therefore, his persecution of Buddhism is no parallel to the episode of Mahāsena, in several respects. In the Buddhist sources dealing with the age of the Buddha, reference is often made to numerous religious sects and leading teachers of that era who engaged in lively debate and argument concerning the doctrines they professed, without ever having recourse to violence and persecution. Perfect cordiality seems to have marked these disputations concerning their divergent doctrines.[100] Inter-religious relations among the numerous religious groups, including inter-sect relations among the various Buddhist sects, remained cordial. Much as religious tolerance

98. *Cv.*, XLIV, 130-33, 137-41, LXI, 54-61.

99. Liyanagamage, A., *op. cit.*, *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya*, pp. 106-132.

100. Scherbatsky, op. cip., *Buddhist Logic*, Vol. I, for a continuation of these traditions, pp. 24-36.

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was an important element of Indian culture,[101] so also the followers of the Buddha in many parts of Asia including Sri Lanka, rarely violated the traditions of inter-religious harmony. Conversion to religious views by the use of violence and physical force, had been totally alien to Buddhist traditions. The events of Mahāsena's reign stand-out in striking contrast to the much respected traditions of religious tolerance in ancient India and Lanka. We have seen that religious violence which marred the reign of Mahāsena, had led to the murder of *thera* Saṅghamitta and minister Soṇa, being perhaps a very rare recorded instance of a loss of lives in the propagation of the teachings of the Buddha. Looked at from another angle, it was the irony of coincidence that, of the two who thus lost their lives, one was a *bhikkhu* while the other was a minister of state—a point with poignant symbolic relevance to the subject of this essay on State-Saṅgha relations in ancient Sri Lanka.

In conclusion we may cite the verdict of the ancient chroniclers on Mahāsena as found in the *Dīpavaṃsa* and later incorporated in the *Cūlavaṃsa*, whose relations with the Buddhist Saṅgha formed the subject of this paper : 'So after the ruler Mahāsena had in consequence of his association with impious people, done good and evil all his life, he went according to his doing.'[102] The *Mahāvaṃsa* echoes the same : 'Thus did he gather much merit and much guilt.'[103] On the whole it is a fair verdict, if only it has to be partly modified on the issue of 'association with impious people, in the light of the above survey. It stands to the credit of these chroniclers who were themselves members of the Saṅgha, that they were able to record both 'good' and 'evil' of a ruler, who had inflicted so much harm upon their brethren, while refraining from unqualified condemnation in the final verdict. It is perhaps not inappropriate to place by its side the verdict of a modern historian, S. Paranavitana, who

101. Note the development of Buddhist philosophy, art and architecture etc., under non-Buddhist lines of rulers such as the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1953, pp. 82-86, 487-505, and *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1954, pp. 466-83, 518 ff.

102. *Dv.*, XXII, 10 : *Asādhusaṃgamen' evaṃ yāvajīvaṃ subhāsubhaṃ katvā gato yathā kammaṃ so Mahāsena bhūpati.*

103. *Mv.*, XXXVII, 50 : *Evaṃ puññaṃ apuññaṃ ca subhuṃ so upācinī.*

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has done much to redeem the maligned ruler and to place the critical events of his reign in a proper historical perspective : 'Perhaps the followers of these (heteredox) sects considered Mahāsena to have been a man of liberal views, able to appreciate and understand the religious and philosophical teachings that were making great headway on the neighbouring continent, and desirous of introducing religious reforms among his own people, but whose power, though equal to the task of constructing reservoirs comparable to natural lakes, and building *dāgābas* rivalling hills, was not effective in assaulting the citadels of orthodoxy, and who paid for his ultimate failure by being branded by people of later generations as the embodiment of evil itself and the arch enemy of religion.[104] While this is a fair comment on Mahāsena, one could not be that certain whether Mahāsena had incurred the hatred of subsequent generations in that manner. The thirteenth century chronicler, Mayurapāda *Thera*, in his *Pūjāvaliya,* compliments this ruler without reservation in his brief account which is completely free of *Mahāvaṃsa's* bitterness.[105] While the destruction of the Mahāvihāra is not mentioned at all, prominence is given to the construction of irrigation tanks 'by obtaining the services of (both) *yakkhas* and men.' The only religious event of his reign recorded therein, is the construction of the Jetavana *Stūpa,* bereft of any bitterness. Indeed the construction of the Jetavana *Stūpa* is extolled in a legendary setting. After completing its construction, the king hard put to securing a sacred relic to be enshrined in it, looked upto the sky and entreated the gods to help him. The gods arrived on the scene and appeared in the sky, holding down the Belt Relic (*Paṭī Dhātu*) of the Buddha. The king jumped up into the sky and chopped off one half of the Belt, which was ceremoniously deposited in the *stūpa,* while the gods took away the other half to heaven. On his death, it is stated that Mahāsena entered heaven, though this phrase is missing in some manuscripts of the *Pūjāvaliya.*[106] Curiously Mahāsena is placed in such a favourable light by this *bhikkhu* author, who gives a glowing account of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's meritorious deeds in support of the Mahāvihāra but omits any reference to the suppression of *Vaitulyavāda*

104. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, p. 281.
105. *Pūjāvaliya*, 33-34, ed. A. V. Suravīra, Colombo, 1961, pp. 96-97.
106. *Ibid*. p. 97, see note 4.

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by Mahāsena's immediate predecessors.[107] Whatever be the reasons, this shows that not all did accept without reservations, the rather one-sided view of Mahāsena in the old *Mahāvaṃsa.* Equally significant is the popular memory of Mahāsena which survives to this day. To the people of Rajavaṭa (Rājaraṭṭha) Mahāsena will always continue to be *Minnēri Deviyo* (god of Minneriya) immortalized and deified in their memory as the ruler who built the Minneriya Reservoir 'to make the land more fertile' though it is not known to them even today, that Mahāsena's engineers had indeed made a major breakthrough in irrigation technology in its construction.[108] The memories of bitterness linked with his religious intolerance may, however, linger on for years to come in the minds of the elitist *literati*, discolouring the image of an otherwise benevolent ruler.

Professor of History,
University of Kelaniya,
Kelaniya, SRI LANKA.

107. *Ibid.* pp. 94-96.
108. Gunawardhana, R. A. L. H. 'Hydraulic engineering in ancient Sri Lanka : the cistern sluice', *Senarat Paranavitana Commoration Volume*, ed. P. L. Prematilleke, Leiden, 1978, pp. 61-74.

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SOME EMINENT INDIAN BUDDHIST MISSIONARIES IN CHINA

DR. UPENDRA THAKUR

The first contact between India and China seems to have taken place during the time of the Ts'in dynasty when Buddhist missionaries from India are said to have visited China through Central Asia which had become a stronghold of Buddhism about a century before the Christian era.[1] According to a legend current in China, a gold statue of the Buddha was brought to the Huna country in 121 B. C. by a Chinese general in its course of his military expedition. But the first historical account of the introduction of Buddhism in China we have, in Yu-huan's book, *Wei-tiao* composed between A. D. 239—A. D. 265 which, besides narrating briefly the story of the Buddha's death tells us how Emperor Ai-Ti sent an envoy Ching-ching to the court of Prince Yuch-chi in the second century B. C. who under the instructions of the Yuch-chi prince was given instruction in the Buddha teachings.[2]

Scholars generally believe that Buddhism formally entered China during the reign-period of emperor Ming-ti (58-75 A. D.) of the Han dynasty who accorded his royal welcome to Buddhism in his capital, Lo-Yang which also finds corroboration in the *Records of the Lineage of Buddha and Patriarchs* by Chih-pang (1127-1280 A D.). After this epoc-making event,[3] great Indian sages and scholars came to China, and learned Chinese monks and scholars travelled to India in large numbers at different times, carrying on the real work of cultural exchanges through the medium of Buddhist. The early evidences pertaining to this cultural relationship are found in various Chinese books such as *Lieh-Tsk*, *Chou-Shu-Chi-Yi* ("The Book of Wonders of Chou"), *Lie-Sien-Chuan* ("Biogra-

1. For a detailed study, Upendra Thakur, "Indian Buddhist Missionaries in Central Asia* in *K. P. Jayaswal Commemoration Volume*, Patna, 1981, pp. 277-90.
2. A. C. Banerjee, *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*, p. 7.
3. For details see Tan-Shan "China's Culture and Civilization" in *The Sino Indian Journal*, Vol. I, pt. I (1947), p. 44 ff and "Cultural Internatange between India and China" in *Prof. Tan Yun-Shan and Cultural Relations Between India and China Com. Vol.* (ed. V. G. Nair), Madras, 1958, p. 41 ff.

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phy of Fairies"), *Tsi-Lu* ("Seven Records"), *Ching-Lu* ("Classical Records") and *Fu-Tsu-Tung-Chi* ("The Accounts of Buddha") etc. But, this is only a bare enumeration, no adequate systematic description.[1] According to the Chinese book, *Li-Tai-Kao-Seng-Chuan* (*"The Biographies of Great Monks in Various Ages"*) two hundred Chinese monks studied in India with great success, and twenty-four Indian sages preached with marvellous achievement in China.[2] However, it must be remembered that there had been many more monks and scholars who "either perished on the way or disliked to leave their earthly names to posterity".[3] In another book, entitled *Tang-Kao-Seng-Chuan* (*"The Biographies of the Great Monks of Tang Dynasty"*) we have a poem of which the two lines read as follows :

"Away from Chang–An monks go west to learn
Out of a hundred no ten do return".

The lines are poignant with meaning for they show that though a large number of Chinese monks went to India, only a few fortunate could return to China. And, so was the case of Indian missionaries who went to East Asia. We have discussed elsewhere how these adventurous missionaries had to pass on foot through Central Asia and how they had to cross difficult deserts, dense forests, and snowy mountains. Besides, they had to encounter terrible animals and face hunger and cold and after years of hardship they could reach their destination. But, these terrific trials and hardships could not in any way discourage these ancient sages[4] who "were inspired with the sublime ideal of universal love" (of Buddhism) and were possessed of indomitable courage and untiring missionary zeal.[5]

It would not be out of place to mention here that since the formal introduction of Buddhism in China in the first century A. D. hundreds of Indian missionaries went to China and thousands of Chinese monks and scholars visited India to study Buddha-dharma in unbroken succession. With mutual love and respect they exchanged greetings and gifts

1. Tan Yun-Shan, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
2. Quoted *Ibid*, p. 47.
3. *Ibid*. p. 47.
4. Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-79.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 277-79; Tan Yun-Shan, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

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as noble friends, and never harboured any ill-feeling or sense of insecurity or unfriendliness. They were above personal advantages or disadvantages, their motives and actions, their thoughts and deeds being purely religious and cultural. And, it was these bands of missionaries, monks and scholars, both Indian and Chinese who fostered wonderfully intimate relationship between the two great nations in the past, the like of which perhaps we shall never see again ! In the present paper we propose to discuss the activities of some of the eminent Indian missionaries who were responsible for the establishment of Buddhism in China.

II

Though it is difficult to trace exactly when China and India came into contact with each other, we know from Chinese records that the first celebrated Buddhist monk from India to have visited China in 67 A. D.,[1] was Kasyapa Matanga who offerered to the Chinese the "Doctrine of Universal Compassion" of the Buddha. Born in a Brahmana family of Central India, he was well versed in all branches of learning, especially in the Buddhist love. At the Lo-Yang monastery (popularly known as "White Horse Monastery" he explained the *Suvarnaprabhasa-Sutra* which contains the philosophical and ethical teachings of the Buddha. This book is still very popular and held in high esteem in countries where Mahayana Buddhism exists. He compiled and translated a text, called "*The Scripture (Sutra) of the Forty-two Sections* with the assistance of Dharmaraksa, another Indian monk from Central Asia. Shortly after the translation of this text, Kasyapa Matanga died in the "White Horse

1. According to some scholars Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksa were the first two Buddhist monks who had gone to China in 64 A. D. along with several sacred texts and a portrait of the Buddha (cf. A. C. Banerjee, op. cit. p. 8) at the invitation of the Chinese emperor Min-Ti (58-75 A. D.) of the Han dynasty who accorded them royal reception at his capital, Lo-Yang where he is also credited with having built a monastery for them, known as "White Horse Monastery" named after the White Horse on whose back the sacred books are said to have been carried to China by the two monks. For other details, see H. Maspero, "Le Songs et L' Ambassade de L' Empereus Ming, Etude critique de sources" in *Bulletin de Ecole Francaise d 'Extreme Orient*", pp. 95-130; Pellipt, T' oung-Pao (1920), 255 ff; Cordier, *Histoire Generals. de la China* pp. 262-66; Reicpelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, pp. 9-12.

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Monastery", the first cover Buddhist monastery in China which still exists.[1]

"*The Scripture of the Forty-two Sections* is the first Chinese rendering of the Buddhist Sanskrit text in China. Unfortunately the Original Sanskrit text is now lost.[2] It contains a graphic account of the development of Buddhism in India after the *mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha, and also the rules of initiation (pabbajja), ordination (*upasampada*) and other details relating to the Samgha. This text is rather "a catechism meant for missionaries to preach Buddha's religion in foreign lands." The book intact is a collection of excerpts from different sacred texts the main objective of which was to create imperest in the minds of the Chinese for Buddhism.[3] This text has been translated into English several times. From the *Memoirs of Eminent Priests*[4] we learn that he translated five Buddhist *Sutras* in collaboration with Dharmaraksa who was also deeply versed in the Buddhist *Vinaya* literature which lays down rules for the guidance of the conduct of monks. Like Kasyapa Matanga, Dharmaraksa also did much for the propagation of the new faith in China at the early stage. It was with his active assistance that Rasyapa Matanga translated a large number of texts into Chinese. After the death of the latter he continued the work and translated a number of texts into Chinese of which the *Buddhacarita*, and the *Jataka* deserve special mention. "The chief doctrines preached by the first Buddhist missionaries were the sanctity of all animal life, metempsychosis, meditation, asceticism and *Karma*".[5]

III

The death of these two illustrious monks was followed by a period of lull in the history of Buddhism in China. Buddhism during this period had reached a new height of glory in Central Asia and the regular intercourse between these two countries prompted Central Asian Buddhist monks to take up the task left incomplete by the two Indian monks in

1. A. C. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 9. Also see P. C. Baghci, *India and China*, p. 93 ff; Chou Hsiang-Kuang, *A History of Chinese Buddhism*, 1956, p. 17.
2. *The Sino-Indian Journal*, Vol. I, pt. I, 1947, p. 80.
3. P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 93 ff ; Chou Asiang-Kuan, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
4. Written by Hui-Chia of the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502-557).
5. C. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 248.

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China. Of these Central Asian monks the most prominent were An-Shih-Kao (178 A. D.) Lakaraksa, Chu-Shih-hsing and Dharmaraksa (317 A. D.), better known as Chu-Fa-Hu, a great scholar of outstanding merit and one of the best translators of Buddhist monks in China. He knew 36 languages and is credited with having translated more than 200 Sanskrit texts into Chinese, which include among others *Pancavinisatisatasahasrika-prajnaparamita, Lalitavistara, Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra, Saddharmapundarika Sutra, Dababhumi Sutra*, and *Mahakasyapanidana Sutra.* It was in the beginning of the fourth century A. D. that the native Chinese were permitted to enter the Order as monks which marked a turning point in the history of Chinese Buddhism. And, all this was possible through the efforts of Dharmaraksa and his Chinese disciples.[1]

In the galaxy of Indian scholars who shine on the cultural firmament of China the name of *Kumarajiva* stands out as the foremost. He was born in Kucha (Kieu-tsu) in 343 A. D. When China was being ruled by Kangti of the T'Sin dynasty. His grandfather came from India to Kucha where he settled down. His forefathers were hereditary ministers but his father Kumarayana gave up this rank and went to Karashar in Central Asia where he became the highest religious teacher of the king. Later on he married the king's younger sister, Jivā, who became nun sometime after the birth of Kumarajiva. It is interesting to note that like many composite Hindu deities his name is also a combination of the names of his parents.

The son of a nun in a Buddhist monastery Kumarajiva became a monk at the age of seven. When he was nine, he came to Kashmir alongwith his mother, and studied Buddhist literature and philosophy under Bandhudatta, a famous Buddhist teacher, and soon became proficient in it. Then he visited a number of important places in Central Asia along with his mother and returned to Kucha in 352 A. D. Soon his fame as a great scholar spread far and wide. He studied the *Sarvasti-*

1. For details regarding the activities of the Central Asian Buddhist monks see, A. C. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-12; Chou Hsiang-Kuang, *op. cit.* pp. 17, 27, 203 etc; J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism, and a Buddhist Pilgrimage*, p. 276; P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 93 ff ; *The Sino-India Journal*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 80 ff ; Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 288 ff ; Journal of the Greater Indian Society Vol XVII (Nos 1-2) 1958 n 3 ff.

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vadavinaya in Karashar under Vimalaksa a distinguished Buddhist scholar from Kashmir who was a recognised exponent of the *Vinaya*. It was there that he had studied the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* as well as the Vedas and other Brahmanical texts. Later he learnt the Mahayana doctrines from Surya Soma, and was so much impressed by these doctrines that he devoted his entire life to the propagation of Mahayanism so much so that he even succeeded in converting his former teacher Bandhudatta to Mahayana doctrines under whom he had studied *Madhyamagama* and *Dirghagama*. By this time Kumarajiva had become so renowned for his great learning and scholarship that Fu-Kien, the Chinese emperor (of the Tsin dynasty) sent an envoy to request the Kuchean king to send the great Buddhist monk to China, but the Kuchean King refused. This enraged the Emperor so much that he sent Lu-Kuan, his commander-in-chief, to invade Karashar (Kashgar). The king of Karashar was killed and Kumarajiva was taken as a captive to China[1] (Liang-Chew) where he stayed till 401 A. D. and by the end of the year reached Changan, the 'Chinese capital". He was made *Rajaguru* (preceptor of the Emperor) and stayed in the Emperor's court till 412 A. D. enjoying in immense power and prestige. He translated more than one hundred Sanskrit texts into Chinese and made correct rendering of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures. The works of Kumarajiva also include some of his independent works which were very elegant in style and artistic in expression, not to be seen in any of the Chinese religious works composed before.[2]

In China, Sanskrit Buddhist texts were translated by monks from Central Asia and India who were not at all conversant with Chinese terms and phraseology. Similarly, the Chinese monks who assisted them in translating those works had no knowledge of Indian thoughts and ideas expressed in Sanskrit texts. The result was that translations done through their joint efforts suffered from innumerable flaws and inconsistencies rendering them quite incomprehensive and unintelligible even to the Chinese. The Chinese emperors therefore requested Kumarajiva to thoroghly revise the texts and remove the defects which the latter did with the assistance of his eight hundred disciples.

1. J. Nobel, *Central Asia, the Connecting Link between East and West*, p. 178.
2. For other details see Chou-Hsiang Kuang, *Indo-Chinese Relations*, p. 14.

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The *Prajnāparamita Sutra*, being an important text of the Mahayanists, Kumarajiva, to begin with, undertook translation of a series of the *Prajnaparamita* texts such as *Pancavinisasahasrika P.; Dasasahasrika P., Vajracchedika P., Prajnaparmita-hrdaya Sutra. Prajnaparamita Sutras* (on a benevolent king who protects his country etc.). Of the above texts the *Dasasahasrika* has no corresponding text in Sanskrit, and scholars therefore presume that *Astasahasrika Prajnaparasvita* was transformed into *Dasasahasrika* which became widely popular. However, the *Vajracchedi Prajnaparamita* was the most popular text in the series which has influenced the Chinese minds more than any thing else. The popularity of this work can be judged from the fact that it inspired great Buddhist scholars like Paramartha, Hiuen-Tsang, I-tsing and a host of others to translate the work again and again in subsequent periods. The *Prajnaparamita-hrdayasutra* is the condensed form of the *Prajnaparamita* text which deals with the doctrines of *Sunyata* the central concept of Mahayana.

Kumarajiva's works on the life and achievements of Nagarjuna and Asvaghosa are regarded as monumental. He also translated the *Madhyamika Karika* of Nagarjuna and the commentary thereon by Aryadeva. The Sanskrit name of the commentary is *Kranvamula Sastratika.* The original text is now lost and we know it through Kumarajiva's translation.[1] He is also credited with having translated the *Satasatra*, are of the principal texts of the Madhyamika by Aryadeva along with Vasubandhu's commentary[2] on it.

Kumarajiva's works also include the translation of Harivarmans *Satyasiddhisastra.* This author is quite unknown in India, though he became very popular in China through Kumarajiva's translation. His popularity in China reached such a height that a new school of Philosophy, *Satyasiddhi School* came to be founded there through popular efforts (c. 502-507 A. D.) His other works include translation of Nagarjuna's *Dasabhumi*, Vasubandhu's *Vimalakirtinirdesa* (another epoc-making work), the *Saddharmapundarika Sutralamkara* (probably of Asvaghosa), the *Sukhavativyuha* and the *Mahayana-Brahmajala-sutra*

1. P. K. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

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(different from the Pali text of the same name, but which became the principal code of law among the Chinese Buddhists).[1] His great command of the Sanskrit and Chinese languages was responsible for his unmatched scholarship in almost all the branches of philosophy and helped him considerably in interpreting the Mahayanese philosophy for the first time in China. His disciples were spread all over China who helped him in his academic works.

Which, in fact, "ushered in a new epoch in the history of Buddhism in China and Central Asia". But, after his death Chang-an became politically disturbed which forced a large number of Buddhist monks to search for other peaceful places to continue their religious and academic activities.

Thus, the above survey would show that Kumarajiva by his numerous translations heralded a new era in the history of Chinese Buddhism by preaching the Mahayana ideals first to the Chinese which appealed to them most. In subsequent years it flourished more and more and the Chinese imbued with morality and ethics took keen interest in the study of the Mahayana doctrines. In other words, Buddhism became the most popular religion in China and from fifth century onwards, it came to be no longer considered as a foreign religion : on the other hand, it became a living religious faith with the Chinese people.

Besides Kumarajiva, a number of Indian Buddhist scholars, mostly from Kashmir, which was then the most flourishing centre of Buddhist studies in India, gave further impetus to the spread of this new faith. These included Sanghabhuti Samghadeva, Gunavarman, Gunabhadra, Dharmamitra and a host of others apart from Buddhavyasa, Punyatrata and Vimalaksa who were closely associated with Kumarajiva in establishing and promoting Buddhism in China.[2]

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1. It was for this purpose that Fa-hien had visited India at the same time when this work was being translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva. For a detailed list of Kumarajiva's works, see P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 103; K. Saha, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
2. For a detailed study of the activities of these Indian monks in China see Upendra Thakur, *K. P. Jayaswal Comm.* Vol. Patna, 1981, pp. 279-89; A. C. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-18; *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVII, 1958, (Nos. 1-2), pp. 9 ff.

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IV

Paramartha or Gunaratna (also known as Kalanatha) was one of the most illustrious Indian monks and teachers who belonged to Ujjayini (Ujjain) of Western India and went to China above the middle of the sixth century A. D. He contributed extensively towards the propagation of Mahayana Buddhism by translating many important Sanskrit texts into Chinese. However, the way he went to China and his several attempts later to return to India clearly indicate that originally he had no idea of going to that country, and while there he was probably not very happy.

We do not know as to how he went to Funan (Cambodia) from India, but we know here he went to China from Funan. While he was in Funan, Emperor Wu-ti of the tiang Dynasty sent Chang-fan, his envoy to Funan, to pay a return visit during the period of Ta-t'ing (535-545 A. D.). The King of Funan was requested by the Emperor to collect Mahayana texts and invite an eminent Buddhist to go to China, so that his envoy would accompany them. Gunaratna or Paramartha was chosen by the king of Funan for this purpose and 240 bundles of Buddhist texts were entrusted to him for being taken to China.[1] According to another legend,[2] Gunaratna was sent to China by some Gupta ruler of Magadha at the request of Emperor Wu-ti, first ruler of the Liang dynasty of China who wanted original Mahayana texts and also an Indian Buddhist scholar to translate them. Whatever the fact, there is no doubt that Gunaratna arrived at Nan-hai in southern China in 546 A. D. and reached Nanking two years later (548 A. D.) where he was accorded warm reception. However, he could not settle down there owing to political upheaval in the country and had hardly any time to devote himself to the task of translating the Buddhist works into Chinese. He had to move from place to place in the regions of Kianghsi, Nanking and Canton which thoroughly upset his plan. He was so disappointed that he now decided to seek a more fertile soil for the spread of Buddhism in the South Seas—that is, he had the intention of going to Lankasuka (now northern part of Malaya Peninsula). This happened in 558 A. D., but he was earnestly requested

1. *Su-Kao-seng-Chuan*, Ch. I; *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVII, 1958, Nos. 1-2, p. 14.
2. Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

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by both the members of the Samgha and the laity to stay on in China. In 562 A. D. again he embarked *on an ocean-going ship* at the port of Liangan intending to return to India, but unfortunately this time again his plan was frustrated as unfavourable wind brought his boat back to the port of Canton in Southern China. Since then he thought it was useless to try to escape the effect from one's *Karma*, and decided to settle down in China for good.

It was during his 23 year's stay in China (A. D. 546–A. D. 569) that he translated 64 works of which 29 are still extent.[1] Among his translations the *Madhyanta-vibhaga-sastra*,[2] the *Mahayana-samparigrahasastra*[3] and the *Mahayana-Sraddhotpada-Sastra*[4] are very popular. It is obvious that most of the texts translated by him formed a nucleus of the Yogacara doctrine of Asanga and Vasubandha in China. And, it was on this foundation that the Dharmalaksava School came to be established later by Hsuantsang[5] in the 7th century A. D. Till 557 A. D. he is said to have translated ten works and afterwards about forty works under the Shan dynasty, the most important being the *life of Vasubandhu* and the *Suvarnaprabhasa Sutra*. He died in 567 A. D. in China at the age of 71.

Thus, Kumarajiva and Gunaratna were the two greatest Indian translators of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. The former translated 94 books, consisting of 425 facicles; the latter 64 books, consisting of 278 fascicles.[6] Similarly Hsuan-Tsang and I-tsing were the two greatest translators of Buddhist Tripitaka. Hsuan-Tsang brought from India to China 520 bundles of 857 books and translated 73 of them consisting of 1,330 fascicles. I-tsing brought to China from India nearly 400 books and translated 56 of them consisting of 230 fascicles.[7] These are not only some of the most glorious achievements of Chinese culture, but also magnificent feats in the history of world civilization. It was these

1. *Ibid.*
2. See Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka, App.* II, p. 423. (Nanjio, No. 1248).
3. Nanjio, No. 1183.
4. Nanjio, No. 1249.
5. *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVII, 1958 (Nos I-II), p. 15.
6. *The Sino-Indian Journal*, Vol. I, pt. I, 1947, Santiniketan, p. 46.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

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sages and scholars—both Indian and Chinese—who, through their stupendous work and labour, created such great and intimate cultural relationship between the two great countries in early periods.

It would not be out of place to mention here that this stupendous task of carrying out translation of the Buddhist scriptures was accomplished by scholars sometimes single-handed, sometimes with a helper and sometimes a few together. Afterwards it was done in a very systematic and scientific way, in co-operation and collaboration with several scholars, which we know from the following graphic descriptions, taken from a report of activities of a *Sino-Indian Institute* of 982 A. D. where 'translations of Buddhist Scriptures' were made :

"The Chief Translator (*i-chu*) sat in the middle and recited the original text. On his left sat the *arthanirnayaka* (*Cheng-i*) whose duty was to discuss the meaning of the text with the Chief translator. The third was the *racana-samiksaka* (*Cheng-wen*), the scrutinizer of the text who used to listen carefully to the recitation of the chief translator. The fourth was the *lipikara* (*shu-tzu*) who, after hearing the recitation would carefully transliterate it into Chinese. After that the writer (*pi-shou*) having been the transliteration would translate it literally letter by letter, into Chinese. The sixth, the *Vakyaviracaka*, the composer (*Chui-wen*) with the help of that literal translation, used to compose idiomatic sentences, in pure Chinese style. The seventh, the examiner of the translation (*ts' an-i*) would then compare the translation with the original text. The eighth, the *parimarjaka (Khan-ting*) made the translation simple and explicit by discarding all unnecessary words. The ninth, the *racana-pariposaka (jun-wen*) would last of all recite and revise the whole translation".[1]

V

Of the Indian monks who acquired greatest distinction not only in China, but also in Japan, was Bodhidharma in Chinese Ta-mo who belonged to the Pallava dynasty of South India and reached China (520 or 526 A. D.) during the reign of Wu-ti, the king who had invited Gunaratna or Paramartha also. Bodhidharma's miraculous practices won for him a

1. Vide *Fu-Tsu-Tung-Chi* (Complete records of Buddhism), Section 48 by Sramana Chi-p' an.

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semi-mythical status which is remembered even now with great reverence and forms a favourite the theme of the Chinese artists. It has been rightly said that his arrival in China marked one of the most memorable events in its religious history.[1] Hitherto the form of Buddhist doctrine most prevalent there was that which taught the practice of morality as the means of deliverance. But, now the mysticism which had developed itself gradually in India was imported full-brown into China".[2] Facing a wall he meditated for nine years and came to be popularly called "Wall-gazing Brahmana". He preached Buddhism in later years in Japan also. In the list of the Chinese preachers he is placed as being the twenty-eighth apostle. Temples were built in his honour both in China and Japan—a unique honour which few preachers have received in the religious history of the world. In Japan he is commonly known as *Daruma* i.e., *Dharma*.

Bodhidharma gave the impulse to a trend of thought and an attitude towards nature and art which in later times bore such fruits in the field of Chinese painting. In his famous interview with the emperor Wu-ti he pointed out that "spritual insight and deliverance could not be obtained by the study of books or by prayers and good works, nor could real knowledge be communicated by words : it is intuitive and can only be obtained through meditation. The vision which brings light and deliverance comes in a moment as naturally as the opening of a flower or the reflection of a star in a mountain lake".[3] The essence of his teaching was that the only true reality is the Buddha-nature in the heart of every man, the individual ray of a universal divine essence to which all great Mahayana teachers have pointed.

The story goes that the sporn and taciturn Indian patriarch had not much success in his attempt to convince the Chinese emperor that all the good works and the wealth that he earnished on the Buddhist congregations and the temples were of no avail in a spiritual sense. "Yet, the message that he was preaching was in harmony with an old and deep current of Chinese thought. It had been expressed by great philosophers of antiquity, such as Lao-tzu and applied in Taoist practices

1. Oswald Siren, *Chinese Painting*, London, 1956, p. 38.
2. Upendra Thakur, "Indian Monks in Japan", *VII* (Prof. K. V. Sarma Fel. Com), Vol. XVIII, pts. i-ii (1980), p. 304.
3. Osvald Siren, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

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and institutions."[1] It is true, the import of Bodhidharma's teaching was then not realised fully but as time went on, it struck deep roots in wider circle, and produced rich harvests by a gradual, if not continuous development at several important junctures in the history of Chinese painting.[2] His teaching, as has been rightly said, "imparted a special tone and character to a section (though not the whole) of Far Eastern Buddhism"[3] and became known in China as *Ch'an* (*i. e.* Dzyan=*Dhyana*), in Japan as *Zen*.

VI

Vajrabodhi and his pupil Amoghavajra were chiefly responsible for the establishment of a separate Esoteric School of Buddhism in China in the early part of the 8th century A. D. The former belonged to a Brahmana family of South India and his father was the *guru* (preceptor) of the king of Conjegvaram. He studied at the Nalanda University as well as in Western India and was famed for his mastery in the Tripitaka and Tantric Buddhism.[4] As we know, he started his journey from his home town in Malay (South India) towards the Lanka Mountain (The Adam's Peak). Later he embarked on an ocean-going ship and passed through the Nicobar Islands[5], Srivijaya (Palembang) and more than twenty other countries in the South Seas. From there he proceeded to China and reached Canton in 719 A. D. It was through his efforts that many religious performances took place and Tantrika *mandals* were made in various regions in China. He is said to have translated 11 works into Chinese, which chiefly relate to the Tantrika *Dharanis*.[6] He died at the age of 71 (732 A. D.).

Amoghavajra, his disciple, was yet another celebrated monk who won great neme and fame in China. He belonged to a Brahmana family in northern India,[7] and went to China to see his ailing teacher who asked him

1. Osvald Siren, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
3. Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, London, (1921), Vol. III, p. 255 ff.
4. *Journal of the Greater Indian Society*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1 & 2, (1958), p. 17.
5. *Sung-Kao-seng-Chuan*, Ch. I, (Nanjio No. 1495.
6. *Ibid*. Also cf. *Journal of the Greater India Society* Vol. XVII. 1958, p. 17.
7. For other details, see *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, p. 17.

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to go to India and Ceylen to more Tantrika works.[1] Amoghavajra therefore left China in 741 A. D. with the assistance of Chinese government officials and from Canton he went to Ceylon via Java (Ho-lin-Kalinga) and then from Ceylon to India.[2] While in Ceylon he was too much respected by King Silamegha that the latter himself bathed him with scented water everyday, during his stay in the King's palace.[3] Later, he requested the well known Simhalese Tantrika master Samantabhadra (P'u-hsien) Acarya to perform the ceremony of two *mandals*--the Vajradhatu and Garbhadhatu-and initiate him as well as his Chinese disciples into the profound mystery of Tantrism. It is said that he collected over 500 volumes of *sutras*, *sastras* and Tantrika texts in Ceylon and after that proceeded to India and returned to China in 746 A. D.[4]. After his return he was honoured by the Chinese emperor with the title of *Prajnakosa* ("Mine of Knowledge"). From that time onward till his death in 774 A. D. he engaged himself in the Tantrika rites and ceremonies. Not only he succeeded in putting Tantrika Buddhism on a firm footing by popularising it among the members of the royal family and the general public, but the large number of Tantrika texts translated by him, and the mission undertaken by him in search of the Buddhist texts in India and Ceylon should be regarded "as an important event in the history of Chinese Buddhism".

After some time he was permitted by the Emperor to go back to his country but hardly had he gone half way when the royal permission was withdrawn and he was called back to the capital (756 A. D.) from the South Sea country where he was staying. In 756 A. D. again he was bestowed with another very high title. He was the spiritual teacher to three emperors of the T'ang Dynasty, *i.e.*, Hsuan-*tsung*, Shu-tsung and Tai-tsung. In 771 A. D., on the birthday of the emperor, he presented his translations to the court with the following memorial : "From my boyhood, I served my late teacher (Vajrabodhi) for fourteen years and received his instructions in the doctrine of Yoga. Then I went to the

1. For other details, see *Ibid*, Vol. XVII, p. 17-18.
2. For other details of his journey see *Ibid*., pp. 17-18.
3. W. Pachow, "Ancient Cultural Relations between India and China" *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol XII, No. 3, pp. 184-85.
4. W. Pachow, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVII (1958), p. 17.

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five parts of India and collected several *Sutras* 'more than five hundred different text which had hitherto not been brought to China. In 746 A. D. I came back to the capital and from the same year till the present time, I translated seventy-seven works"[1] (consisting of 120 fasciculi) and they are extant in most of the editions of the Chinese *Tripitaka*.[2]

At the age of 70 Amoghavajra died (774 A. D.) and after his death the emperor awarded him the most celebrated title (posthumous) of *Tripitaka-bhandanta*, besides the official title of a Minister of State. This shows in what great esteem and reverence he was regarded by the successive sovereigns of the T'ang dynasty. It was under his influence that the Tantrika practices dealing with talismanic forms and occasional exhibition of supernatural powers gained currency in China for the first time.

VII

Prajna was yet another great Indian monk who exercised tremendous influence in moulding Chinese culture through his teachings. His journey to China by sea-route was, however, very unpleasant. He studied Hinayana, Mahayana and Tantrika literature in northern and southern India and at Nalanda.[3] While he was in South India, he learnt that Manjubn Bodhisattva had his abode in China : he therefore decided to embark on a ship sailing for that country. While some scholars believe that when he was in the vicinity of Canton, an unfavourable wind brought his boat to the east of Ceylon,[4] others suggest that his boat was somewhere close to Indo-China or Cambodia. The latter probability is further strengthened by the fact that after sometime he is said to have collected funds and built a large boat by which he travelled extensively all the countries in the regions of the South Seas. Later when he was not very far from Canton for the second time, there arose a sudden storm and his boat was capsized, though he managed to save himself from drowning and salvaged his Sanskrit texts. Thus, he reached Canton in 780 A. D. and six years later he arrived at Changan (786 A. D.). In 792 A. D. he

1. According to the catalogue of Nanjio he translated 108 works.
2. W Pachow, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
3. T. Pachow, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

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received patronage of Emperor Teh-tsung (779-804 A. D.) who asked a host of Chinese scholars to help him in his task of translating Sanskrit works.[1]

From the Nanjio's *Catalogue* we know that he translated four works amongst which the *Mahayanabuddhi-satparamita-sutra* is well known.[2] A Kashmirian *acarya*, Prajna had gone to China in the beginning of the ninth century A. D. He radiated the divine spark, the light of intellectual knowledge and psychic experience, as his very name implied. His masterly knowledge of Sanskrit was reflected in the Chinese translation of Sanskrit works. Kukai, the most celebrated Buddhist priest of Japan was also his disciple and he had studied Sanskrit in China from Prajna between 804 and 806 A. D. Kukai, later renowned in Japan as Kobo Daishi, had left his homeland in quest of an integrated vision and a rich, pure experience.

University Professor & Head,
Department of Ancient Indian & Asian Studies,
Magadh University, Bodh Gaya
Gaya (Bihar)

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
2. T. Pachow, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, 1950 ("Zen Buddhism and Bodhidharma").

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THE MAHĀYĀNA PRINCIPLE OF INTER-RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTER ESP., AS EXPRESSED IN *PRATYUTPANNA-SAMĀDHI SŪTRA* OR *PAN-CHOU-SAN-MEI-CHING*[1]

SHOHEI ICHIMURA

I

The *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukha-samādhi-sūtra* in full title is traditionally known to have been designed for doctrinal reconciliation between two major streams of Mahāyāna Buddhism, namely, the tradition of self-emancipation through the insight of *śūnyatā* as best expressed in the literature of Prajñāpāramitā, and the tradition of salvation by faith in the grace and power of certain personifications of the Buddha-principle as best represented by the literature of Sukhāvatīvyūha. In this paper, however, I am prepared to challenge this orthodox interpretation by proposing an innovative point of view that the Pratyutpannasamādhi Text was rather designed on the part of Mahāyāna theoreticians to cope with extra-Buddhist encounters with alien religious and cultural forms and communities among which adherents of the Sukhāvatī and the cult of Amitābha may have been a part.

This new approach, I believe, can be supported in an immediate sense by two basic responses made explicit by the author of the text. As the title of the text, "The *Samādhi* in which One Stands (*avasthita*) *vis-a-vis* (*saṃmukha*) with the Buddhas of the Present (*pratyutpanna*),"[2] may suggest, the author vigorously promotes the practice of such *samādhi* for the mystical, ecstatic vision of sublime images of the Buddhas, while he urges the practitioners to apply critical reflection upon such experiences, whereby to repudiate reality or substantial existence of the vision. These

1. Although the Sanskrit original is lost, there are a Tibetan translation and four versions of Chinese translation respectively catalogued as Nos. 416, 417, 418, and 419. *Taisho* XIII, pp. 872-897; 897-902; 902-919; 920-924. As to the Tibetan version, refer to Paul Harrison's article, "Buddhanusmṛti in the Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukh-avasthita-samadhi-sutra," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, VI (1978) 35-57, esp., 40-41.
2. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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apparently opposing commendations are strung and woven in complete juxtaposition throughout the text. It accepts the altered consciousness of ecstatic visions as real, while simultaneously it explains their *emptiness* (*śūnyatā*) as being the crucial step toward realization of the ultimate insight. The purpose of this paper is to give some light upon this form of juxtaposition created in terms of *śūnyatā* and thereby to demonstrate how this could have been the standard way of Mahāyāna theoreticians in coping with inter-religious encounters during those few centuries immediately following the Western Era on the way toward the Far East.

II

For more than one reason, the tradition of Sukhāvatīvyūha may have been alien to the Indian religious and cultural outlook and most likely had its origin and evolution outside India, for it left practically no trace of its influence in the subcontinent. In contrast, the tradition of Prajñapāramitā continued to be central to Mahāyāna Buddhism of Medieval India. As far as their respective texts are concerned, the two traditions are generally assumed to have gone their respective ways for some period of time even prior to their textual compilation. For, the Sukhāvatīvyūha and its related texts hardly expressed the doctrine of *śūnyatā*, while the Prajñāpāramitā passed over the question of rebirth in Sukhāvatī and similar supernatural worlds (*buddha-kṣetra*) in silence. One may naturally be inclined to think that it would have been a theoretical interest and necessity for the Mahāyāna theoreticians to reconcile the practical and doctrinal differences that had kept those traditions apart.[3] It is my contention, however, that the compilation of Sukhāvatīvyūha as well as those of Samādhi texts, of which the Pratyutpannasamādhi was a member, reflects rather a dynamic process of a social acculturation and religious assimilation that took place amidst frequent inter-religious, inter-cultural, and inter-racial interactions between the Indian subcontinent and its bordering Iranian and Central Asian regions. The agent of this process was the new Buddhist movement whose adherents called themselves Mahāyānist and the new doctrinal message of Prajñāpāramitā as consisting

3 Cf. Chizen Akanuma, "Hanju-zanmai-kyo no Kenkyu : I and II (A Study on Pratyutpannasamadhisutra)," *Shukyo Kenkyu* (Religious Studies), IV, 1 and 2 (1927).

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of the insight of *śūnyatā* and the indomitable ideal of Bodhisattva.

In view of supporting my initial hypothesis, I found Prof. G. Schopen's study[4] very helpful, especially since I can apply to my own argument his analysis of how the ideal of Sukhāvatī, which had been specifically attached to the community of the Amitābha cult, was gradually universalized so as to be accepted by Mahāyāna communities as a whole. He holds a view that Sukhāvatī, the supernatural world of Amitābha, was not accepted universally among Mahāyāna advocates in the initial stage of its popularization, precisely because of its exclusive sectarian nature. When the cult of Amitābha was very new to the Mahāyāna communities, since Sukhāvatī was strictly enjoined to the specific community, rebirth in that ideal world must have been exclusively connected to the faith in the grace of Amitabha and to the act of devotion directed toward him. Such exclusive relationship, namely, between the rebirth in Sukhāvatī and the cultic devotion to Amitābha, however, must have necessarily changed along with the gradual acceptance of such goal by other Mahāyāna communities. His thesis is concerned, therefore, with how some of the Mahāyāna texts, such as Samādhirāja, reflect the way the cultic form of Sukhāvatīvyūha was gradually assimilated toward Mahāyāna systems of salvation. In order to demonstrate this thesis, he introduced a criterion upon which one can approximate such historical development, namely, that the more distant it was from the time of textual compilation, the more universalized the goal of Sukhāvatī became so as to be more applicable to any of the Mahāyāna communities.[5]

In the light of this criterion, Schopen evaluates the Samādhirāja-sūtra as one of the most evident textual sources in which rebirth in Sukhāvatī is no longer specifically connected to the cult of Amitābha, nor is it connected to act of devotion directed toward him but as well to the Sakyamuni Buddha himself. For, in the text in question, the presence of Sakyamuni is said to effectuate one's rebirth not only in Sukhāvatī but also in the supernatural world of Abhirati, another supernatural sphere

4. Gregory Schopen, "Sukhāvatī as a Generalized Religious Goal in Sanskrit Mahāyāna Sutra Literature," *Indo-Iranian Journal* IXX (1977) 177-210.
5. See Schopen's conclusion (*Ibid.*, p. 204) in relation to his underlying thought in assembling passages from various Mahāyāna textual sources (*Ibid.*, p. 194).

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where Akshobha Buddha presides, and hence by implication, in any Buddha's supernatural world. In the Sukhāvatīvyūha, the ideal world is the end in and of itself, whereas in the Samādhirāja, it is no longer to be so, but a place where a bodhisattva already well advanced on his career is supposed to be reborn for the purpose of acquiring some of the final qualities. Amitābha in the text is no longer a powerful cult figure, but is transformed to be a teacher of a particular Dharma.[6] Now, by applying the same criterion, the Pratyutpannasamādhi with which we are concerned here can be analysed as having been compiled before the Samādhirāja and even as the earliest one in the series of the kind. Two reasons stand out : (1) the Pratyutpannasmādhi chose Amitābha as the single example to be called to the practitioner's mind, even though by implication as an example, he can be replaced by other Buddhas; (2) the text also emphasizes earnest devotion to or yearning for the vision of Amitabha, even as compared to sensual yearning for one's beloved.[7]

Schopen's criterion serves also to determine the approximate date of textual compilation, according to which, with the preceding two conditions, the Pratyutpannasamādhi must have been dated earlier to that of the Samādhirāja. Schopen is convinced that the latter's compilation was not far from the time of the Sukhāvatīvyūha, and that, despite this, rebirth in Sukhāvatī is treated in the text as having been already regarded as a generalized religious goal. For, those signs found there as indicative of such generalization point to not the beginning of the process

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6. *Ibid.*, 192.

7. There is a clear difference between the Sukhāvatīvyūha and the Pratyutpannasamādhi as to the reason for the devotee's dedication, because unlike the latter, in the Sukhāvatívyūha Amitābha, whose visual image is sought for the moment of death, is never compared to man's yearning for his woman or for his home folks, nor is one's realization of visionever compared to a dream in which his wish is supposed to be realized. (e. g., *Taisho* XIII, p. 899a and b). The degree of secularization as to Amitābha and Sukhāvatī seems to have taken place in the Pratyutpannasamādhi. As to whether this is due to time difference between the two texts or to their doctrinal difference, I am inclined to think that it is due to the latter. For, Akanuma estimates the earliest compilation of the text may have been anterior to the Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha though posterior to the Smaller One. *Loc. cit.*, p. 108f.

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but the phenomena already fully established. As he believes that the date of the Samādhirāja could be before the 2nd century A. D. when the Amitābha cult was still active, it is more than clear to me that the compilation of the Pratyutpannasamādhi may have even been closer to or indeed, contemporaneous to the date of Sukhāvatīvyūha. Considering the whole context here, if the textual intention was concerned with containing the cult of Amitābha and assimilating the community of Sukhāvatī to the Mahāyāna world as a whole, I am justified to interpret that the Pratyutpannasamādhi was rather designed in part to make the Amitābha cult instrumental to the task of assimilation and in part to incorporate with it the practice of samādhi that is essential to the goal of Prajñāpāramitā tradition.

III

The discipline of *buddha-anusmṛti* or *nen-fo* was designed in early Buddhism to sublimate the practitioner's mind and create moral strength through recollection of the image of Sakyamuni Buddha as his teacher. This was made in fact the core practice in the Pratyutpannasamādhi for the sake of realizing the mystical vision of the Buddha or Buddhas. When the memory of Sakyamuni became remote in the distant past, it was natural for the Buddhists to apply such practice to strengthen their memory of and the sense of intimacy for, the founder of their religion, which eventually led to the creation of his anthropomorphic representation. In the Sukhāvatīvyūha, this preliminary practice was not only transformed to become the essential path for obtaining the visual image of Amitābha at the moment of death but was also elevated to be the final path of salvation, i. e., rebirth in Sukhāvatī. The Pratyutpannasamādhi, however, did not make it the final path by itself, but juxtaposed or enjoined with it the *samādhi* of *śūnyatā*, the very path of the Prajñāpāramitā tradition.[8] There is no discrepancy between Chinese and Tibetan translations about it. From the structural point of view, the Pratyutpannasamādhi is constructed upon four inner strategic steps despite its several chapters externally given in translation.

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8. *Śūnyatā-samādhi*, together with *animitta-S.* and *apranihita-S.*, is known to have been the essential practice of the Prajñāpāramitā as well as of early Buddhism,

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First, in parallel to the Sukhāvatīvyūha,[9] it claims that a man of spiritual aspiration (Bodhisattva) must be aware of the presence of Amitābha in the Western Land of Sukhāvatī over an immeasurable distance, and that when he is mindful of this Buddha diligently over one day and one night, two days and two nights, or up to seven days and seven nights, his mind being well concentrated, he will be able to perceive his sublime image.[10] While the bodhisattva is firm in such state of concentration, he is said to receive an instruction directly from Amitābha by way of a dialogue with him.

While visualizing Amitābha, the bodhisattva questions him as to the (particular) Dharma upon which he is born there. Amitābha responds to him replying that those who wish to be born in his land must be mindful of his name and maintain such concentration without a moment of rest, whereby they will obtain rebirth in Sukhāvati. (Therefore) be always mindful of his thirty-two marks and eighty superior qualities, his cosmic penetrating illumination, his incomparable sublimeness, as he is teaching amidst an assembly of Bodhisattvas and disciples.[11]

Second, with this initial appeal to the audience, the textual author continues with far more enthusiasm and persuasive repetition in promoting the practice of *samādhi* that promises the practitioner with "the Vision of all the present Buddhas in Ten Directions." This is the alternative title given to the unabridged Chinese translation and obviously indicates what is to be the main subject of the text.[12] The following is one of the many similar passages given as the word of Sakyamuni Buddha.

> The bodhisattva can be compared with a person having good eye sight. While observing astrological phenomena in the night, he will perceive multiple stars.....In the same way, endowed

9. Cf. *The Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha* ed. by M. Muller and B. Nanjio; reprint in Aryan Series : Vol. I, Pt. 2, 1972, p. 96 (11-19).
10. *Taisho* XIII, No. 417, p. 899a (10-14); *Ibid.*, No. 418, p. 905a (6-10; 14-17). *Ibid.*, p. 899a (10-14).
11. *Taisho* XIII, No. 417, p. 899a (28-29)-b (1-4), and also No. 148 p. 905b (10-16) :
12. *Ibid.*, No. 418, p. 902c ;

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with the miraculous power of the Buddha, the bodhisattva, even while firmly staying in this *samādhi*, stands facing eastward and perceives hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, or hundreds of millions of Buddhas in all ten directions.[13]

The third step presents a dramatic change from the preceding two. The nature of mystical experience or altered consciousness is critically examined so as to lead to the negation of its own reality. This step is of paramount importance for the textual author in two ways : (1) it is the basis for introducing the doctrine of *śūnyatā*, and (2) for instructing the practice of non-attachment. As a whole, it is the indispensable step toward the true insight of Prajñāpāramitā. Harrison argues here for the affinity of the text and that of Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, especially Chapters 30 and 31.[14] For, both texts make use of the precisely same incidence experienced by practitioners for urging them to exercise critical reflection as to the true nature of their vision. The following passage is self-explanatory (Harrison's translation from Tibetan source) :

> When the bodhisattva has developed this *samādhi* properly, that bodhisattva sees those Tathāgatas with little difficulty. Having seen them he asks them questions, and is gladened by the elucidation of those questions. Having thought : "Did these Tathāgatas come from somewhere ? Did I go anywhere ?" He understands that those Tathāgatas did not come from anywhere either; he thinks : "These triple worlds are nothing but thought. That is because, however I discriminate things (*vikalpayati*, mentally construct), so they appear.[15]

Of this crucial step, there is a remarkable correspondence in the passage of Chinese source :

> Greatly delighted in learning from the teaching (literally, opening the text), the bodhisattva makes this reflection : "Where did the Buddhas come from ? Did I go anywhere ?" He realizes that the Buddhas did not come from anywhere, nor did he anywhere.

13. *Ibid.*, No. 418, p. 906b (22-29) and also No. 417, p. 900a (6-9) :
14. Harrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 46f.
15. *Ibid*,

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> He thought thus : "I made no thought of where they come from, nor did I think of where I went to. Because I thought of three worlds of *kāma, rūpa,* and *arūpa,* they appeared exclusively due to my thought. Whatever I wished I perceived."[16]

Fourth, the last step consists of identifying the practice of *Buddhānusmṛti* with that of *śūnyatā-samādhi* which is the essential practice of Prajñāpāramitā tradition. This identification, however, is more a transformation, because mystical vision for which one practice stands is critically examined as to its illusory nature by way of its negation for which another practice stands. It is a dialectical transformation, of which the Tibetan text is linguistically more accurate than the Chinese version

> [Whoever concentrates on the Tathāgata] and yet does not think erroneously about (*manyate*), does not apprehend (*upalabḥate*), does not fixate on *(abhiniviṣate)* does not cognize (*saṁjnati*), does not imagine (*kalpita*), does not discriminate (*vikalpayati*) and does not review *(samanupaśyati)* the Tathāgata – he who obtains the *samādhi* of Emptiness by thus concentrating on the Tathāgata without apprehending him, he is known as one who calls to mind the Buddha.[17]

Thus, an entirely different outlook emerged, whereby the Pratyutpanna-*samādhi* decisively departed from the range of the tradition of Sukhāvatīvyūha, reasserting that of Prajñāpāramitā.

As shown in the foregoing presentation, the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* had three stages : (1) the practice of being mindful of the *Person* of Sakyamuni in early Buddhism in which the human Buddha was the object of vision, e. g., Theravādin tradition; (2) the practice of being mindful of the supreme *Attributes* (e. g., 32 marks and 80 qualities) in which the sublime mythical Buddha was the object of vision; (3) the practice of being mindful of the transcendental Buddha in which the

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16. *Taisho* XIII, No. 417, p. 899b (25-28) and also No. 418, p. 905c (26-29)-p. 906a (1) :

17. Harrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

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ultimate *Insight* is the object of vision.[18] Of these three stages, the Pratyutpannasamādhi is concerned with the transition from the second to the third one. For, in part, the text vigorously promulgates the practice of *samādhi* for mystical vision and in part institutes critical reflection as to its illusory nature. Through experiencing such vision and its sublation, the practitioners are inevitably forced to face inner contradiction as designed to deepen the insight of *śūnyatā*. Considering the history of Mahāyāna textual compilation, especially of those of Samadhi literature circulated from the Indo-Iranian border across the Central Asian regions up to the Far East, I am inclined to think that generations of anonymous authors were inspired by their encountering with extra-Indian or non-Buddhist forms of religion and communities with which mystical experience or ecstatic vision was the most attractive form of practice.

IV

The idea of acquiring mystical vision was an alien practice not only to early Buddhism but also to the Scholastic Schools of Abhidharmists, such as Sarvāstivādin, because the main business of those professional monks was to analyze every conscious phenomenon into multiple psychophysical elements (*dharmas*). They regarded that the sublime supernatural qualities of the Buddha as beyond human vision for which they accepted anthropomorphic expression only as a shadow cast from the transcendent.[19] In this respect, the Mahayana introduction of mystical vision of Buddhas could have been a logical extension from it. In any case, the problem remains as to how Mahāyāna theoreticians could justifiably incorporate ecstatic vision as part of their Buddhist religiosity. I think that there is room here for us to assume some extra-Buddhist imputs or influences which worked upon those theoreticians. This can be proved to some extent by demonstrating the possibility that

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18. The idea of this classification is parallel to Max Loehr's categorization of Buddhist imageries as discussed in Sect. V here. Those three categories are also known to be parallel to the Mahāyāna theory of *Triple Body of the Buddha*, i. e., *nirmāṇakāya*, *sambhogakāya*, and *dharmakāya*.

19. Cf. *Taisho* XXIII, p. 873c-874a-c : contained in the Sarvāstivadin Vinaya (Ibid. Chuans 45-46) as identical as the Rudrāyaṇaavadāna in Dīvyāvadāna.

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the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, esp., its particular two chapters bears some definite parallels with some of the Western religious literature originated roughly in the same period. For, as briefly referred to above, the Pratyutpannasamādhi surely has more than a correspondence with the particular portion of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, reflecting the probability that those authors had partially similar audience and perspective participants for their intended Mahāyāna movement.

It was due to Harrison's contribution that the close correspondence between the Pratyutpannasamādhi and the two chapters of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā has been brought to full attention as to the similar nature of *samādhi*, especially, as to the similar critical reflection directed to its mystical vision. The chapters in question comprise the story of the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita, whose earnest pursuit of religious truth became a model career of Mahāyāna aspirants for centuries to come, and adequately conclude the entire chapters by depicting a life style that endures hardship and self-sacrifice, and yet sustains effort and vitality in deep concentration toward the goal of the Perfection of Prajñā. At one stage of career, Sadāprarudita is said in this story to have entered sixty-two different *samādhis* one after another, of which the last two are concerned with mystical visions of Buddhas.[20] While he was submerged in such deep meditation, he is said to have been instructed from those manifested Buddhas that he could realize the Perfection of Prajñā under the guidance of the bodhisattva Dharmodgata. It is said to have been immediately after this instruction that Sadāprarudita came back to his ordinary consciousness, being bewildered and distressed by the disappearance of those Buddhas. The Chinese text as translated by Kumārajīva has it as follows :

> Upon completing their instruction and encouragement for Sadāprarudita, those Tathāgatas suddenly disappeared. (Thus), coming out from the *samādhi*, the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita began to be worried because of their disappearance, and thus

20. The Sanskrit edition by Rajendra Mitra lists 62 kinds of *samādhi*, the last two of which are called *Sarva-tathagata-darśana-samādhi* and *Sarva-tathāgata-darśi-samādhi*. (Cf. Harrison, *loc. cit.*, p. 46). The Chinese translation by Kumārajīva lists 52 of them instead. (*Taisho* VIII, No. 227, p. 581b (24-29-c) (1-13).

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thought. "The bodhisattva Dharmodgata has mastered *dhāraṇīs* and various supernatural powers.....

I shall visit his city and question him as to "Where those Buddhas came from ? and where they went ?"[21]

Harrison pointed out that the textual authors of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and the Pratyutpannasamādhi must have equally felt that the mystical vision such as experienced by Sadāprarudita was the specific experience to every practitioner on the way toward his Perfection of Prajñā and Bodhi, and hence, was worthy of its elucidation as fit to the essential theme of their respective texts.[22] In the story of Sadāprarudita, his question as "Where did those Buddhas come from ? and where did they go ?", indeed, marks the real beginning of his career, while in the Pratyutpannasamādhi too, the same question becomes the turning point from the path of apparent to that of real insight.

Coming to the matter of correspondence between the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and the Western religious literature, especially in the Judeo-Roman world, I am prepared to introduce Prof. E. Conze's invaluable insight into the formative history of Mahāyāna Buddhism, as expressed in a collection of his articles, *The Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, that the story of Sadāprarudita was a Buddhist adoption from some Judeo-Roman tradition.[23] He had three major bases to support his conclusion. (1) He could not help but notice almost turgid devotionalism in the hero's career as more parallel to that of St. John in the Book of Revelation, especially, to his earnest strife for and willing sacrifice of everything for obtaining Ultimate Wisdom, than to the lucid rationality and sober and intellectual discussion between Sakyamuni and his disciples exhibited in the remaining chapters of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā.[24] (2) Conze considered that the most striking parallel was the fact that passages in both the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and the Book of Revelation

21. *Ibid.*, p. 582a (10-18) :

22. Harrison, *loc. cit.* p. 48 What Harrison states in reference to the author of the particular chapters applies to that of the Partyutpannasamādhi as well.

23. "The Composition of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā." Oxford : Bruno Cassieer, 1967. pp. 168-184.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

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refer to "the Sacred Text written on Supreme Wisdom and sealed with Seven Seals", and deemed them the most reliable evidence for his conclusion.[25] (3) Contextually, he was convinced that parallelism is far more extensive throughout the chapters; for while "Sadāprarudita" means "ever weeping", St. John is said to have "wept bitterly". While the author of Revelation questions as to "Who is worthy of opening the Book by breaking its seals, "and answers himself that the lamb slaughtered in sacrifice is alone worthy. Conze recognized a parallel here again, because the story of Sadāprarudita tacitly implies a prerequisite of coming through hardship and self-sacrifice for anyone who thereby becomes worthy of realizing the Perfection of Wisdom. He did not think, however, that these parallels can prove either that the Buddhist borrowed it from the Christian or that *vice versa*, but that both textual authors borrowed from a common source, such as a tradition current in mystical circles in the Mediterranean regions.[26] Accordingly, Conze believed that the particular number, such as "Seven" and the whole notion of "A Book with Seven Seals", have their roots rather in the Judeo-Roman than in Indian tradition.

Prof. Conze seems to have left out one other important parallel, however. According to a passage in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, Chapter 30, it is indicated as the background of the story that the ultimate insight has been in part written in the sacred text sealed with seven seals and in part also transmitted in the living master's wisdom.[27] So that those earnest students who survived through such a difficult career of self-abnegation and ardous quest like that of Sadāprarudita, are alone entitled to open the text and also to receive direct instruction from the master. Prof. Conze noticed a parallel as to the paramount importance of the sacred text in which the ultimate truth is revealed, but did not explicitly mention the other one, namely, the tradition of the living sage or wise man in whom the ultimate truth is also revealed. It is in this respect too that parallelism is irrefutable between the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and some tradition in the Judeo-Roman world. This second tradition is especially important for the correspondence between the two chapters of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and the Pratyutpannasamādhi, because, although the tradition about "the Sacred

25. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-1.
26. Cf. *Ibid.*, 171-2.
27. *Taisho* XXIII. p. 580b (13-16) :

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Book" is not found in the latter as vividly as in the other, that of the living wise man is quite consistently reincarnated in it. It repeatedly instructs that the bodhisattva is obliged to find the right teacher, serve him with utmost reverence and devotion, and receive from him the Perfection of Wisdom directly. One of such passages given in Chinese traslation is as follows :

> Those who wish to realize the *samādhi* are obliged to serve his teacher with utmost reverence, look up to him as if he is a Buddha. Anyone who does not do so toward the right teacher would meet difficulty in realizing the goal of *samādhi*. The bodhisattva must be respectful to his teacher and follow his instruction, which is the only way to realize the *samādhi*. Abiding in the Buddha's miraculous power (*samādhi*) he sees hundreds, tens of thousands, or hundreds of millions of Buddhas in the eastern direction as well as in ten directions, as if he sees myriads of stars in the night sky while surveying astrological phenomena. Those bodhisattvas who wish to see *vis-a-vis* all the Buddhas of the present must pay their utmost reverence toward their right teacher and must not see his physical tallness or shortness,.....[28]

V

Mystical experience or ecstatic vision is fairly universal phenomena in all religious traditions irrespective of whether they are historical or non-historical, theistic or non-theistic. Such experience obviously involves some form of altered consciousness and has been in recent scholarship subjected to psychological studies. Though this is beyond the scope of this paper, the subject matter is very interesting if mystical vision is truly a beneficial step toward real insight and religious salvation. For, this seems to have been the underlying thought of the Pratyutpannasamādhi along with that of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā. Nevertheless, there is a unique approach in Mahāyāna theoreticians in that while they accomodated human predilection toward mystical vision, yet they surely applied dialectical negation to it. By "dialectical negation," I mean the method of juxtaposing the presence of mystical vision and its own sublation, i. e.,

28. *Taisho* XIII, No. 417, p. 900a (5-12) and also No. 418., p. 906b (20-29) :

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its absence, in reference to the very moment of their alteration, and by analogy, extending it further to our ordinary experience as well. This is clearly recognized as having been intended by the authors of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā and the Pratyutpannasamādhi. In the former (Chap. 31), for instance, Sadāprarudita is said to have finally met Dharmodgata, his teacher, and received his long waited answer from him :

> Oh, son of good family, those Buddhas did not come from anywhere, nor did they go anywhere. Why ? because things as they are do not move. This state of things as they are is the Tathāgata. Son of good family, nothing is born, nor coming. Nothing is leaving nor born. This is the Tathāgata. Supreme truth is neither going nor coming. This truth is the Tathāgata. Emptiness is neither coming nor going. This Emptiness is the Tathāgata.[29]

Here is the model case of dialectical negation as referred to above. Whatever is experienced is said, on the one hand, as empty like a dream or a magical creation, while, on the other hand, this state of Emptiness is directly identified with the Tathāgata. Through his subsequent dialogue with his teacher, Sadāprarudita was reasoned to accept that his ecstatic vision of Buddhas is nothing but a dream or magical creation, and so is everything.[30]

I cannot help questioning, however, as to why along with the Aṣṭasāhasrikā the author of the Pratyutpannasamādhi had to bring the vision of sublime images of Buddhas to the status of a dream or magical creation, even after taking so much trouble in promulgating the *samādhi*, praising its merit and prescribing its auxiliary moral and disciplinary conducts. He is especially rigorous about the practice of non-attachment, unhesitatingly urging the practitioners to forsake their predilection toward such experience.

> The bodhisattva must be mindful of those Buddhas, perceive them, and listen to their teaching, but let him not be attached to them. Why ? because those Buddhas are essentially neither with any basis nor with any cause. The Dharma of such phenomena is neither

29. *Taisho* VIII, p. 584a (21-25) :
30. *Ibid.*, p. 584b (17-18) :

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> something to be grasped, nor to be attached to. Like vaccuum, it is in complete equilibrium and undefiled, ... quiescent like Nirvāṇa.[31]

Elsewhere in the text, the author even stresses that attachment to such vision is harmful :

> Let the bodhisattva maintain this samādhi, let him practice it so as to perceive Buddhas. But let him not be attached to them. Why ? because if he is attached to them, it results in burning himself. Take for instance an iron bar well heated. No wise man grabs it, because he knows that it burns his hand. In the same way, Bhadrapāla, the bodhisattva perceives Buddhas but is not attached to them.[32]

I am obliged once again to refer to Dharmodgata's elucidation for Sadāprarudita in order to make some sense as regards to why all out promotion of mystical vision could be somehow correlated to simultaneous negation of its reality. For, at one point Dharmodgata distinguishes the man of real insight from common men with some definition.

> The Tathāgata taught that things are all illusory like a dream. If a man does not understand this he will produce attachment by way of physical form, name, word, and sentence. In this way, he conceptualizes the appearance of Buddhas as either "coming" or "going" because he does not know the real state of things as they are. If any one conceptualizes thus, he should be known to be an ordinary man with no insight. If there is another man who does not conceptualize in such way, this man should be known as having real insight since he sees things as they are, and as practicing the Perfection of Wisdom.[33]

What is striking to me here is an insight into man's symbol usage as the basic cause of human attachment. Since the way things are as they are cannot be predicated either as "coming" or "going," man's conceptualization as such as to the images of Buddhas amounts to be

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31. *Taisho* XIII, No. 418, p. 914a (12-17) :
32. *Ibid.*, No. 418, p. 908c (17-21) :
33. *Taisho* VIII, p. 584b (18-29) :

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nothing but his use of symbols. The author of the Pratyutpannasamādhi expanded this central theme of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā into twofold practice of *śūnyatā-samādhi*. While, on the one hand, he referred, visual appearance of Buddhas and their disappearance to the mental operation, he defined the practice of non-attachment, on the other hand, in terms of cessation of this mental operation.

> When one calls things to his mind, he sees them. His mind creates Buddhas and thereby itself perceives them. His mind is the Buddha's mind; the Buddha's mind is itself his body. (So that) his mind perceives the Buddhas. (But) the mind does not know itself, nor does it see itself. When it has forms of thought, it falls to become deluded. When it has no form of thought, it realizes Nirvāṇa.[34]

Recollection or mindfulness, or thought process in general, requires symbols irrespective of whether they are concrete things or words or abstract signs, without which human mind just cannot operate itself. As frequently happened in the Buddhist history or art and iconography, anthropomorphic images were subjected to critical examination from time to time as to their natural limitation for representing man's innermost experience. Suppose, aesthetic forms of expression are comparable to the coding forms of original experience, while they in turn act upon the viewers as the decoding forms so as to enable them to participate in that original experience. In the light of this symbolic structure as related to human experience, I am inclined to think that the author of the Pratyutpannasamādhi may be more readily understood for his method of juxtaposition.

Prof. Max Loehr is one of the few scholars who is interested in Buddhist symbolism, especially, as to the way the Buddhist expressed the doctrinal insight, such as *anitya*, *anātman*, or *śūnyatā*, in art forms. According to his view, the Buddhist used three categories of aesthetic objects in order to express their religiosity, namely, *Person*, *Virtue*, and *Insight* attributed to Sakyamuni Buddha. In his inaugural lecture at Harvard University, "Buddhist Thought and Imagery[35]", he proposed that

34. *Taisho* XIII, No. 417, p. 899b (28-29)-c(1) :
35. The Abby Aldrich Rockfeller Inaugural Lecture, Feb. 1962.

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the history of Buddhist art and iconography could be periodized into three stages respectively in parallel to those three categories. He is convinced that anthropomorphic form is proved to have been adequate for the first two stages as abundantly evidenced by historical facts up to the T'ang Period in China, but not so in the last stage in which expressing doctrinal insight became a more dominant theme. Human forms did not prevent representing Supreme Virtues, such as Compassion or Wisdom (Prajnā) by way of its hypostatization in the image of Avalokiteśvara (i.e., Kwan-yin) and the feminine deity of Prajñāpāramitā (Sophia) respectively. Even the attribute of Enlightenment (Bodhi) was represented by the image of Vairocana Buddha and his Maṇḍala (the cosmic diagram of Buddhas' supernatural worlds). Nevertheless, anthropomorphic images were gradually and critically examined as being no longer adequate for expressing man's spontaneous inner experience or the insight of *śūnyatā*. It is in this context that we understand why the esoteric school of Shingon eventually substituted human forms with simple alphabetical scripts of Sanskrit for the object of meditation. Zen practitioners too replaced them upon the same reason by unassuming black ink sketches and calligraphies, and devised the use of Koan for the practice of meditation.[36]

Despite the fact that mystical vision of Buddhas inspired aesthetic creation of the images and that such creation in turn acted upon the viewers' faculty of imagination prompting their realization of *samādhi*, insofar as the author of the Pratyutpannasamādhi claimed that cessation of objective forms and corresponding inner thoughts is the culminating state of the *samādhi*, it is not difficult to understand the reason as to why such external forms or inner linguistic forms may become at times an obstacle or entrapper of human consciounsess and thereby prevent the practitioners from transcending them. In the historical development of Japanese Buddhism, the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* (i. e., Nen-butsu) was eventually dissociated from the external form of the sublime image

36. This is understood to have intended to dissociate thought images from the visualized or externalized representation and further to reduce thought images to the mere name or mantra stripped of all conceptual relations. Cf. D. T. Suzuki, "Kanna to Nenbutsu. (The use of Koan and the Prayer of Amitābha)," *Shukyo Kenkyu* IV, 3 (1927) 72-3.

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of Amitābha as well as from the inner conceptual form of his attribute.[37] The practitioners were taught to concentrate on the single minded act of calling of Amitābha's name and nothing more. This single minded act of calling was then taught also to be the only way to express the ultimate insight that has been realized. The Pratyutpannasamādhi's emphasis on non-attachment to the sublime images of Buddhas seems to have been eventually realized in the course of historical refinement over the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* in the period that was separated by a millenium after the text was compiled and by a distance of thousands of miles from the place of its origination. Nevertheless, from the doctrinal point of view, this development was already well implied in the Pratyutpannasamādhi along with the Aṣṭasāhasrikā.

VI

Suppose that the Pratyutpannasamādhi was the earliest text in the series of Samādhi literature and contemporaneous to the Sukhāvatīvyūha, because of its affinity to the 30th and 31st chapters of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā in structural form and doctrinal presentation, it is possible to assume that the author of the text did encounter interreligious and intercultural contexts and was likely necessitated to innovate ways to cope with such situations. The practice of *samādhi* for mystical vision of Buddhas was obviously the most attractive feature with which the given populace is assumed to have been best attuned. This same practice, however, proved itself to have been as attractive in the lands of the Far East as it was in its origination and thereby successfuly cultivated the ground, wherever it was introduced, from which true insight was made to grow. Since the growth of true insight cannot be expected with catering the natural predilection of humanity, Buddhist theoreticians were obliged to apply dialectical negation by means of their standard method-juxtaposing critical reflection over mystical vision and by analogy over ordinary experience. The process of such dialectical negation is as

37. Dr. Suzuki (Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4) interpreted that the psychological states arrived at through concentration (*samadhi*) respectively induced by the use of Koan and that of Name-calling of Amitābha are identical, pointing to the fact that such devices can triggar the moment of non-differentiation of the subjective and the objective. There is no reason, however, to deny the same function to the objective image of the Buddha.

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observable in an individual's life as in collective human history. The history of Buddhist art certainly has attested it in parallel to the history of doctrinal development.

The crucial key point of this article has been placed in the strategic structure of the text as designed for penetrating in the depth of human consciousness and thereby creating critical reflection in it. The vision of Amitābha was clearly instrumental to the initiation of the *samādhi* for the vision of all the Buddhas and their supernatural worlds. The process of generalization, which I interpreted as that of assimilation, was definitely intended. Although the critical reflection, such as expressed in the question : Where did Buddhas come from and where did they go ? is not given the air of paramount importance in the text, considering the parallelism to Sadāprarudita's career in which this question dominated throughout his earnest search of Prajñāpāramitā until he realized its consummatory insight, I can strongly assert that it was the crucial key point of the textual author. After all he did not throw away mystical experience as such but made it the ground for teaching that ultimate transcendence has to be accomplished beyond sense impression (rupa), concept (name), symbols (word), and lingustic usage (sentence), upon which objective representation or subjective imagery is constructed. His elucidation of transcendence in terms of *non-thought* brings the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* (activation of the mind toward the image and conception of the Buddha) and the true practice of *buddhānusmṛti* (i. e., deactivation or cessation of this mind) into direct juxtaposition. The doctrine of the mind was obviously posterior to the Prajñāpāramitā. It requires further research to determine as to whether it was in the line of the Vijñānavādin's or a precursor of the metaphysics of the Mahāyān śradhotpāda-śāstra usually attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. I am inclined to think that it was the latter as an expression of those transcontinental interactions of humanity of those days.

(Visiting Fellow)
South Asia Studies
School of International Studies
University of Washington

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BUDDHIST DIALECTICAL METHODS AND THEIR STRUCTURAL IDENTITY

SHOHEI ICHIMURA

I

The problem that every student of Buddhist Studies and Comparative Religious encounters in Buddhist literature is the so-called trans-logical or dialectical expressions derived from the ultimate Buddhist insight, irrespective of whether it is termed as 'śūnyatā,' 'pratītyasamutpāda,' or 'madhyamāpratipad.' The question has been : "Is there some criterion through which we can meaningfully understand the doctrinal expressions of these crucial concepts, be they of Indian or Chinese or Japanese Buddhist origin ?" If the Buddhist insight that is essential to the realization of religious salvation (or emancipation) is universally acquirable by humanity, the insight must be fundamentally identical, irrespective of racial, cultural or historical differences of its bearer. Accordingly, there must be some standard criterion upon which each different expression referring to that insight can be meaningfully parallelled and made intelligible in terms of rational discourse, even though the ultimate itself cannot be grasped or expressed in terms of discriminatory faculty of reason or linguistic symbolism.

With this concern, I shall advance in this paper a theory that proposes the *structural analysis of dialectical context* as such a criterion. The theory holds that the dialectical context is necessarily created in every logical and linguistic process of the mind as 'simultaneous application of *anvaya* (positive-) and *vyatireka* (negative instantiation),' and that these operations in turn create the 'dual natured reference' that can only be expressed by metaphorical instances, such as 'magical apparition,' 'sky-flower,' and so forth. I shall then demonstrate how these two features of the dialectical context can make some of the Buddhist expressions intelligible for a preliminary understanding, be they Mādhyamika dialectic or Zen trans-logical statements.

II

The terms 'anvaya' and 'vyatireka' originally belonged to the vocabulary of the science of grammar in ancient India to signify respecti-

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vely 'connection' and 'separation.'[1] As philosophical reflection developed, these terms were used by Buddhist as well as Hindu logicians to signify the dual operations which are crucial to logically valid reasoning. In a word, these positive and negative instantiations or exemplifications together embody the mental process of classifying, and as fundamental as they are to our mental faculty, they are indispensable to the practicality of language (*vyavahāra*). For, as will be briefly explained below, the use of language itself requires the mental process of classifying semantically for the use of terms and syntactically for probing their relationship.

Language is a system of symbols, semantically agreed for their denotation and syntactically for their stringing, and stands in the middle between the spheres of nature and mind. From the immemorial past, the human race has evolved the use of language as the primary tool to depict the world of experiences in abstraction by symbols and to communicate it with fellow beings. Functionally, therefore, it is much older than science, and even before the rise of science, it has already contained a vast number of classifications. Every common name expresses the recognition of a class; every word of language, irrespective of whether Japanese, English, Indian, or African native, is the expression of some implicit classification. Classifying in the use of language is so common that it is performed in most cases unconsciously and spontaneously. In a word, speaking means classifying, and hence speaking means itself thinking.

As Otto Jespersen once said that man is a classifying animal,[2] in naming things, we experience the same ineradicable and yet very usefuly tendency to see 'likeness' or 'similarity' in the phenomena of our experience through the similarity in name. But what really underlies the process of identifying things by name is *dual* because it accompanies the process of differentiating them from others as well. The basic principle which guides our whole conscious thinking is, therefore, fundamentally *dual*, namely the principle of similarity and that of dissimilarity, and 'positive instantiation' (*anvaya*) and 'negative instantiation' (*vyatireka*) functionally represent these principles of contrast. From childhood, we

1. Cf. G. Cardona, "*Anvaya* and *Vyatireka* in Indian Grammar," *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXXI-XXXII, 1967-8, 313-352.
2. Cf. *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin*, London : 1922.

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learn the use of language through listening to others, observing their behaviors, and testing out the efficacy of its usage by ourselves, and along with these experiences, we acquire the mind ingrained with conviction that things exist in the way in which our language depicts. What underlies all this learning process is, without exception, the dual operations of *anvaya* and *vyatireka*. Suppose, we are listening to an on-going speech, in which phonemes, words, and sentences are incessantly coming and going. Catching a series of rapid sounds, our mind instantaneously configurates them into a word, a series of words into a sentence, and a series of sentences into a unified understanding. It is within this dynamic flow of speech or thoughts also that there underlies the dual operations of positive and negative instantiations at every moment of consciousness, which avid logical reflection alone can *posteriori* abstract. Buddhist thinkers of Classical and Medieval India successfully explored and theorized the structural basis of the logical function of classifying and the dialectical function of linking, and developed theories of logical and dialectical methods as unique to the ultimate Buddhist insight.

III

How, then, do the *anvaya* and *vyatireka* operations take place within a series of thoughts or consciousness ? Suppose, we have a causal knowledge that any phenomenon of smoke is concomitant with that of fire. Buddhist logicians, such as Dignāga and Śankaraswāmin, reduced the logical process that regulates the proper flow of inferential thoughts from a cognition of smoke to that of fire, to four steps.[3] Initially we cognize a billow of smoke rising over a distant hill. Technically this stage is called 'pakṣadharmatva,' which means the positing of Reason (*hetu*) in reference to a given subject term 'hill'. This is the primary factor of syllogistic inference. What comes next in our common experience is the positing of Conclusion (*sādhya*) to the subject term. This is the resulting knowledge about a probable out-break of fire in the locus referred to. Between these two conscious thoughts, however, there are

3. *Nyāyapraveśaksūtram*, GOS, Vol. 38 (1930), p. 1 : (1) *pakṣadharmatva*, (2) *sapkṣe sattva* (i. e. *anvaya*), (3) *vipakṣe aṣattva* (*vyatireka*); and (4) *sadhyadharmatva*, of which the last one is not regarded as essential because it does not affect the validity of any given *hetu*.

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two mental steps, of which we are ordinarily not aware, and to which I have been referring as *anvaya* and *vyatireka* operations. For, no sooner than a *hetu* is posited in our mind, it calls for these two contrasting mental operations spontaneously before leading to its *sādhya.*

In a word, the *anvaya* and *vyatireka* operations functionally accomplish two things : (1) on the one hand, to determine the class belonging of any given subject term, for instance, 'a distant hill,' to which two concomitant predications (*vyāpti*) are to be attributed, and (2) on the other hand, to compute the truth value of these concomitant predications, such as, "being smoky" and "being fiery." Logically, these processes embody not only deductive but also inductive reasoning. In order that the given locus ('a hill') can be safely attributed with the concomitant predications ("being smoky" and "being Fiery"), what is required in part is the principle of similarity (*anvaya*), namely, to compare the case with those already known similar cases, such as an instance of a kitchen, where both smoke and fire are invariably co-present. This is, however, not sufficient for ensuring the class boundary clear as to the locus in question to be a member of the similar class (*sapakṣa*). Thus, the principle of dissimilarity (*vyatireka*) is in part also required to clearly separate the locus as well as its similar class members from those of the dissimilar class (*vipakṣa*), such as an instance of a lake or an ice-berg, where neither fire nor smoke is ever possibly present under ordinary circumstances. Śankaraswāmin technically defined these operations as 'sapakṣe sattva' and 'vipakṣe asattva' respectively. It is clear that the flow of consciousness from a moment of "a smoke-bearing hill" to that of "a fire-bearing hill" is regulated by the two contrasting mental operations.

These operations are not simply confined to deliberate logical thinking, but, as an inner necessity of the mind, are also universally necessitated to regulate the semantic relationship of word and object as well as syntactical order or words themselves, no matter how rapid and spontaneous our speech or thinking might be. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the Neo-Mohists of Classical China analyzed inferential processes in similar terms as *dual* and called them together

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'the joint method of agreement and difference.'[4] This is the strongest evidence for the fact that the structural basis of thinking process or symbol usage is, indeed, universal.

IV

It was due to the works of Prof. A. Kunst and others that logical reflection by Buddhist thinkers in Classical and Medieval India has been made known to us as having been initiated by the Nāgārjunian dialectical critique of human convention. As I pointed out in one of my papers, the *anvaya* and *vyatireka* operations had already been used by the pre-Classical Abhidharmists for doctrinal polemics,[5] and yet critical examination in the real sense of the term was started by the Mādhyamika dialecticians and this was then carried out by Buddhist logicians. In this connection, Prof. H. Nakamura was right in asserting that the Mādhyamika concept of *śūnyatā* influenced Buddhist logicians in their formulation of the theories of *kṣaṇabhaṅga* and *apoha*.[6] Now, the theory of *dialectical context* proposes that the structural analysis of this context not only constituted the content of the primary insight of *śūnyatā* but was also the basis of the dialectical method as well as Buddhist doctrinal expressions as a whole. Since I have treated this subject in my previous papers, I shall only recapitulate major points here.[7]

In Classical India, the theory which Nyāya logicians advocated represents a commonsense conception of logico-linguistic convention. For instance, they held that the cognizing agent (*pramāṇa*) and its object (*prameya*) are related in accordance with their difinitive functions, namely,

4. Hu Shih, *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, Shang-hai : 1928, pp. 102-4. Also, Cf. C. Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Sciences*, Hong Kong : 1978, p. 130.
5. Cf. Ichimura : "A Study of the Mādhayamika Method of Refutation, Especially of its Affinity to that of *Kathāvatthu*, *JIABS* III, 1 (1980), esp. p. 12.
6. H. Nakamura, "The Influence of the Concept of *śūnyatā* on Buddhist Logic," *Bukkyo no Kompon Shinri* (*The Fundamental Truth of Buddhism*), Tokyo : 1956, p. 329.
7. Cf. "A Study on the Mādhyamika Method of Refutation and its Influence on Buddhist Logic," *JIABS*, IV, 1 (1981) 87-95; "An Analysis of Mādhyamika Dialectic in terms of the Logical Principle of *anvaya-vyatireka*," in the forthcoming *The Professor P.V. Bapat Felicitation Volume*.

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'perceiving' and 'perceived' as defined in the system of language and logic. Vātsyāyana defended the metaphysical assumption of *svabhāva* of these terms ultimately by appealing to the semantic and syntactic system of language[8]. Thus, in convention, the principle of *svabhāva* (i. e. self-identifying essence or being) is in general assumed for the categories of semantic and syntactical relations, and hence for the practicality of language. The Nyāya logicians were convinced that each entity, whether active agent or recipient object, must have its self-identifying principle, namely *svabhāva*, for the sake of convention. Buddhist thinkers, such as Nāgārjuna, on the other hand, repudiated such conviction, to the effect that *svabhāva* is not only non-existent but also is obstructive to the practicality of language if it were really existent, and thereby introduced in the place the principle of 'reciprocal dependence' (*parasparāpekṣatā*), to the effect that it is rather the absence of *svabhāva* (i. e. *niḥsvabhāva*), hence emptiness (*śūnyatā*) that ensures convention.

In convention we say that eye (*pramāṇa*) sees the object (*prameya*) and assume that these two entities somehow establish a contact so as to create a vision. Nāgārjuna demonstrated here two points : (1) that the spatio-temporal sphere to which such interaction is referred is no longer a logical context as Nyāya logicians insisted, but uniquely a dialectical one, and (2) that in that referential sphere which is dialectical, the *pramāṇa* and the *prameya* no longer hold their self-identity but reciprocally exchange their functions. Ingeniously, Nāgārjuna resorted to a metaphorical analogy of 'light' and 'darkness.' These, though conceptually incompatible, are in convention required to be co-present, precisely because the fact of illumination requires a contact, upon which space and time, we say, the light of wisdom dispells the darkness of doubt, and so forth. This convention Nāgārjuna refuted, however. In his work *Vigrahavyāvartani*, especially *kārikās* 36 through 39, he argues that wherever light is,

8. *Nyāyabhāsya* in *Nyāyasūtram*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Vol. 43 (1942), p. 56 : NBh. II, i. 15 :
pramāṇaṁ prameyam iti ca samākhyāsamāveśeṇa varttate samākhyā-nimittavaśat/ samākhyānimittaṁ tūpalabdhasādhanaṁ pramāṇam upalabdhaviṣayas
NBh. II. i. 16 : (*Ibid.* p. 57) :
Tathā ca kārakaśabdā nimitavaśāt samāveśena vartanta iti/...kārakaśabdaś caivaṁ pramāṇaṁ prameyam iti/ sa ca kārākadharmaṁ na hātum arhati/

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darkness cannot be, nor can light be present wherever darkness abides. It follows that the two entities, though conventionally required to be co-present, find no place to meet. His dialectic then reveals that this context is thoroughly *dual*, and that it is possible to apply two equally strong and mutually exclusive statements, namely, "light illumines darkness," and "darkness obstructs illumination." As a result, not only *the dual instantiations* (*anvaya and vyatireka*) *are juxtaposed, but also the dual natured reference is necessarily created*, to the effect that light and darkness are simultaneously identical and different.

In one of my previous articles, I demonstrated this point by means of symbolic notations.[9] Although ordinary expression in language does not, symbolic notation reveals the fact that dual natured reference is *ipso facto* created whenever we apply linguistic expression, irrespective of whether affirming or negating a fact of illumination. For, in one case, 'darkness' identifies itself with 'light' so as to enable language to express illumination, while in another case, 'light' identifies itself with 'darkness,' so as to allow language to express 'darkness.' In both cases, however, *the subject term, be it 'light' or 'darkness,' equally has the dual natured object of reference, such that the two are simultaneously identical and different.* It is because of this reason that Nāgārjuna and Mahāyāna Buddhists in general have resorted to the use of metaphorical instances such as magical entity, sky-flower, dream, and so forth. Now I shall apply these features to an understanding of Seng-chao's paradoxical expressions and Dogen's use of the metaphorical instance of sky-flower.

V

It is the heart of Mādhyamika dialectic that 'existent' and 'non-existent' are either totally identified or totally differentiated on the basis of 'Dependent Origination' (*pratītyasamutpāda*). This dialectical insight called for the expressions of conjunctive affirmation, namely, "both existent and non-existent" as well as that of bi-negation, namely "neither existent nor non-existent." Sengchao also used these two patterns exten-

9 *JIABS*, IV, 1 (1981), pp. 94-5. Also in *The Professor P. V. Bapat Felicitation Volume* and in "*Śūnyatā* and Religious Pluralism," *Buddhist Christian Dialogue : toward Mutual Transformation*, (forthcoming from the Univ. of Hawaii Press, Fall 1983).

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sively. Let us recall the dialectical context in terms of two basic features : (1) that the dual operations of *anvaya* and *vyatireka* are present at every moment of consciousness as expressed in language, and (2) that these two expressions refer their subject terms to the instantaneous spatio-temporal sphere, where one moment of consciousness is related to another. I hold that Seng-chao's paradoxical statements embody the principle of juxtaposition of the positive and negative instantiations and also refer to the dual natured reference as necessarily created by them.

Seng-chao's paradoxical expressions are sometimes misinterpreted as rhetorical peculiar to Chinese literary tradition. Be that as it may, I regard them to be his dialectical method for inducing the juxtaposition of two contrary conceptions. For instance, the typical examples of this type are found in his essay : "Things Do Not Move," included in his work *Chao-lun* as fallows:

> If we want to express the real, we go against convention. If we follow convention, we fail to express the real···[10] Because past things did not reach the present state, people say that things change, thinking that past things changed and hence did not stay unchanged. Upon the same reason, however, I say that things do not change thinking that past things are in the past and did not come to the present.[11] When people say that things are 'abiding' I say that they are 'gone.' When they say that things are 'gone,' I say that they are 'abiding.' Although 'gone' and 'abiding' are diffeent in expression, what they mean is one reference.[12]
>
> These paradoxical expressions permeate throughout his essays.

The fact that Seng-chao was clearly aware of the dialectical context can perhaps be best demonstrated among others by referring to the following passages that appear in his essay "Whatever is Unreal is Emptiness" as his culminating argument :

> The expression 'existent' refers only to a metaphorical existent for it distinguishes 'not-nothing.' By the expression 'nothing'

10. *Chao-lun*, No. 1858, *Taisho.* 45, p. 151a (15-6).
11. *Ibid.*, (22-4).
12. *Ibid.*, p. 151c (10-2).

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> we distinguish 'not-existent.' Though the referential fact is one, the expressions are two. The statement that refers to 'existent' collects what is identical by means of 'non-identity,' namely, in terms of 'non-difference' and yet (also in terms of) 'non-identity.'[13]

> We want to say that *dharmas* exist, but their existence is not real production. We want to say that *dharmas* do not exist, but phenomenal forms are already configurated. Phenomenal forms cannot be said as 'identical with nothing' but we only say that anything unreal is not a real existent. It follows that the meaning of 'emptiness of whatever is unreal' is thus revealed. Accordingly, the *Pañcavinśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra* says : "*Dharmas* are called metaphorically as 'unreal' just as a magically created man is. For, we cannot say that there is no magically created man, but that such is not a real man.[14]

In order to confirm my point of view as to Seng-chao's awareness of the dialectical context, I shall refer further to his insight expressed in the essay : "Prajñā is No-knowing," because he deals here with the reciprocal dependence of the knowing and the known.[15] The point in question is that Seng-chao tries to resolve the dualized factors of the knowing and the known into the unconfigurated totality of *skandhas* (multiple *dharmas*), and that such is the basis of our phenomenally configurated consciousness, being simultaneously the unconfigurated transcendent from it. Seng-chao, however, does not use metaphorical instances upon his own initiatives, but uses them from textual sources only to substantiate his paradoxical statements. Now this changes radically in Dogen's writings.

VI

Dogen's application of the metaphorical instance 'sky-flower' appears in his essay "Sky Flower", a chapter of the voluminous work *Shobo-genzo*. The meaning of his usage is not intelligible without referring to the dialectical context hitherto introduced and elucidated, especially because he uses this metaphorical instance not only to identify it with the empirical bloomings and witherings of flowers in past, present and future,

13. *Ibid.*, p. 152c (12-4).
14. *Ibid.*, (16-20).
15. *Ibid.*, p. 154a (1-26).

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but also with those transcendental entities as 'enlightenement,' 'original nature', or 'nirvaṇā'. Since empirical and transcendental entities (*saṃskṛta* and *asaṃskṛta*) constitute the totality of the Buddhist universe, his extensive identification of 'sky-flower' with both of them can be parallelled to Bhāvaviveka's usage in his syllogistic formulas that appear in his work *Karaṭalaratna*.[16] There is, however, a radical difference between Bhāvaviveka and Dogen as to their respective usages. While Bhāvaviveka applies 'sky-flower' or any other metaphorical instances for the purpose of repudiating *Saṃskrta* as well as *asamskṛta dharmas*, Dogen uses it to assert the supreme reality of both ! In convention, illusion of sky-flowers occurs to a person whose visual faculty is afflicted, and hence, once the disease of the eyes is cured, there will be no more such illusion. Dogen rejects this conventional point of view, and emphasizes that such vision is the supreme insight and that such man of afflicted vision ('ei-gen') is the truly enlightened, quoting :

> It is a pity that people such as they (common men) do not know the beginning and ending of the appointed season in which the 'sky-flower' blooms as an embodiment of the path of Tathāgatas. For, the truth *(dori,* i. e. reason or the nature of things) of 'afflicted eye' and 'sky-flower' which is embodied in the path of Buddhas has never been accessible to them. Buddhas and Tathāgatas all received their seats in the patriarchal room of transmission through practicing the path of 'sky-flower' and realized the path and the goal (result). Śākyamuni Buddha's raising a stalk of flowers and twinkling his eyes, all this certified the fact that the truth of 'afflicted eye' and 'sky flower' was realized.[17]

In fact, Dogen offers further a few more instances in his essay "Preaching on Dreams while dreaming," as 'rootless tree', 'shadowless sunny ground,' and 'echo-less valley', all of which are emperically non-existent, and yet he praises them as "no region for men and gods, because they are inaccessible to common men's fathoming."[18]

16. Cf. Ichimura, "A New Approach to the Intra-Mādhyamika Confrontation over the Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika of Refutation," *JIABS*, V, 2 (1982), 41-52, esp. p. 46.
17. *Dogen Zenji Zenshū* Vol. I (Edited by D. Okubo), Tokyo : 1969, p. 109 (17-9) and p. 110 (1).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 241 (11-2).

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This affirmative use of Dogen, indeed, challenges even the traditional Mādhyamika use of these instances. As I referred to before, even healthy faculty (*pramāna*) and empirically real objects (*prameya*) are transcendentally repudiated as 'empty' and 'unreal'. The Mādhyamika instantiation is directed solely to the repudiation of empirical reality over the dialectical context where the dual natured reference is alone deemed to be real. Now, in order to make comparison easier, I shall introduce here only the crucial concomitances which Bhāvaviveka applies to his syllogistic arguments. They are :

(1) Whatever arises from causes and conditions is empty, just as magically created entities (*māyāvat*)

(2) Whatever has no origination is empty, just as sky flowers (*kha-puṣpavat*).

I interpret here that both magical entities and sky flowers are equally applicable to both concomitances; in one case, for instantiating 'empirical existence' of things and simultaneously their 'transcendental non-existence', and in another case, for instantiating the 'transcendental existence' of *nirvāṇa*, etc. and simultaneously their 'empirical unreality'. Dogen's use of 'sky flower' as a metaphorical instance can be parallelled here in that it instantiates the empirical flowers, such as blooming and withering on the ground ('ji-ge') as well as those trans-empirical ones in the sky ('kū-ge').

Why, however, can Dogen claim that the vision of 'sky-flower' is the true insight and the man of afflicted eyes ('ei-nin') the truly enlightened one ? Here the theory of dialectical context answers that it is because *the sky flower embodies the dual natured reference*, namely, the content of the ultimate insight. Dogen extensively applies this dual natured instance in instantiating the entire universe empirical as well as trans-empirical. This state of affairs demonstrates two things at once : (1) that why the Svātantrika syllogistic argument is equally dialectical, and (2) why Dogen's affirmative expression of the same dialectic is possible. For, Bhāvaviveka placed his emphasis on the demonstration of *śūnyatā*, i. e. negation of *svabhāva*, as to every empirical as well as trans-empirical entity, thus making negative expression primary. Conversely Dogen uses 'sky-flower' to demonstrate why the insight of

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śūnyatā, once established and embodied in such instance, can be attributed to every entity emprical as well trans-empirical.

VII

The structural analysis of dialectical context proposed as a theory, though its verification is still limited to a small number of examples, has a good perspective, I believe, for academic inquiry as well as for path finding task, because the dialectical context is structurally identical with that of logical context that underlies the practicality of language and hence would be a reliable criterian for examining Buddhist writings beyond socio-cultural framework they bear. There are innumerable materials to which it can apply in terms of pragmatic verification or falsification. It is even possible to apply it to non-Buddhist religious literatures. For, I believe, human religiosity is universal in quite a same way as the universal nature of language is.

There might be a question as to whether it is a form of reductionism. I think not, because the proposed theory is a preliminary step, namely, to remove the mental blocade, so to speak, which any intellectual mind or classifying mentality tends to build against the kinds of expressions I have been referring to in this paper. The analysis of dialectical context leaves the rich experiential domain intact or unharmed as open to the individual's way-faring. At the time of global troubles, and when inter-religious or inter-ideological dialogue is felt to be the priority of all tasks, I believe, the proposed structural analysis can provide us with a common basis from which we may start the task.

5236 22nd. N. E., 2
Seattle. Washington 98105
U. S. A.

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PRINCE SHOTOKU : THE APOSTLE OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM

AMARNATH THAKUR

History reveals to us that Buddhism was introduced into Japan by the early part of fifth century. But the first official presentation of the religion took place in 538 when a delegation consisting of Buddhist priests alongwith sacred objects like sutras, banners and images of Buddha was sent by the Korean price of Kudara (or Paekche) to the Japanese Court. This was the first inkling that the Japanese had of a religion which was concerned with the welfare of all peoples and not of just one tribe or nation.

Inspite of its novelty, the new religion did not receive ready acceptance by the Japanese. The response was mixed, some favoured while some opposed. The opponents held that the homage to new Buddhist deities would arouse wrath of the native gods who were worshipped by Japanese as protector of the Country. But the support for the acceptance of new faith came from a group of diplomats and government administrator, who recognised the necessity of learning many features of civilization of their continental neighbours.

While this internal debate was going on, there was a continual influx of Buddhist missionaries from the neighbouring China, bringing with them the arts and sciences such as writing, astronomy, medicines etc. The impact of these new branches of knowledge and the activities of Buddhist missionaries finally succeeded in overcoming the opposition and by the end of 6th Century, Buddhism was beginning to be accepted by the Japanese. At this juncture the interest of Buddhism was assisted immensely by a personality who guided and consolidated that new religion with wisdom and insight. The person was Prince Shotoku Taishi to whom Japanese Buddhism owe as much as the Indian Buddhism ows to Emperor Ashoka.

Previously, Prince Shotoku's name was Umayado which means 'Stable' or 'born in stable'[1]. This is explained by a story that he was born unexpectedly while his mother, Princess Anahobe no hashibito was

1. Anesaki : History of Japanese Religion. P-56.

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inspecting the offices of the palace and had just arrived at the stable where she delivered the baby. He was the second child of Emperor Tachibana no Toyo-hi (Yomi) and was born in 574 A. D. 'Shotoku' is a title given to the Prince by his contemporaries which means 'Holy-virtuous'.

Tradition maintains that he was able to speak as soon as he was born and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the claims of ten men at once and decide them all without errors[1]. All these qualities might have lengendized with the passage of time but there is no doubt that he was a genius, profound scholar and an epoch maker of Buddhism in Japan.

Shotoku learnt Doctrines of Buddhism from a Korean Priest Hye-Cha (or Eji) and studied Chinese Classics with a doctor called Kak-ka. Before he was appointed Regent, he had received considerable education in Buddhism and Chinese classics. Thus recognising his outstanding calibre and zeal for Buddhism, in 592 A. D. the great Minister Umako nominated Shotoku at the age of 19 as Heir-Apparent and Regent to the Empress Suiko.

Though he was a Regent, yet he wielded actual power and ruled Japan for 30 years. His rule is considered to be the golden period in Japanese history as it was marked by the phenomenal growth of Buddhist influence and continental civilization. He became the founder of Japanese civilization as well as of a united Japanese nation.

One of the first acts that Prince Shotoku performed was to proclaim Buddhism as the state religion and so to this end, he called for the establishment of four institution namely temple, asylum, hospital and dispensary. The temple was to serve not only as a Center for religious caremonies but also as an educational centre to study Buddhism. From the very beginning Prince Shotoku had the idea that the new religion was to engage not only in religious but also educational and philanthropic activities.

One of the most crucial developments in Japanese Buddhism that is directly attributed to Prince Shotoku was the beginning of diplomatic relationship with China in 607. Together with envoys he also sent monks

1. Theodore de bary etal : sources of Japanese traditions P-45.

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and students to study arts, sciences and religions of the Chinese. These monks and students after their return worked for reform and civilization. This initial contact of Japanese students with Chinese Buddhism set the pathway for development of Japanese Buddhism for the next several centuries.

After Shotoku had succeeded in carrying out his programmes of reforms, he proclaimed his fundamental principles in a document known as the "Seventeen article constitution." This work is not a constitution in any strict sense but it contained a set of moral, political and religious ideas which he regarded as essential conditions of reforms. The constitution laid special stress upon moral and spiritual harmony and exhorted the people to "Sincerely revere the Three Treasures—The Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha"—which are the final resort of all beings and the supreme object of faith for all people.

Shotoku not only was interested in applying these principles of Buddhism to every phase of national and individual life but he also inculcated in himself the virtues of propriety, justice, faithfulness and the like and added provisions for applying them to the management of state affairs.[1]

Prince Shotoku was also a great scholar of his time and his literary activities were considerable. His reputation as a profound student of Buddhism was such that he could expound some of the great sutras at a time when few Japanese could read any Chinese. He wrote commentaries upon Srimālāsiṃhanāda Sutra (Jap-Shomangyo), Vimalkirtīnirdesa sutra (Jap-Yuimagyo) and Saddharmapundarika Sutra (Jap-Hokkekyo). In these commentaries and the various lectures which he delivered in the palace and in the temples, Shotoku emphasized the idea of universal communion of all sentient beings and the life of dedication for salvation of all living creatures.

Like Ashoka, Shotoku Taishi was kind and humane and perhaps was a greater constructive statesman. Nihongi relates how he fed and clothed with his own dress materials, a starving man whom he found lying by the road.[2] He admonished the people who indulged in gluttony,

1. Anesaki : Hist. of Jap. Rel. P-61 ; 2. C. Eliot. Hist. of Jap Buddhism P-204.

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covetousness and made forced labour moderate and only at seasonable times.

Another important achievement of Prince Shotoku was in the realm of Buddhist art. Besides, being an Organiser of charitable works he was also responsible for building some of the great temples in Japan such as Horyuji and Shitennoji. Under his leadership, the Japanese artists brought forth an art based on the ceremonies and architecture that was most effective in installing reverence for the religion.

During his rule, Japan had acquired many temples and most of them were built under the patronage of Shotoku. Besides these, Shotoku was the first road-maker of Japan and also a great promoter of agriculture.

Thus, as a result of Shotoku's efforts, Buddhist philosophy was being studied, monastic institutions were established, beautiful temples were constructed, the various arts such as music, rituals and dancing were also cultivated by the Japanese. The whole country was literally transformed by the Civilizing influence of the religion which he patronised. He was a man of extraordinary genius. He laid the foundation of national unit and guided and inspired the nation with the spiritual ideals of Buddhism. His achievements and ideal aims, his talents and wisdom are to the credit of his personal genius but credit should also be rendered to the Buddhist religion that inspired, educated and developed his genius which helped him in laying the foundation of national life on the basis of high ideals. He was held in such a high esteem and loved by people of Japan that when he died in 621 at an early age of fourty nine, the whole nation wept for him, the young as if they had lost a father, the old as if they had lost a child[1].

Research Scholar
Deptt. of Buddhist Studies
University of Delhi.

1. Eliot, Charles : Japanese Buddhism P-202

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BUDDHISM IN THAI STUDIES

DR. ARUN KUMAR SINHA

Thai studies consist of a variety of areas of investigation; they cover all aspects of knowledge about Thailand and Thai people. Taking only the significant fields of study into consideration, Thai studies mean the search for knowledge of Thailand and Thai people in the field of education, religion, politics, administrations, social life, economics architecture, works of art, language and literature from the traceable past up to present days. A partial study can by no means lead one to a full knowledge and understanding of Thailand and Thai people as a whole.

One of the significant and indispensable aspects which one who seeks to know Thailand and Thai people should not be overlooked is the influence of Buddhism in the lives of Thai people. This is due to the fact that Buddhism has played a very important role in Thailand since the Thai race has firmly and permanently settled in this part of southeast Asia.

Buddhism in Sukhothai Kingdom

According to the historical record, Buddhism came to southeast Asia, especially to the region which is now Thailand, in the third century after the passing away of the Buddha. In his effort as the patron of the Third Council of Buddhism, King Aśoka originated the Buddhist missionary movement by sending nine groups of Bhikkhus[1] to various lands to propagate the Buddha's message to the world. One of these nine groups headed by the Venerable Sona and Uttara came to Suvarṇabhumi. Where was the centre of this Suvarṇabhumi is still a matter of controversy. Many scholars believe that it was at the place which is now Nakornpathom province of Thailand where many archaeological evidences supporting the belief were found. Since then the intermittent glory and decline of Buddhism became one of the social phenomena of southeast Asia.

Thai people professed Buddhism as their major faith even when they were living in southern part of China.[2] But it was in the Sukhothai

1. Sathien Bodhinanda, *History of Buddhism*, Bannakhan Publishing House, Bangkok, B. E. 2513 (1970), pp. 263-265.

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period of Thailand when the major group of the Thai race had firmly settled in the southeast Asian peninsula that Buddhism had firmly established and played a great role in the life of Thai people. It was Theravāda Buddhism of Simhalese line coming from Nakorn Śridhammarāj (some 800 km. south of Bangkok) in the reign of King Rāmkāmhaeng, the third king of Sukhothai (1277-1317 A. D.).[3]

During the time of expanding the territory of his kingdom to the south on Malay peninsula King Rāmkāmhaeng, had conquered Nakorn Śridhammarāj. He noticed that people of Nakorn Śridhammarāj professed Theravāda Buddhism and that many Simhalese monks of good conduct were living in the city. Although history does not give the details, it is understandable that King Rāmkāmhaeng might have talked with those Simhalese monks. Being impressed by the conduct of those Bhikkhus, on his return to Sukhothai he invited some learned Simhalese monks to establish Theravāda Buddhism in his capital city. As the Simhalese Bhikkhus prefered to live in a quiet place, King-Rāmkāmhaeng ordered a construction of the forest monastery for them. The evidence of this appears in one of his stone inscriptions as follows :

"To the west of this city of Sukhodaya there is a monastery of the Forest Monks. King Rāmkāmhaeng founded and offered it to the Venerable Preceptor, learned in all the Three Baskets, in erudition excelling all other monks in the whole land. He hailed from Nakorn Sridhammarāj."[4]

King Rāmkāmhaeng offered the title of Saṅgharāja (the Supreme Patriarch) to the leader of Simhalese monks. This group of Therevāda Bhikkhus ordained a great number of Sukhothai young men until Theravāda Buddhism became firmly established in Sukhothai and in the kingdom as a whole.

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2. Sathien Bodhinanda, *Buddhism in the Kingdom of Thailand*, Mahamakut Educational Council, Bangkok, B. E. 2515 (1972), pp, 18-24.
3. Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh, H. H. Prince, *A History of Buddhism in Siam*, The Siam Society, Bangkok, 1965, p. 5.
4. Coedes : Recueil des Inscription due Siam, Vol. I, pp. 41 & 46, quoted in Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh, H.H. Prince, *A History of Buddhism in Siam*, Bangkok, p. 5.

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Beginning in the time of King Rāmkāmhaeng religious relation between Thailand and Ceylon became firmly established and continued in later time. In the reign of King Lithai, the fifth king of Sukhothai (1354-1376 A. D.)[5] some learned men were delegated to go and invite from the Mon country the "Mahāsami Sangharāj, the one possessed of a high code of morality, learned in all the Three Baskets (of the Canon of Buddhism), residing in Laṅkā, with conduct like unto that of the purified Saints (khinasava) of old."[6] The name of this venerable monk was Sumana Thera who was celebratedly welcomed by the King into his kingdom. The Venerable Sumana Thera was invited to pass the rainy season (vassa) in a newly constructed monastery in the mango grove. After the conclusion of Vassa Kind Lithai himself entered the monkhood for a temporary period. He was the first king of Thailand who entered the Holy Brotherhood while he was reigning. It is highly possible that his temporary ordination was the beginning of a tradition of later time for the Thai young men to temporarily ordain in the three-month period of rainy season. This tradition has been observed among Thai people up to the present days.

The religious relation between Thailand and Ceylon was continued even in the Ayudhyā period (1296-1650 A. D.). One of the most significant events took place in the reign of Kind Boromkot during which Thailand had an opportunity to return Ceylon's kindness and proudly pay her debt of honour in full. Around the middle of 18th century the island of Ceylon was laid waste by the heretics, who brutally demolished the Buddhist Church as well as the sovereignty of the unfortunate land. However, it was still fortunate enough that a brave and pious King Kittisiri Rājasiha of the island kingdom liberated the country from the enemy's yoke and tried to restore Buddhism from its deteriorated state to its former prosperity. He sent a religious mission in 1750 A. D.[7] to Ayudhyā asking for a quorum of monks to come and give ordination to simhalese young men so that a pure and correctly ordained Saṅgha could be resettled in the island kingdom. King Boromkot of Thailand responded sympathetically by sending a quorum of Bhikkhus headed by the Vene-

5. Sathien Bodhinanda, op. cit., p. 48.
6. Dhani Nivat, Kromamun Bidyalabh, H.H. Prince, op. cit., p. 5.
7. Ibid., p. 19.

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rable Upali to Ceylon. This group of Thai Bhikkhus gave ordination to hundreds of Ceylonese within a few years. Buddhism in Ceylon was then revived to former prosperity in no long time and the Syāma Nikāya of the Buddhist Saṅgha of Ceylon came into existence ever since.

It is to be noted here that at the time when King Rāmkāmhaeng invited Simhalese Bhikkhus to Sukhothai Theravāda Buddhism of the type introduced by King Anoratha of Pagān and Mahāyāna of the type spread from Cambodia were already the existing faith of his subjects.[8] But after Theravāda Buddhism of Simhalese line became firmly established in the kingdom. Theravāda of the Mon lineage had finally to give way to and assimilate itself with the more influential Lankavangsa while Mahāyāna school gradually came to the decline and finally disappeared from the scene.

To say in brief, although the influence of Buddhism on Thai people's lives can be traced back to the time when the Thai race was still living in southern China, it was from the Sukhothai period onwards that Buddhism has really come to be an essential part of their lives up to modern days. Since then Buddhism has become an unbroken stream of culture in this kingdom. Taking the significance of Buddhism into consideration, Thai studies can never be complete without studying the influence of Buddhism on the Thai way of life.

The Role of Buddhism in the Thai way of Life

As the influence of Buddhism is imminent in all aspects of Thai people's lives, a complete consideration of all aspects in width and depth is beyond the capacity of a short paper like this one. The consideration is made here, therefore, on only some important topics as follows :

1. Buddhism as one of the Three National Institutions of Thai people.
2. The role of Buddhism in Thai education in the past.
3. Buddhism and modern education in Thailand.
4. The role of Buddhism in Thai architecture, works of art and literature.
5. The role of Buddhism in the Thai way of life.

8. Sathien Bodhinanda, op. 32.

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1. Buddhism as one of the Three National Institutions of Thai People

For Thai people there are three main institutions which indispensably link to the sovereignty and independence of their nation : they are the nation, the religion and the King. These three institutions are mentioned in the constitution of the kingdom as the most sacred and supreme objects of respect the protection of which is the most sacred duty of every Thai citizen. At present the term 'religion' refers to every religion professed by Thai people in the kingdom, but in the old days the term 'religion' always referred to Buddhism. This is because Buddhism has became an essential part of Thai life since the dawn of Thai kingdom on this part of Southeast Asia while other religions were of later development and became popular only among the minor group of the whole population.

The king of Thailand in the olden days when he led an army to fight the invanding enemy declared that his such action was to protect his subjects and religion. After the war or when the peaceful atmosphere prevailed in the country every king took upon himself the responsibility of supporting Buddhism and religious activities in his kingdom more or less according to his individual tendency and faith. As the ruler of the country and the protector of the faith in his kingdom the king of former time was well aware of the fact that religion especially Buddhism was the spiritual refuge of his subjects. It teaches people to do good and to refrain from doing evil. These virtues of the people would certainly lead to peace and happiness in the kingdom. Now-a-days Thai people link the safety of their religion with the safety and stability of other two institutions, i. e. the nation and the king. As these three institutions are vital for the stability and independence of the nation, Thai soldiers are indoctrinated to protect them with their lives. For Thai people freedom would be meaningless should it be without freedom of faith in religion and of following what their religion teaches. The freedom which has been preserved throughout the long history of the country has played a dominant role in making this Buddhist kingdom free and independent up to now.

2. The role of Buddhism in Thai Education in the Past

Secular educatlon in Thailand now-a-days which may be termed 'modern education' is dominantly of a western style. This form of

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education was introduced in Thailand in the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the fifth king of Chakri Dynasty of Bangkok (Ratanokosindr) period. In his reign the major reform of secular education in the history of this Buddhist kingdom took place, and this resulted in the great development of secular education until it is what we are seeing today.

Education in Thailand was formerly (i. e. from the Sukhothai period down to the 4th king of Bangkok period) responsible by the three institutions, i. e. the monasteries, the royal palace and the families. In those days there were no schools, colleges and university of modern form. The family education means the education by which the parents or the older generation pass their knowledge and skill directly to their children or the younger generation. Knowledge in this connection is both literary and vocational. As knowledge and skill successively inherited in each family of those days had a great meaning for the existence and prosperity of the members of the family, they were in most of the cases reserved for the younger generation of the family only. The skilled technician or those who possessed an exceptional knowledge and skill in craftsmanship, for instance, always refused to share their knowledge to the members of other families. In many cases such skill and knowledge which had been accumulated and developed through experiences of many generations disappeared with the death of one who possessed them. This inevitably resulted in a slow progress of technology. In many cases those who wanted to possess the same technique and skill had to begin new from the primary stage and it took a long time before the same technique and skill could be achieved. Even in the case which one who possessed the skill and technique in arts and crafts yielded to the request of those who wanted to learn from him, the teacher always taught them with a reserve for fear that the students would know better than the teacher. This was the natural phenomena of family education in Thailand in former time which might be the same in other countries of Asia also.

Public education in Thailand was formerly organised in monasteries which existed in almost every village throughout the country. Monasteries performed the function of school, college or even university of modern educational institutions, while Buddhist monks performed the

9. Vijiranana Library, *Group of chronology No.* 23, The Royal explanation of the wall-painting in the temple of Wat Thongnapakhun.

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function of teacher, lecturer or even professor. The parents who wanted their sons to be educated in literary or vocational knowledge had to bring them to monastery and let them stay with the monks. Monasteries served simultaneously as the boarding and studying place for those students. All levels of education managed by the Buddhist monks were free of charge and the class and time table of each day were not so systematic: they depended on the free and suitable time of each monk. During their stay in monastery the boys studied and served their teacher for necessary works they might be required to do. Apart from literary knowledge almost all kinds of vocational subjects were taught in the monasteries of the old days. The evidence of this can be found in Kind Mongkut's explanation about the wall-painting of Wat Thong Nopakhum[10] in which he said that craftsmanship was a subject taught in the monasteries. After ascending the throne King issued his royal order to every monastery in his kingdom to submit the list of Bhikkus who were skilful in any branch of craftsmanship. The purpose of this was openly expressed that when the government wanted to cast the Buddha image or construct the pagoda "they will be invited to give a helping hand as it was in the former time."[11]

The boys of former time would study with the monks in the monastery until they were ordained as novices. They remained in the monastic life for a short period and then disrobed (some of them continued a novice life until receiving the higher ordination of monkhood.) and returned to their families to assist their parents in the daily works. Having completed 20 years of age the parents would bring their sons to monastery again, but this time for Bhikkhu ordination. Comparing with modern system of education the second entering a monastic life is like studying in a university. This time the training was on moral practice, learning to control emotion and desires in accord with the rules of discipline laid down for Bhikkhus and studying the Buddha's teachings. It was a preparation for the future head of family, a good member of the society and a good citizen of the country. A Thai young man of former time would remain in the monkhood for at least 3 months of the rainy season (vassa); someone might continue his

10. The Royal Annuncement of King Mongkut B. E. 2394, 2404. p.p. 37-38.
11. Ibid.

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monastic life for 2 or 3 years and then left the monkhood. After leaving the monastic life he would be called 'thit' which was the short pronunciation of 'pandita' meaning 'the educated person or the wise.' Thai people of those time regarded one who had been temporarily trained as a monk, an educated or complete man who was to marry and begin a family life. As regards one who could remain in the monkhood for the whole life, his life would be dedicated to his religion as well as to the duty of training the younger generation as he himself was trained before.

In was unfortunate that while the boys could receive education from monasteries, the girls could not have the same privilege. This is due to the fact that Buddhist monasteries are formally the living place for the monks who have to strictly observe the code of discipline laid down by the Buddha. They are not allowed to live in the same place with women. In the former time while the boys could stay with the monks in monastery for education and moral training, the girls were to study at home. As in the old days there were no such an educational institution as primary or secondary school of modern time, the girls had, therefore, no place to go for a systematic education. Hence the girls of common family either received a little literary edcuation or not at all. In some family father tried to teach his daughter how to read and write while the girls of most families were illiterate.

However, the daughters of the high ranking government officials of those days had a better chance for education than the girls of common families. The palaces of the princes or princesses served as the study place of those girls. The parents who wanted their daughters to be educated would send them to stay in the palaces. There they would serve the princes or princesses and simultaneously received the training in etiquette. If they were illiterate they would also be taught how to read and write. When a girl became fully young she would return to live with her family and was ready to get married. In this way the palaces of the princes or princesses served as the educational places for the girls of those days although in a far more limited way than did the monasteries.

3. Buddhism and Modern Education in Thailand

Modern education as we have today was firstly introduced in Thailand in the time of King Chulangkorn, the 5th king of Chakri

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dynasty of Bangkok period. Having seen the systematic management of western education while he was visiting some European countries.

King Chulalongkorn thought of introducing the same system in his country. After returning to his kingdom he took up the matter seriously and thus the reformation of education of Thailand in line with that of European system started. The important person who played the leading role in implementing the King's programme was a Buddhist monk His Holiness Somdej Phra Mahasamanachao Kromphrayavajirananavarorasa, one of the King's brothers of different mother. H. R. H. Prince Vajirananavarorasa (to address him in short), being helped by 9 other elder Bhikkhus of the time,[12] ordered the setting up of primary schools in various monasteries in the then educational regions of the Saṅgha. After some time the new system of secular education became popular among Thai people. The King, having seen that his new programme of education under the management of Buddhist monks was satisfactorily successful, ordered its expansion to many other important monasteries.

The new system of education which King Chulalongkorn requested the Thai Saṅgh to organise in cooperation with the Ministry of Education was the major reform of education in the history of Thailand. It was the major change from the traditional system of education which had been carried down from Sukhothai period through Ayudhyā to Bangkok period to a new or western system of education.

It should be pointed out here that although the new system of education was firstly put in the hand of the Buddhists monks to organise, it led finally to the complete separation of secular from non-secular education in Thailand. It started in monastery in order to exist separately and independently outside monastery. At present national education of Thailand is solely organised by the government. Although most of the primary and secondary schools are in the monasteries campus, the organisation and administration of them are undertaken by the government. The national education of Thailand is at present no more under the management of the Buddhist monks. But this does not mean that it is bad for them; it is actually good for them, for modern education has

12. See details in *Histo of Mahamakut Rajavidyalaya under Royal Patronage* Mahamakut Rajavidyalaya Press, Bangkok, pp. 84-111.

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developed to a point far beyond the capacity of the religious organisation to handle. Another reason is that it is not a direct duty of the Bhikkus; their real duty is to propagate the Buddha's message to the world and at the same time to follow it themselves for the final release from suffering. Their role in national education in the past was required by situations and circumstances of the then society. However, although at present Buddhist monks and Buddhism in Thailand have been relieved of such heavy burden, they still have some important role to play in national education. This fact no one can reasonably deny.

The rather long narration of the role of Buddhism in Thailand's education is made here with a view to point out that Thai studies cannot and should not overlook this fact. Any reseach or investigation about national education of Thailand will never be reliable without considering the role of Buddhist monks and monasteries in this field of study.

4. The Role of Buddhism in Thai Architecture, Works of Art and Literature

(*a*) *Buddhism and Thai Architecture*

It is well-known and generally accepted that Thai architecture has its own style which distinguishes itself from all other architectural cultures. The finest of Thai architecture can be found at only two places, i. e. at the monasteries and royal palaces. The construction of monastery of Thai people was, like people of all other faiths, caused by the whole-hearted devotion to their religion. Out of high devotion plus the desire to leave the monument of their gifted ability to the contemporary public and the later generations Thai architects impressed their skill upon the important buildings of monasteries such as the pagoda. the shrine hall (uposatha), the Vihāra, etc. All such buildings not only demonstrate the finest works of Thai craftsmanship and show to the world the high standard of Thai architectural culture, but also perform the duty of living text-books for the architects of younger generations, As they are religious places for people of all classes and from all walks of life, Buddhist monasteries in Thailand have played an important role in preserving national architecture throughout the long history of the nation,

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(b) Buddhism and the Work of Art

As monasteries came into being through the feeling of high devotion as said above, every form of the finest works of art of Thailand can also be found in various monasteries throughout the kingdom. Those famous works of art are, for example, Phra Buddhijinaraj–the main Buddha image of Wat Phra Srimahadhatu in Pisanuloke, Phra Buddhajinasiha at Wat Bovorninves, Bangkok, mural painting telling the story of Rāmāyana on the Vihāra's wall of the temple of emeral Buddha in the Grand Palace, mural painting on the wall of Uposatha of Wat Thong Nopakhun, on the wall of Uposatha of Wat Bovornives, etc. It is not possible to mention all famous works of art of Thailand here. However, the role of Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries in maintaining and preserving all such works is well-known among Thai people.

(c) Buddhism and thai Literature

Many Thai literatures are regarded as Buddhist literatures related to Buddhism in one way or other. Buddhist commentary works like Jātaka commentary, Dhammapada commentary, etc., inspired many Thai literary men of the past to produce their works of permanent value which have been handed down to us as a cultural heritage. The first literature of the nation is Tebhumikatha written by King Lithai of Sukhothai, It depicts the three worlds mentioned in the Buddhist canon, viz., the World of Desire (kamavacara-bhumi), the World of Form rupavacara-bhumi) and the World of the Formless (arupavacara-bhumi). These three worlds are described in detail together with the Kamma (action) leading to rebirth thereof. Other famous literatures related to Buddhism are such as Mahajati Khamluang, Nandopananda-sutta Khamluang, Pathama Sambodhikatha, etc. All these literary works of the past stand beyond doubt a good example of the influence of Buddhism on Thai literature.

5. The Role of Buddhism in the Thai Way of Life.

Since Buddhism has been a national religion of Thailand throughout the long history of the nation, the way of life of Thai people is inseparably connected with Buddhism. In other words, it can be said that a life of a Thai Buddhist relates to Buddhism from birth. When a baby is born, for example, the parents always approach a monk for an auspicious name for it. When it becomes a small boy or girl some Buddhist rite will be performed for him/her; on seeing a Buddhist monk he/she will be taught to pay respect to him. Every Buddhist family

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will teach their children to pray and pay homage to the Triple Gem before going to bed. Many Buddhist families give the offering food to the monks every morning; this is regarded as a duty of the lay Buddhist and a way of accumulating merit. When a young man reaches 20 years of age the parents will arrange for his temporary ordination as a monk; this tradition has been observed in Thailand up to the present days. In every Buddhist marriage all other traditional ceremonies will be preceded by a Buddhist ceremony; the Bhikkhus will be invited to recite the Peritta for the auspicious occasion. Also in many other auspicious events the monks are always invited to bless such occasions by chanting Paritta or performing other Buddhist rite necessary for them. When a man is lying on his death bed, his relatives will either invite a Bhikkhu to give a brief Buddhist teachings to him to utter the name of the Buddha so that after death he will be reborn in the happy realm of existence. Some Buddhist may not like to go to manastery when he is alive, but he has no option at death. His relatives will bring his dead body to the Wat (monastery), but it in a coffin and keep it there for at least a few days for the post-mortem ceremony before the final cremation. After that his relatives will perform the last ceremony for him by inviting the Bhikkhus to chant the Paritta and then offer food and suitable objects to them. They then dedicate the merit acquired thereof to him; this is the last possible help the relatives try to do for the person.

It may be concluded that almost all significant events in the life of the Buddhists in Thailand are always connected in one way or another with Buddhism. In the time of happiness Thai Buddhists, especially those who live in the country where daily life is not so complex, would think of monastery and monks; they thus go to monastery to perform a merit making by offering food to the monks and render their support to the monastery's affairs. In the time of grief or suffering they also think of monastery and Bhikkhus and go to monastery for consultation or consolation. It is, therefore, not too exaggerated to say that Buddhism plays a remarkable role in the Thai way of life from the beginning to the end.

Reader and Head,
Deptt. of Ancient Indian
& Asian Studies,
Nalanda College,
Biharsharif (Nalanda)

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NOTES ON TWO SIBYLLINE WORDS IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE*

Dr. SATADAL KAR GUPTA

Prologue

It has already been stated in a published paper[1] that inspite of Buddha's warning to his devotees for abstaining from occultic practices as well not to attach importance to Sibyllinelore, popularity of 'tiracchāna vijja'[2] not only became rampant in Buddha's life time, it became also part and parcel of Buddhist culture in post Buddha era; curiously at times Buddha is found to show interest in the subject or seen to take part himself to demonstrate on the matter with a view to trumpet his complete mastery over all the branches of Sibylline practices.[3]

In the context of such a stand an attempt has been made to discuss in this paper certain rare Sibylline words used by Buddhists of hoary past.

Sibyls and Sibylline Connotations

The Latin word "Sibylla" is a counterpart of the Greek term "Siobella" which means counselled by a God, or an eracular vision; The French equivalents of the word ard "Sibylle divinense, Socieri" etc.

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* All abbreviated references used in this paper have been clarified in a relevant list of select bibliography appended at the last page.

1. Refers to my paper "Science of Astrology in Buddhist Literature" read at the monthly general meeting of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, on 3.9.1956 and published by Calcutta University in their Organ The Calcutta Review of March 1957 issue under the caption "Traces of Nakkhatta Vijjā in Buddhist Literature."
2. i. e., low arts, such as occultic practices or Sibylline-lore covering necromancy, astrology, angury, and the like matters, DN, I, 9; Vin, II, 139; J, II, 21, 133, 217; SV., 220, 251
3. MN, I 458; J., Nos. 49, 97, 126, 125 etc., cf. Mahāsila section of Brahmajāla Sutta of Dīgha Nikāya where occultic practices are enumerated by Buddha under three broad sections; e. g., Divination, Ritualism and Medical Therapy. *cf.* Astrological text "Jātakā laṁkārā" of Ganesha Daivajña in the (edited by Pdt. Digindra Nath Pathak) Preface where it is quoted prāyaschittaṁ cikitsāñca Jyotisaṁ dharmasāstrakaṁ"

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In English synonyms of the word are "Fortune teller, Soothsayer, diviner, prophetess, Sorceress, Occultist, Augur etc."

The Romans in ancient days believed that a Sibyl was a certain woman who used to divinate under the inspiration of a deity;[4] Mythology of Greece refers to Sibyl as maidens endowed with the occultic power of divination. Plato and Aristophane of Greece have said of this Sibyl woman to be the pioneer prophetess to use Hexameter for her divination.[5]

In Buddhist literature we find, not to speak of Buddha's time alone, even prior to his advent, in ancient India there was the practice of obtaining prognostication from Sibyls under spontaneous prompting from heavenly inspiration called in the words of Patañjalī as "divyasruti."[6]

During Buddha and in Buddhist India there was a method of obtaining oracular answers from a girl supposed to be under spirit possession and such a procedure was called "Kumārī pañhā".[7] In Buddha's time there was another class of Sibyls known as "Kāveyya matto,"–intoxicated with prophesy inspired.[8] The Mahayana Buddhist Sibyls of Tibet follow a process akin to the stated Graeco-Romans, of the ancient world; these Sibyls of Tibet use hexagonal dice embossed with six letters, i. e. one letter on each side of the dice for predicting successive regions and states of the rebirths of an individual.[9]

With the march of time it was noticed that the monopoly of the horizon of ancient women as Sibyls widened to incorporate within their realm specialised men to practise side by side with them the profession of Sibylline Oracles. Systematic disciplinary laws started since then to be enforced on the practice of Sibylline Oracles. The Sibylline practitioners with their reoriented method were then not only known to be soothsayers, prophets, prognosticatiors, diviners, fortune-tellers, sorcerers, wizards, witchcraft experts but were classed equally with the star gazers, astrologers, and Palmists. It was at this stage that the word "Sibyl"

4. CD, VI, 3936
5. CE, XII, 526
6. qt. AM, 1955, p. 870
7. DN, I, II, SV, I, 97
8. AN, I, 72 : III 107, SNK, I, 10
9. BT, 471 ff.

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was understood in a broader outlook to mean "Seer of Future" by various ways and methods.[10]

The enlarged horizon of Sibyls made it in course of time accessible to common people to peep into unknown future through their codified records or works, called "Sibylline Books."[11] These Sibylline books though contained ready-made prophesies, they are on scrutiny found to have been based on a knowledge of the trigonometrical positions of individual luminary as well conglomerated effects of stars, planets and such other lumineries in the firmament. Richard Sanders, the 17th century English occultist obviously concluded, "No divination is certain, unless it be joined with the assured by Astrology, which at present is the most certain science for the prediction of things to come.[12] In ancient India eighteen such Sibyls, who were all Vedic Sages, are stated to be founders of "Sibylline Books" e. g. Sūrya, Pitāmaha (Brahmā), Vyāsa, Vaśiṣṭha, Atrī, Parāśara, Kāsyapa, Nārada, Garga, Marīci, Manu, Angirā, Lomaśa, Pauliśa, (Bhārgava=) Bhrigu, Yavana, Guru (=Brihaspati), and Saunaka.[13]

History mentions as well the names of ten such Sibyls of Graco-Roman world, out of which Cumean was regarded to be the most famous from her mention in the sixth book of Vergil's "Aenid" ; Cumean is credited with the authorship of nine Sibylline Books.[14]

The word Sibylline has been used to cover all sorts of occultic practices of the ancient Sibyls such as prophecies, divinations, arcane Science to imply astrological predictions, meteorological, physiognomical or meteposcopic, supercilliary prognostications, psychometry, Clairvoyance,

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10. CMMS, 21
11. Cf Nāḍī Granthas of South India, such as Chandra Nāḍī, Saptarshi Nāḍī, Kousika Nāḍī etc. in possession of Govt. Oriental mss. Library Madras, besides Bhrigu Samhitā, Aruna Samhitā etc., etc., of North India are to be regarded as "Sibylline" collections; The "I-Ching" is a similar sibylline collection of ancient China : cf – The permanent Element in Old Testament Prophecy by Rev. F. A. Mc Elwin (Illinois 1946)
12. Eppm, 117
13. HR (Sanskrit Book Depot (Pvt.) Ltd., edition, 1st volume) p. 2
14. RTE, V, 207

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clairaudience, significance of cry of animals, dream interpretations, (= Oneiromancy) Palmistic assessment, gallinacious augury (i. e. prophecy from sounds made by domestic birds and fowls) Ornithology, dice-throwing, Rahbdomancy, crystal-ball views, mirror gazing, spirit communication, talismanism), etc., etc.

In ancient India, a Sibyl was to be a versatile to know single handed about all the above stated Sibylline aspects. Buddha's knowledge in Sibylline aspects as stated in the Brahamajāla Sutta testifies that besides his realisation in religion, he was a superb Sibyl. Munishri Punyavijayaji's "Aṅgavijjā" informs us categorically Mahvir Jina's proficiency in the above stated aspects of Sibylline lore. Varahamihira as a brahmin maintained the Vedic tradition to prove his worth as a sibyl in his magnum opus "Brihat Saṁhitā, Brihat Jātaka" etc. compositions.

Buddhistic Stand

Sibylline lore that germinated in Ṛgveda[15], with the progressed time systematically developed in the Atharvaveda and was subsequently found to gain profound respect and popularity in the Society even in the life time of the Buddha; Speciality of the Atharvavedic Sibylline features lies in an advanced and efficient technique of practical application of Sibylline formulas developed in Rg. and Sāma Vedas[16]. Specialists in occultism as Sibyls were obviously called by the Buddha as "Athabbanika" or sophisticated Atharvavedi brahmins.[17]

Buddha, being born and brought up in Vedic India, could not completely set aside Atharvavedic Sibylline influences neither the post-Buddha Buddhists could ignore the fascinating and alluring influence of Sibylline-Lore. We shall see the validity of such impression from some examples of Sibylline words, frequently used in day to day life in Buddha's time as well used in Buddhist literature :

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15. cf : Tu., ii 8; CU, III 13:7, YV, 3:3:9, Rg. Vii, 6:1, Rg. i, 115:1.
16. cf : vide AVP, ed, by G. Mclville Bolling and Julius Von Negalin,—Leipzig, 1909-1910, p. 800; SN, iv, Verse 927.
17. SN., Verse 927.
18. Cf : Traces of Nakhatta vijjā In Buddhist Literature,—CR March, 1957 by the writer.

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(a) Jātaka :

The word is derived from root 'ja',—meaning to be born (jāta), masculine Jāta+affix 'Ka' refers to the birth of a male child and implies to the story of the newly-born. "Jātaka" is a popular word used in Buddhist literature. In the earliest phase of Buddhism there was no systematic arrangement of Buddhist canon, their form, contents and position under particular Pitaka; The Buddhavacana" or sayings of the Master to form the Buddhist Canon till then were memorised and recited by the monks and devotees; these were then not arranged in the form as we see them to day[19]; but they were in existence in diverse forms in scattered Buddhist literature; As such, in the 'Tipiṭaka' it has been repeatedly mentioned[20] that the Buddhist cannon comprised of nine compartments or limbs, viz., (i) Sermons in prose (Sutta), (ii) Mixed prose and verse Sermons (Geyya), (iii) Explanations, Commentaries etc., (Veyyākaraṇa); As a matter of fact both in Pali and in Buddhist-Sanskrit Literature Veyyākarana and Vyākarana stand to mean "prophecy" particularly the prediction of a future Buddha[21]; (iv) Sermons in stanzas (Gāthā) (v) Pithy Sayings (Udāna) (vi) Short narratives with the beginning 'Thus spake the Master' (Itivuttaka) (vii) Stories of former births of Buddha as Bodhisattava (Jātaka), (viii) Informations of Miracles of the Master and his religion (Abbhutadhamma) and (ix) teachings in the form of quetions and answers (Vedalla).

Jātaka Stories are the birth episodes of former lives of Siddhartha Gautama as a wise man of old (bodhisatta) and these were narrated to the devotees by the Buddha himself after attainment of Buddhahood (nibbāṇa).

Like the "Jātakas" of Pali Literature, the "Avadanas" too in Buddhist-Sanskrit collections consist of the stories of the present in relation to happenings of the past and a moral as conclusion.

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19. Such as the texts concerning "Vinaya" were regarded to belong to Sutta and the works of "Abhidhamma" in the opinion of Buddhaghosa were regarded to belong to Veyyākarana. In this respect Winternitz expressed his doubt about the thought of Abhidhamma texts in the list of Aṅgas-Winternitz II, 10.
20. MN, 22 (I, p. 133); SV, I 23 ff; ASL, 26; MILIN, 345; GVS : 57.
21. J, p. 34, 44; Winternitz II, 279; Oldenburg's in JRAS 1893, p. 304.

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In the Jatakas the Bodhisatta is seen as the pivot round whom the stories are woven whereas in the Avadana literature Bodhisattva is not necessarily always a hero but sometimes a delineator of some incidents of a past life that explains the present Karma[22].

Jataka narratives invariably imply how the deeds of the past forebode (Vyākaraṃa) the present existence and it's trend; In this respect Jatakas in Buddhist Literature stand for the *prophetic stores of the future.*

In Brahmanic literature since Vedic period 'Jyotisha' is regarded as one of the six limbs (aṅga) of the Veda-Purusha, his most vital limb as Veda-chakshuḥ (eye of the Vedas)[23]. The Vadaṅga Jyotiṣa of Yajurveda specifies clearly that all sacrifices, rituals and religious ceremonies to be performed, require a knowledge in Jyotiṣa[24].

Narada, one of the eighteen promoters of Sibylline-Lore obviously stressd on the importance of Jyotisa because this is the only subject which is essential to be known to comprehend both good and bad of the world :

"Prayojanantu Jagatah Śubhāśubhaṁ nirūpanam"[25]

Vedic Jyotisa is arranged in two distinct divisions,—(a) Gaṇita and (b) Phalita.

(a) Gaṇita Jyotisa (astronomy) covers mathematical calculations by which positions of planets, transit of planets, movement of lunar mansions, the time of eclipse and such other astronomical knowledge for fixation of moments of ritualistic rites, domestic ceremonies etc. of the Hindus.[26]

(b) Phalita Jyotisa (astrology) on the other hand, serves the purpose of knowing the future of individuals as well composites in the world by applying the principles of Ganita Joytisa.

Phalita Jyotisa is subdivided into two parts,—(i) Saṁhitā Skandha and (ii) Jātaka or Horā Skandha.

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22. Cf; Oldenburg's in JRAS 1893 p. 304.
23. CF : OAA, 27 ff.
24. SS., Sl. 3., p. 295.
25. pt. Jbh, preface.
26. ibid.

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The Saṁhita Skandha professes the art of divining about auspicious and ominous moments (muhurta) in general concerning social, national and global affairs and such other collective affairs of mundane and supra-mundane spheres. Brihat Samhita of Varahamihira is a typical work on the subject.

The Jataka Skandha elaborates technique of predicting the past, present and future of individuals from the relative positions of planets (graha) asterisms, (nokṣatra) planetary periods (dasā) and on such other technical factors computed and assessed from a casted Zodiacal natal chart (rāsi chakra) and divisional charts (aṁsa kuṇḍali e. g., navāṁsa, dwādasāṁśa etc.) etc. The Jataka Skandha otherwisely called Horā Skandha evidently deals with Horoscopic (Horā) delineations. Brihat Jataka of Varahamihira is an ideal text on the subject.

Horoscope (Jātaka Kundalī) gives a picture of an individual, his deeds in the past life with a subsequent retribution as the present existence; the nature of the future and the nature of rebirth are all dependent on the result of the present life lead by the native (jātaka). Spyer evidently remarked about the word "Jātaka" as collection of birth-cycle stories which are 'likewise Brahmanic in its origin but again more fully developed for practical purpose by the Buddhists, that a Karma, a firm belief that an unbroken chain of cause and effect" that binds all existences together[28]. The great problems of the justice of the government of the world, of the earthly sufferings of the innocent, and the apparent happiness of the wicked, were to the Indian mind solved once for all by the firm connection that what we experience here is the result of something that has happened before, that there is an unbroken heredity in the world, and that we not only benefit by but also suffer from our ancestors" and that is why we find in Jātaka, -a synonym of Horā "the idea that every man had passed through many existences before his birth on earth and will pass through many more after his death was, like most Buddhist theories borrowed from the Brahamans".[29]

27. cf : OAA, 458 ff

28. Yājñavalkya said, - "Yatha" hyekena cakrena na rathasya gatirbhavet / tāvat purusakārena vinādaivaṁ na siddhayati //"
HR., I sl. 32, p. 8; cf : APD., I, 299 ff.

29. JM, introduction, p. xi ff,

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Curiously enough in the Brahamanic works it has been stated that the creator Brahama at the time of birth of a person writes his destiny-course both good and bad as consequences to his deeds done in his past life; As such Jātaka or Horā is a horoscopic delineations (according to the principles laid down in Phalita Jyotiṣa) by which the destiny pattern of individuals (Jātaka) are revealed like the lamp that dispels darkness in the night :

"Ya Brahamanā Villikhitā Narabhālapaṭṭe
Prārabdha Karma Sadasat Phalapāka paṁktiḥ ।
Horā prakaśayati tamiha karmapaṁktiṃ
Dīpo yathā niśi ghaṭādikamandhakāre ॥"[30]

Phalita-Jyotisa is divided into two parts, (1) Saṁhitā Skandha and (2) Jātaka Skandha.

In the Saṁhitā Skandha the art of divining embodies augury about the auspicious and ominous moment (muhurta) in general pertaining to social, national, inter-national and collective affairs of the world.

In the Jātaka Skandha, the art of divination is made about individual life.[31]

These topics of Vedic literature have been arranged systematically in two separate works of Varahamihira, the Brahmin Sibylline expert of 7th cent. A. D., e. g., Brihat Saṁhitā and Brihat Jātaka.

Spyer in this respect is justified in saying that each Jātaka story "likewise Brahmanic in its origin but again more fully developed for practical purposes by the Buddhists, that of Karma, a firm belief that an unbroken chain of cause and effect binds all existences together. The great problems of the justice of the government of the world, of the earthly sufferings of the innocent, and the apparent happiness of the wicked, were to the Indian mind solved once for all by the firm connection that what we experience here is the result of something that has happened. before, that there is an unbroken heredity in the world, and that we not only benefit by, but also suffer from our ancestors", and that is why we find in Jātaka "the idea that every man had passed through many

30. HR, I, Sl. 26, p. 7
31. Cf : OAA., 458-497

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existences before his birth on earth and will pass through many more after his death was, like most Buddhist theories, borrowed from the Brahamans".[32]

A chapter in Apadāna elucidates many incidents of wrong acts from several lives (pubbakammapiloti) of the Boddhisatta to explain that Buddha in his last birth why suffered in various ways—such as, at the hand of enemies, from bodily ailments, mental agony etc.[33]

(b) Namuci :

This name[34] in Buddhism is very sparingly used for Māra, the valiant opponent of the Buddha and his mission. The word is derived from root muc, i.e. to free from entanglement; As no one could escape from his pouncing talon like seizing, he is called Namuci[35]. The legends concerning Namuci as Māra (namucīti Māro)[36] in Buddhist literature defy easy approach to unravel their hidden mystery. There could be no two opinions to a critical mind that these legends were spunout in course of a long period gradually from their origin being mooted in the Padhāna Sutta[37] in the Mahāvagga of Sutta Nipāta.

In Buddhist literature synonyms of Namuci are many,—chief of them are Māra, Kanha, Adhipati, Antaka, Pamattavandhu and Pajāpati.[38]

The Dhitaro Sutta[39] mentions that amongst ten commanders of the forces of Namuci (as māra) foremost three are Tanhā, Arati and Ragā; they could change their appearance, form and age; this magical power could overpower any opponent in no time, such invincible commanders with their supreme head Namuci were defeated and surrendered (abhibhuto

32. JM., Introduction, pp. xi-xii
33. Cf : Vol. I, 299 ff.
34. LV., 261, 302ff., 311, 328, 357; MTU, i, 264; ii, 238, 413, DVY 393.
35. Cf. SNC, Vol. II, 386.
36. Ibid.
37. Cf. Māratajjaniya Sutta, MN, Vol. I, p. 332 ff.
38. MNid. commentary (SHB edition) 328; MNC (Papañca Sudani) Aluvihara Series, Colombo) Vol. I, 28.
39. SNK, Vol. I, 124ff; cf : LV, 490; cf : Aśvaghosa mentions these three daughters of Namuci as Rati, Prīti and Tṛṣnā (Buddha carita canto 13); LV, mentions them as Rati, Arati and Tṛṣnā p. 353.

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parajito) to the Buddha inspite of their fierceful attacks hurled on the Enlightened one.

In the Gandhāra school of art exhibits (at North Western Frontier, Kāndāhār)[40] amongst series of bas reliefs, there is the image of Namuci as Māra holding thunder-bolt like the Vajirapani (= Indra or Sakka,-Skt. Indra or Sakra) leading his army in battle with the Buddha. In the Mathurā Schulpture[41] also Namuci as Marā is curved as holding a bow side by side with another relief holding a thunderbolt in his left hand; thunderbolt (vajira) is the fighting weapon, mentioned both in Vedic and Buddhist literature, to belong to Indra whereas Namuci as Māra is generally described in Buddhist literature to hold wheel arms (cakkāvudha) as his weapon to wage war.[42] To dive deep into the background of Namuci legends we are grateful to the plausible justifications shown by Pandit Bal Gangadhar Tilak in his "Orion". Refuting certain oriental scholars of the west, Pandit Tilak raised a query on the interpretation of the Ṛg.-vedic narrative[43]; "O' ! Indra you have broken asunder the cloud to pour in water; you have cleared all obstructed water to get released; you have flung open the colossal gateway of the cloud to allow the flow of rain to fall and in the event of this venture you had to kill the son of Danu (i.e., Vṛttāsura)". According to him if the killing of Vṛttāsura represented starting of rain then how is it that this fierceful demon is described elsewhere in the Ṛg.-Veda, to be similar to a Deer (mṛga Sadṛsa)[44]; besides, Indra's vanquishing Namuci and beheading three headed Viśvarūpa[45] in this respect remain unsolved. Prof. (Dr.) Jogesh Chandra Roy Vidyanidhi is of opinion that these incidents are to be viewed upon as separate issues. In certain narratives the legends of Vṛttāsura and Namuci have been fused together to confuse more the entire issue.[46]

40. qt. INS, Vol. III p. 131; cf: A Foucher, "L' Art Grecoboudhique du Gandhara."
41. qt. INS., Vol. III, 138, cg. J. ph. vogel,-Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura.
42. Cf. DPPN., Vol. I, 614
43. Rg., 5 : 32 : 1
44. 1:80, 5:34, 8/93; Cf: Legends about killing of Vṛtta by Indra is seen in detail in VP, 6 : 7.
45. Rg., 10:8, mentions that Visvarūpa, the son of Tasta was three-headed.
46. Cf. OAA, 290

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These legends reflect the early Vedic attempt to ascertain the astronomical position of Mṛgaśirā, one of the twentyseven asterisms of Lunar Zodiac.

The legendary narratives mention viśvarūpa and Vṛtta (both of whom were sons of Tasta) along with Namuci as Asuras; all these personifications were imagined to be three separate heads of viśvarūpa. All these theree in vedic time eventually were taken to belong to Mṛgaśira constellation group (Kālapurusa = Orion of the western nomenclature). There was a time when equinox (visuyan)[47] fell in two points of ecliptic (Krānti vṛtta) belt, e. g., one in Mṛgaśirā and another in Jyesṭhā nakṣatra. The presiding deity of the latter is Indra. From Mṛgaśirā to Jyeṣṭha nakṣtra's position is fourteenth. Shifting of equinox (astronomically called Precession of the Equinoxes) from autumnal to vernal caused to herald the onset of rainy season when lands become fertile, rivers are heavily filled with melted glaciers from the mountain and the heavy morning fog become cleared.

The precession of Equionoxes (ayana gati) was discovered by the Vedic Seers long before it was known to other nations. The legend of Mṛgaśirā constellation (Orion) points distinctly to this phenomenon. A telescopic look at the sky shall confirm the imagery that the head of the Mṛgaśirā at the sky shall confirm the imagery that the head of the Mṛgaśirā appears as the Orion and the arrow piercing the head as the line of three stars forming Orion-Belt.[48] This Vedic conception is repeated in Buddhist literature with a recast where Indra is replaced by the Buddha to vanquish Namuci.

Curiously, Māra, otherwisely called Namuci, the valiant opponent of Buddha was not an ordinary demon rather a great one (mahāntaṁ yakshaṁ),[49] having mastery over Sibylline practice. In Pali literature, Mara for Namuci or Yakkha is very rarely found.[50] He is called Namuci because no body is freed from his clutches whether God or man; Namuci inflicts harm to everybody.[51]

47. The time of equal night and day is called "equinox". There are two equinoxes, e. g., (1) autumnal, which falls tentatively on 22nd or 23rd September and (2) Vernal, which falls tentatively on 20th or 21st March

48. Cf : UH, p. 196

49. MV., II, 260 ff

50. SN, 449; SNK, I 122 : Mn. I, 338

51. SNC, II, 386

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In Vedic literature, Namuci is called a demon (asura)[52]; we are told there that Indra (besides Vṛtra=Pali Vatrabhu)[53] killed Namuci[54] in an unusual way.[55] We are also told that the twin brothers Aśvini (=A'Svinau) physicians to Gods[56] helped Indra in the battle with Namuci[57]. Namuci was invincible in this respect that he could not be killed in any other time except early morning before sunrise neither by any weapon nor by draught and moisture he could be killed[58]. In the battle, Indra hurled upon the head of Namuci, water foam like a thunderbolt and beheaded him in the early morning before sunrise[59], and neither at the day time nor at the darkness of night. After killing Namuci, Indra Provided attendants of Namuci with enormous wealth, sumptuous food and drinks (soma)[60], Indra's falcon (garuḍa) did the job of carrying these food and drinks[61]. In Buddhist literature we find these mythical birds, called Falcons (Garuda

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52. RG., 10:131:4.
53. A synonym of Indra; cf : J, VOL. V, 153; SNK, Vol. I, 47 Buddhaghosa explains the word, Vatranāmakam Va asuram abhibhavatiti, SP, Vol I, p. 83.
54. ṚG., 7 : 19 : 5.
55. Cf : "na suṣkeṇa nācārdreṇa nāśmanā na ca dāruṇā naśastreṇa nācastreṇa na divā na tathā nisi", OAA 287.
56. A'svinau asterisms (nakṣatra) belonging to the Zodiacal fiery sign aries (= Meṣa rāsi) have the sibylline characteristics of influencing the efficiency of medical men, army people, technocrats, etc., Ṛg. veda has spoken highly of benevolent services of these twin A'svini brothers;—These twin brothers treated sage Cyavana and brought him back his youth from wornout old age (Ṛg. 1.116 10); they also did the same to aged Kali (Rg 10 : 39 : 8); they saved Bhujya son of Tugra with the help of their speedy boat from being drowned in the sea (Rg.—I : 116 : 3), 1 : 117 : 4 1 : 182 : 5; they did surgery to replace by an iron thigh of the injured one in the war on Vispata the horse (VD, p. 21); cf : IHQ, VI, I, 1930, p. 172.
57. ṚG., 10 : 151 : 4.
58. Ibid, 10 : 61 : 8.
59. Cf : Piggot has elaborately discussed the matter and has opined that Indra's such attitude is an allegorical reference to the Aryans ravaging the pre-Vedic Indus Valley civilisation, particularly the 'destruction of the bunds build to protect the Harappa cities from flood'; PI, 257 cc.
60. The Battle is narrated in detail in SB, 15 : 7 : 3 : 1–3; TTB 1 : 7 : 1 : 6–7; TB., 12 : 6 : 8.
61. Ṛg., 6 : 20 : 6.

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or Supanna) as one of the five guards appointed by Sakka to protect Tāvatṁsa Loka from the Asuras[62].

Above lengends when considered, it would be seen that these narratives clustered round the Vedic vision on the group of Mṛgaśirā constellation; Vedic seers recognised Devayāna and Pitṛyāna[63] to have merged when there was equinox[64] in Mrgaśirā nakṣatra. This Pitṛyāna or the half of the ecliptic (Krānti Vṛtta) which lay to the South of equinoctial circle (i e. celestial equator) was believed to be the realm of Demons (asuraloka)[65]; The idea is further strengthened from following considerations: Firstly, the two sleeping attendants of Namuci viz., nami and sapya may be taken to mean field softened with water (nam,=to cause sink or soak in water) and by that it becomes fertile (Sapya=relating to fertilization).

Secondly, Namuci, who could be killed only in the early morning before sunrise, represents 'the morning, fog of winter in the valleys abutting on fast flowing rivers'. This reminds us naturally the atmosphere at the end of the winter when the biting cold has passed giving place to glacier-formed mountain streams and snow to melt away. This may be the reason of depicting Namuci to have been slain by the foams of water; the melting of ice creates upsurge in the river and the resultant commotion push over violently foams of water down the valleys. The whole night (sometimes the whole day as well (remains shrouded in such fog, to be cleared up only in the morning before sunrise. Such fog, owing to a comparatively warmer atmosphere, instead of giving rise to frosts or frozen water, simply settles as moisture on the ground and improved fertility of the soil. The valleys, that were barren without vegetation, then bloomed into fertility with moisture and abundant harvesting became feasible.

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62. J., I, 204; Cf: In Vedic literature altogether thirty-three worlds are spoken of, eleven in heaven, eleven in earth and eleven in the sky [JASB, (NS) XXVII, 1932 p. 6]
63. Uttarāyana = Devayāna and Daksināyana = Pitryana; In the Puranic record Devayāna came to be known as auspicious time,—OAA, 38, 267
64. Refers to the time of equal night and day which is about 20th March and 22nd or 23rd September
65. OAA, 289

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Thirdly, assistance rendered by the twin brothers A'svinī referred to this asterims "to rise above the horizon in the early morning of that period at that time. This approximately corresponds to the time when the vernal equinox was passing through the end of the Bharaṇī asterism about 1350 BC.

Fourthly, the Falcon seems to be the constellation Acquilae, whose junction star (Yoga tārā) Śravaṇā is placed practically at it's hooked neck.[66] The entire legend of the demon Namuci is pictured to reflect the Sibylline acquisitions of Mṛgaśirā Nakṣatra. In Buddhist Literature, the Mṛgaśirā plays an important role in a special sibylline technique, called "Migacakkaṁ;[67] Namuci or Māra being a dignified demon (mahāntam Yakkham) had the quality of sorcery and magical powers (mah' Iddhika)[68] of better proficiency than the other expert demons (Yakkha).

99/IF, Bidhan Sarani
(Opp. Shyambazar Tram Depot)
Calcutta 700004

66. JASB,-(NS), XVIII, 1932; 112 ff: cf: Ṛg, 1:157:1
67. A detailed discussion of the word has been made by the writer elsewhere; the word refers to a kind of hurricane blast or whirl-wind to portend meteorological phenomena, particularly rain in relation to mrgasirā constellation,-cf: BS., ch. II, Sl. 6., p. 5. Buddhaghosa's explanation as "understanding the language of all creatures" is misleading. - J., Vol. III, 415, Milin; 178.
68. MV, II, 260 ff; J., VI, 118; PVC., 117, 241; PV., II, 9 ff

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A MAHAMUDRA TEXT FROM TIBETAN SOURCES

MARK TATZ

The *Tattva-daśaka,* or *Ten Verses on Reality* survives only in Tibetan translation, where it is a chief source of the Mahāmudrā system of the Bka'-brgyud school of Marpa the Translator. The author is the eleventh-century mahasiddha Maitripa (*Maitrīnātha) of Vikramaśīla, called in the colophon by his initiation name Advaya-vajra. A commentry to it by Sahajavajra also survives in Tibetan. Here an edited text of the *Ten Verses* is presented, and an English translation, interpreted according to the commentary. The text itself (2c) states that the oral instruction of a guru is necessary for understanding; lacking that, the translation must be regarded as tentative.

The text is a manual of instruction in the path to awakening. Primarily, it describes the nature of reality from the ultimate point of view. In addition, it makes reference to the spiritual practice, *yoga,* by which that view is attained, and describes the state of the yogin who has attained it. The first of these three concerns may be described as late Mahāyāna philosophy, that latter two as tantric practice. These latter two are not presented in detail; hence the text is not esoteric. Nor is the teaching complete, however, without the guru's oral instructions.

Late Mahāyāna philosophy is a blend of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, or "mind only" (cittamātra) schools. The key to combining them is their classification as different levels of the description of reality. Apparently, in this text the quasi-substantialist "mind only" view is to be ultimately superseded by the Mādhymika insight into the emptiness (single taste, non-duality, transparency etc.) of all entities, including mind itself.

In terms of spiritual practice, the key note of this school is "integration", refering to the integration of Mādhymika with Yogācāra, means with wisdom, calm with insight etc. When the goal has been attained the yogin transcends all preconceptions, acting not with austerities but with "craziness", free from all restrictions.

The Tibetan translation of the *Ten Verses* is here edited from two manuscripts plus the version embedded in the commentary of Sahajavajra.

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The first ms. (labelled M) is found in a *Gces-btus*, "compendium of choice works", of the Bka'-brgyud school, in a section of nine Mahāmudrā works. The second (labelled T) is found in the Bstan-'gyur section of the sacred canon (Peking edition Rgyud-'grel Mi 122b. 7-123a.8. Sde-dge Wi 112p. 7-113a.6). The colophons of both ascribe the translation to Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba, who rewrote the previous translation of *Gurupāṇi (Bla-ma phyag-na) and Jñānākara-mtshur in accord with the commentary. Nevertheless, the two ms. disagree on many points. M is generally closer to the commentary. The comm. (Rgyud-'grel Mi 176a.2-195a.3) was translated by paṇḍit Kālyavarma (=Kalyānavarma ?) and Jñānākara-mtshur, studying with the upādhyāya Vajra-paṇḍita. Here the translators curse those who denigrate their translation of the *Ten Verses* and produce their own. A note to M mentions that the *Ten Verses* is the chief text of Marpa's Mahāmudrā philosophy, and it appears that a number of splinter groups corrected the translation in accord with a guru's teachings.

In the edition presented here, M and T have been compared with the verses given in comm. Besides citing the verses, comm. cites lines and phrases in glossing them in prose; variants in these latter citations have not always been noted. A translation and study of text and commentary is forthcoming.

Ten Verses on Reality (Tattva-daśaka) by Advayavajra

Salutations to Mañjuśrī in princely form !

(1) I bow in salutation to suchness, which is
Freedom from attachment to existence and non-existence,
In which there is non-pollutedness—
The essential nature of awakening discovered.

(2) Suchness, to postulate cognition,
Is neither with aspects nor without.
Unadorned by the words of a guru,
There is only the mean or the middle.

(3) This substance becomes awakening,
The essential nature of freedom from attachment;
Error develops from attachment;
Error is defined as unsubstantiated.

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(4) What is reality ? The essential nature of entities.
An entity is that which is without substance,
And the absence of substance is an entity,
Because it is the essential nature of causality.

(5) So phenomena have a single taste,
Unhindered and unfixed;
With concentration such as this
They are all transparent.

(6) And concentration such as this
Comes about with mind engaged;
Hence being aware of its basis,
Let it be continually created.

(7) Devoid of cognizer and cognizable,
The world itself is defined as nondual;
Even the conceit of freedom from duality
Is therefore defined as transparent.

(8) Comprehending reality in that way,
Filled just as it is,
The eye of the yogin will grow;
He will move as a complete lion.

(9) With this reversal of worldly phenomena,
He relies on the austerity of craziness,
Doing everything without objectification;
He is adorned with his own waves of inspiration.

(10) This unpollutedness that has been taught,
Which is described as nonduality.
Is freedom from balance and imbalance;
It is the knowledge of rich intellects.

Tibeten translation

rgya gar skad du/
tattva dashaka naṁa/
bod skad du/
de kho na nyid bcu pa zhes bya ba//
'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo//

(1) gang zhig yod med sbyor ba spangs//

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de bzhin nyid la phyag 'tshal 'dud//
gang la rnyogs pa med [1]pa nyid[1]//
byang chub [2]rang bzhin rtogs pa gang[2]//
T : yod dang med pa'i sbyor bas kyang//
spangs pa gang zhig dri med pa//
byang chub rang bzhin rtogs pa gang//
de bzhin nyid de phyag 'tshal 'dud//

(2) de bzhin nyid ni shes 'dod pas//
rnam bcas ma yin rnam med min//
bla ma'i ngag gis ma brgyan pa'i//
dbu ma'ang 'bring po tsam nyid do//

(3) dngos po 'di ni byang chub 'gyur//
chags pa spangs pa'i rang bzhin nyid//
chags pa las ni 'khrul [3]pa 'byung[3]//
'khrul [4] pa gnas ni[4] med par 'dod//

(4) de nyid ci na dngos rang bzhin//
dngos po dngos med gang yin pa'o//
dngos pa med pa' ang dngos por 'gyur//
rgyur dang 'bras bu'i rang bzhin gyis//

(5) de ltar chos rnams ro gcig ste//
[5]thogs[5] pa med cing gnas med par//
ji [6]ltar 'byung ba'i[6] ting 'dzin gyis//
'di dag thams cad 'od gsal te//

(6) ji [7]ltar 'byung ba'i[7] ting 'dzin yang//
rab tu [8]'jug[8] pa'i sems [9]kyis 'gyur[9]//

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1. After verse as cited in comm. Text of comm. indicates *de nyid*; cp. 10 a below. M *rang bzhin.*
2. After T. M *rtogs pa'i rang bzhin can.*
3. M *par 'gyur.* T *'khrul pa las ni chags med 'gyur*, "from error results non-attachment" (!)
4. T *pa'ang gnas pa.*
5. M *thog*
6. T *lta ba yi.*
7. = n. 6 above.
8. M *'jig*; comm. *'byung*, text indicates *'jug.*
9. T *nyid kyis.*

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gang phyir de yi gnas rig pa//
de nyid rgyun mi 'chad las [10]skye[10]//

(7) shes dang shes bya rnam bral [11]pa[11]//
'gro ba nyid ni gnyis med 'dod//
gnyis dang bral bar [12]rlom[12] pa yang//
[13]gang phyir de ni 'od gsal 'dod[13]//

(8) de lta'i de nyid nges rtogs na//
ji lta de ltar gang de na//
rnal 'byor mig ni rgyas 'gyur bas//
kun tu seng ge[14] de bzhin rgyu[14]//

(9) 'jig reten chos las rnam log 'dis//
smyon pa'i brtul zhugs la brten nas//
dmigs pa med pas thams cad byed//
rang bying rlabs pas rnam brgyan pa'o//
T : 'jig rten chos la rnam log 'dis//
smyon pa'i spyod pa la brten nas//
bdag byin brlab pas rnam brgyan nas//
dmigs pa medx par thams cad byed//

(10) rnyogs med de nyid gang bstan cing//
gnyis su med[15] par[15] gang smras pa//
mnyam dang mi mnyam spangs pa'o//
blo gter rnams [16]kyis[16] shes byar [17]rigs[17]//
T : dri med de nyid gang bstan cing//
gnyis su med par gang smras pa//
mnyam dang mi mnyam 'di spangs nas//
blo chen rnams kyis rtogs bya'i rigs//

de kho na nyid bcu pa/ slob dpon gnyis su med pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa rdzogs so//

10. T *skyes*.
11. comm. *bas*, T *ba'i*.
12. M *rloms*,
13. T *de ltar 'od gsal ba nyid do*. "is thus transparency itself."
14. T *ji bzhin no*.
15. after comm., M *pas*.
16. Comm. *kyi*.
17. Comm. *rig*.

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[18]gzhung 'di[18] bla ma phyag na dang/mtshur gyis bsgyur [19]zhing[19]/ phyis lo [20]tsa ba[20] tshul khrims rgyal bas [21]bcos par snang zhing 'di ni slob dpon lhan cig skyes pa'i rdo rje'i 'grel pa dang mthun par bris pa'o[21]//

[22]rje mar pa lo tsa'i lta bas spros pa gcod pa'i bla ma mnga' bdaxg maitripa'i gsung phyag rgya chen po yid la mi byed pa'i chos nyer bzhi sogs mang du bzhugs pa rnams kyi nang nas/ lta ba ston pa'i gzhung gtso bo gyur pa ste/ rgya bod kyi 'grel pa'ang ci rigs pa snang ngo//

Department of Buddhist Studies
Columbia University
New York, U. S. A.

19. T *ba'o.*
20. M *tsā*, T *tsa ba.*
21. T *bsgyur ba'o.*
22. M only, smaller print.

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AN APPROACH TO THE GĪTĀ

DR. SUSMITA PANDE

The popularity and the influence of the *Gītā* are only balanced by the controversies in respect to its interpretations. *Gītā*, indeed, lends itself easily to interpretative diversity because of its varied catholicity[1]. It seems to have been composed at a time when the rival doctrines of *Karman* and *Jñāna* were locked in debate. The *Gītā* itself seeks to avoid any one-sided point of view. Many of the commentators have, however, thought fit to clamp the *Gītā* on the very procrustean bed which it has so carefully sought to avoid. One unfortunate result of this exclusive concentration on the rival poles of *Karman* and *Jñāna* has been that *bhakti* itself has been sought to be reduced to either *Jñāna* or *Karman*. Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja are glaring examples of this. Such reductionism does less than justice to the central and original contribution of the *Gītā* to the development of Indian religious and philosophic thought.

The fact is that the *Gītā* and its commentators belong to different ages in Indian thought. The *Gītā* like original Buddhism belongs to the earlier post-Vedic age of a dominantly ethical phase of thought when the emphasis was on the problems of right living and salvation. The classical commentators, on the other hand, belong to an age of metaphysics and polemics. By contrast the *Gītā* is intent on describing the modes of moral and spiritual life. The commentators are, thus, forced to work out the implications of occasional metaphysical formulations and seek to connect them systematically, thus going beyond what *Gītā* does explicitly. In Śaṅkara, thus, *Advaita* metaphysics and *Jñāna-Yoga* are merely two sides of the same coin. In Rāmānuja a different metaphysics necessarily implies that man must be ultimately saved by worship and grace. It is

1. See below.
2. Among ancient commentators one may mention as the most important śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhusūdana Sarasvati. The last of these has sought to propound a synthetic view. Among modern commentators one may mention Tilak and Aurobindo as the most important. The former emphasizing *Karman*, the latter integral *yoga*. Modern western commentators like Edgertion have tended to concentrate on historical and external problems.

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the contention of the present paper that the interpretation of the *Gītā* should be primarily in the context of an ethicosoteriological enquiry, concentrating on the description of the moral and spiritual phenomena and their essential structure. The primary concern of the *Gītā* is with *Karman, Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as spiritual structures rather than with metaphysical and ontological systems. This is nearer the truth of man's spiritual quest than any theology would imply. Spiritual seeking is, in fact, more a tentative exploration than a practical system dependent on any clear-cut ontology or theology. It is in the process of spiritual life that insights of a metaphysical and theological significance emerge. Such insights may be said to follow from reflection over the intentional and transcendental aspects of the primary ethicospiritual consciousness.

The *Gītā* not only synthesizes the intuitive spiritual philosophy *(Adhyātmvidyā)* of the *Upaniṣads* but also develops it in the direction of a progressive discovery of God. By conceptualizing a highly developed vision of one God, of the incarnation in history and of the personal relationship of God to man and man's utter depedence on God, it formulates the essential structures which underlie the true experience of *bhakti* as love of God. In the light of this new theistic context a reorientation of the concept of action was made possible in the *Gītā* which reconciled the basic problem of the age and in essence of all ages created by the contrary pulls of Vedic *pravṛtti* or *Karman*, on one hand, and of the Śramaṇic devaluation of *Karman* leading to *Sannyāsa*, on the other.

While the *Upaniṣads* viewed the essence of man as divine, they tended to take a transcendent view of what equally underlies man as well as nature. The Vedic gulf between man and God was still kept as man was required to transcend his human or psycho-physical personality to realize his essential element[3]. But the *Gītā* takes the next step with the doctrine of incarnation according to which God Himself is born in time, though unborn, infinite and lord of all creatures[4]. He assumes a

3. While speaking of reality as one "without a second", the *Upaniṣads* too have referred to two forms of *Brahma, Mūrta* and *Amūrta*, cf "*dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe muratṁ caivāmūrtaṁ ca*". *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upa.* II. 3.1. Though *brahman* has a form, this form is imperceivable and ungraspable. Cf N. A. Nikam, *Some Aspects of Indian Culture* pp. 48–49.

4. *Gītā* IV 6.

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form and humanity now becomes the supreme manifestation of divine nature. Arjuna, indeed, prefers the human form of *Kṛṣṇa* to his cosmic form, *Kṛṣṇa* himself declares that the unmanifest absolute is inaccessible to man[5]. With this humanization of God *bhakti* comes into its own as love within a personal relationship between Man and God serving as the very archetype of love among man.

The basis of *bhakti* lies in the concept of God found in the *Gītā*. This concept can be gleaned by two famous passages in the *Gītā*—one in the thirteenth chapter where there is a discussion of *Kṣetra* and *Kṣetrajña*[6] and the other in the fifteenth chapter where *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* and *Purusottama* occur. The doctrine of *Kṣetra* and *Kṣetrajña* sums up the *Upaniṣadic* doctrine of self and not-self where the latter is pervaded by and derives its reality from the former. The doctrine of *Kṣara* and *Akṣara*[7] recapitulates the *Sāṅkhyan* teaching of the eternal consciousness as the transcendental presupposition of the knowledge of phenomenal reality. It is the doctrine of the *Puruṣottama* which goes beyond both and represents the original characteristic doctrine of the *Gītā*. The divine is neither the *Kṣara* or the mutable existence as such nor *Akṣara* or the immutable being as such, but He is the *Purusottama* who transcends the world and is yet immanent in it. The concept of the *Puruṣottama* derives its meaning in the light of the doctrine of *Karman* and *bhakti*. This is the reason why Arjuna fights the battle even after having attained to knowledge. It is the *Puruṣottama* who is the enjoyer of the sacrifice[8], not the immutable, relationless absolute. Unlike the *Upaniṣadic* philosophy which regards man as *Puruṣa* and the deity also as *Purūsa* albeit cosmic, and identifies the two, the concept of the deity as *Puruṣottama* points to the relation between man and the deity as one of identity in difference, the human soul being conceived as *Parā Prakṛti* of the lord[9]. This religious attitude, thus, resembles that of *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* closely[10].

5. *Avyaktā hi Gatir dukham dehavadhiravāpyate Ibid* XII 5.
6. *Ibid* XIII 1–2.
7. *Ibid* XV 16 and 18.
8. *Ibid* XII 10; IV 24.
9. *Ibid* VII 5.
10. Over both perishable matter and the soul the imperishable *Hara* rules. *Śvetāśvatara* up 1.10.

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The notion of the divine points to the corresponding nature of the human soul. God is the supreme person overseeing nature, history and destiny, whereas the soul involved in the temporal process seeks to realize God. Hence the relationship between the two is the closest possible personal relationship — as friend, *guru* and father etc.[11]

The concept of *Puruṣottama* gives rise to the concept of *Avatāra*. As the *Puruṣottama* God is capable of all human relations and manifests Himself as *Avatāra*. *Kṛṣṇa* himself declares his *Avatārahood* in the fourth Chapter while giving Arjuna the ancient knowledge of *Yoga*. He convinces Arjuna that he gave the knowledge to the sun god and the first born of beings, that he remembers all his other lives, is the unborn and imperishable lord of all existences and comes to birth by his own *Māyā*[12]. He says that whenever there is the fading of *dharma* and the uprising of unrighteousness he takes birth[13]. For the deliverance of the good, for the destruction of evil doers, for the establishment of Right. He is born from age to age[14]. Hence, He is far from being the absolute who stands wholly aloof from the governance of the world. This dynamic aspect of God who supports and governs the entire cosmic action and acts as the merciful saviour of mankind became the essence of all *bhakti* movements. The concept also links God to history and society, bringing Him nearer man. We know that *dharma* was regarded as eternal law earlier. But the wide-spread social change in the post-Vedic age[15] had led men to reflect whether law was not mere convention. The *Gītā* points to the concept that though law is eternal its social form moves up and down, and it is reestablished by the *Avatāras* from time to time giving rise to the concept of *Yugadharma*. The *Avatāra* being a dual phenomenon of divinity and humanity does not act in all His divine splendour, but accepts outward suffering, inwardly

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11. As a friend *Gītā* XI 41–42
    As a *guru* and father *Ibid* XI 43 & 44.
    As a lover to his beloved, *Ibid* XI. 44.
12. *Gītā* IV. 6.
13. *Ibid* IV. 7.
14. *Ibid* IV. 8.
15. A second urban revolution led to the break up of clans and tribes. A direct, face to face society gave way to a society full of indirect organisation. The doubt was natural that law keeps on changing.

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overcoming it, and thus showing the common mortals the way to become what they potentially are. Hence, the purpose of God's "descent" is not simply to uphold the world-order but also to help man's "ascent" towards "Godhead", to help human beings to become perfect in their nature[16]. R. D. Ranaday gives the *Avatāra* a mystical interpretation by believing that the *Avatāra* is the descent of God's form before the spiritual vision of the aspirant and quotes the explanation of the word *Ṛṣi* from the *Nirukta* "a *ṛṣi* is one who sees the form of God descending before his very eyes[17]." Hence, the spiritual purpose of the *Avatāra* shows that Man's love for God is not a temporary relationship based on needs and adorned by fancy, but that he has an eternal and spiritual nature which is awakened by the *Avatāra*. Thus is established a firm ground for *Sādhya bhakti*.

The concept of nature in the *Gītā* also helped in furthering the attitude of *bhakti*. Whereas in the *Upanisads* the finite aspect of nature is disregarded and *Brahman* is regarded as its infinite ground and nature is seen as an emanation, in the *Gītā*, nature is seen as the power of the lord. The lord makes a distinction between His *aparā prakrti* and *parā-prakṛti*[18] calling the former His lower nature which is constituted by three *guṇas*, springs from Him alone and is not independent[19]. This *Prakṛti* is further called "this divine *Māyā* of mine", "*Mama Māyā*"[20]. That *Mama* is used in the adjectival sense here points to the fact that nature is considered as His power. This fact gives a new aspect to the worship of various gods and gives a new and wider meaning to monotheism. Since *prakṛti* is His *Māyā* the worship of any of the natural gods is not really opposed to His worship. This is the reason why whatever form any devotee worships with faith, the lord makes that faith steady[21], as the benefits attained by that

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16. *Gītā* IV. 10.
See 'Sri Aurobindo' "*Essays on the Gita*";
Radhakrishnan, "*The Bhagavad Gita.*"
17. "*Tat brahma svayambhu etān rsīn tapasyamānānabhyarṣat tadṛṣiṇām ṛṣitvam.*"
R. D. Ranade, "*The Bhagavad Gita and the Philosophy of God realization*, p. 176.
18. *Gīta*, Ch. VII
19. *Ibid* VII. 12
20. *Ibid* VII 12
21. *Ibid* VII. 21

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faith are actually decreed by the lord alone[22]. Hence the various gods were not regarded as anthropomorphic versions of natural phenomena, nor their worship any form of animism or spiritism. Their worship is not in contradiction to the highest ideals of monotheism found in the *Gita*, as the lord is actually a unity in plurality, an identity in difference. But even then the worship of the one Lord *Vasudeva* is considered greater[23] as He is the infinite, absolute personality, the *Puruṣottama* beyond the mutable and the immutable. Whereas knowing the other gods is knowing the divine in a partial and limited sense, knowing Him integrally means acquiring a perfect vision. The concept of nature as power of the lord also gave rise to the concept of *Vibhūti*. Whenever nature manifests the lord's glory in a partial sense, it gives rise to *Vibhūti*. Hence *Vibhūti* is the impersonally manifested power or quality of the Lord. The worship of the *Vibhūti* was like worshipping the divine quality, not the divine Himself who manifested Himself as the *Avatāra*.

After examining the basis of *bhakti* let us see what the *Gītā* has to say about *bhakti* itself. It says that the greatest of all *Yogins* is the *bhakta* "and of all Yogins, he who full of faith worships me with his inner self abiding in me, him I hold to be the most attained to me in Yoga"[24].

Ananyā bhakti or *Avyabhicārinī bhakti* is recommended by the Lord. In the eleventh chapter, the Lord showing His cosmic form to *Arjuna* says that this form is very difficult to see and even the gods are anxious to see this form which cannot be seen by the study of the *Vedas*, by austerities, by gifts or by sacrifices[25]. Only by unwavering *(ananyā)* devotion can it be known[26]. In fact, these lines remind one very strongly of the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* which states that *Ekata*, *Dvita* and *Trita* could not attain to the Lord by their susterities, nor *Bṛhaspati* by his sacrifices, but only *Vasu Uparicara* could attain to the Lord by his *Ekāntika bhakti*. *Ekāntika bhakti* is also referred to in the fourth chapter in connection with the *Jñānī bhakta*[27].

22. *Ibid* VII. 22
23. *Ibid* VII. 19
24. *Ibid* VI. 47
25. *Ibid* XI. 53.
26. *Ibid* XI 54. *Avyabhicāriṇī bhakti* is also seen in XIV 26 and XIII. 10.
27. "*Teṣām Jñānī nitya-yukta ekabhaktir viśiṣyate*" *Ibid* VII. 17.

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All the nine types of *bhakti* mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[28] later are found in the *Gītā* as steps to this *ananyā bhakti*. These are by hearing (*Śravaṇam*[29]), singing his hymns (*Kīrtanam*[30]), constant remembrance (*Viṣṇoh Smaraṇam*[31]), his service (*pāda-Sevanam* and *Dāsya*[32]), worship (*arcanam*[33]), glorifying Him (*vandanam*[34]), regarding him as friend (*Sakhya*[35]) and self-surrender (*Ātmanivedanam*[36]).

Scholars have always debated whether there is supremacy of *Jñāna, Karma* or *bhakti* in the *Gītā* or whether there is a triune unity of these three[37]. To assert the supremacy of any of the three ways seems to be fitting the *Bhagavad-gītā* into various schemes of metaphysics. The *Gītā* seems to be the most comprehensive synthesis of all the spiritual truths, and a balanced outlook specially commends it to the modern world. Our aim is to examine the peculiar character of *bhakti* in the *Gītā* and to see how it is related to both *jñāna* and *Karma* and how far is it helpful in forming an integral synthesis of the three truths.

Rāmānuja had regarded knowledge as only a guide to proper action and meditation. While this view disregards the problem of action versus knowledge in the *Gītā* it also fails to appreciate the fact that the *Parā bhakti* in the *Gītā* is closely inter-twined with the truth of knowledge too. That is why it can be regarded both as a means and an end. The Lord says, "through devotion he comes to know me, what my measure is, who I am in truth, then having known me in truth he forthwith enters me".[33] It is clear from this that the devotee knows the lord integrally

28. *Bhagavata Purāṇa*, VII. 5.23
Śravaṇam kīrtanam viṣṇoh smaraṇam pādasevanam| arcanam vandanam dāsyam sakhyamātmanivedanam||.
29. *Gīta* XIII. 25
30. *Ibid* IX. 14
31. *Ibid* X. 9
32. *Ibid* XI. 44. Though *dāsya bhava* is not found very clearly in the *Gītā* yet Kṛṣṇa is regarded as lord of all existence *bhūtānām iśvaraḥ* (see *Gītā* IX. 11 and IV. 6). Arjuna is asked to dedicate all that he does to this supreme lord "*Mayi sarv. ni karmāṇi sanyasya*, *Gītā* III. 30.
33. *Gītā* IX-26
34. *Ibid* XI. 36-46. Arjuna praises the Lord's Magnificence after seeing the *Viśvarūpa*.
35. *Ibid* XI. 41; XI. 42.
36. *Ibid* XVIII. 56; XVIII. 66

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through *bhakti* (which is *bhakti* as a means) and then attains him through *ananyabhāva* (which is *bhakti* as an end). This also explains why the results of *bhakti* are the same as from acquiring *Jñāna*. The devotee is full of all the moral qualities, becomes free of egoism, becomes contented and self-controlled[39]. Hence the character of *bhakti* is different from that seen in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* later where most of the time the ecstatic state of the heart in which the devotee experiences the various *rasas* is considered the supreme state[40]. Though the *Bhāgavata* recognizes the integral relationship of *bhakti* and *Jñāna*, theoretically, yet being a *kāvya* also, it stresses more on the extreme emotional and ecstatic aspect of *bhakti*. Though this ecstatic state is seen in the *Gita* too in the eleventh chapter where Arjuna sees the *Viśvarūpa* of the lord and is filled with the elements of astonishment, terror and rapture[41], yet in most of the passages, as said before, a state of equanimity reached by highest knowledge as well as supreme devotion is stressed more. After classifying the *bhaktas* into four-*ārta, arthārthī, Jijñāsu, Jñānī*[42], the lord favours the *Jñānī bhakta*, who knows that *Vāsudeva* is all that is[43], that is why, he is in constant union with the divine[44]. The Lord holds the *Jñānī* as Himself only, so perfectly is he harmonized with the Lord[45]. These lines show a sort of *Advaita bhakti* as pointed out by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. The devotee becomes so merged in God that he becomes one with Him, *Śaṅkara* calls this *bhakti* as *Jñāna lakṣaṇā bhakti* which is completely identified whith *Jñāna* or non-dual self-knowledge. But a close examina-

37. Śaṅkara is famous for regarding *Jñāna* as the supreme truth, Tilak for regarding *Karma* and Rāmānuja for regarding *bhakti* supreme. Among scholars who see integral synthesis of three are Sri Aurobindo, S. K. Belvelkar. Among the ancients Madhusūdana Saraswatī had also made an attempt to reach *Gītā* in terms of the synthesis of the three paths.
38. *Gītā* XVIII. 55
39. *Ibid* XII 13-20
40. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* XI.3.32; VII. 7.36; XI, 14. 23-24; IV. 20.24-31.
41. According to Madhusudana Sarasvati the astonishment and terror are combined with rapture.
42. *Ibid* VII. 16.
43. *Ibid* VII. 19
44. *Ibid* VII. 17
45. *Ibid* VII. 18

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tion of these passages shows that self-surrender is essential even for *Jñāna*[45]. At the end of the entire teaching, self-surrender to the lord is considered as the "supreme word" and the "Most sacred of all"[47]. Hence though higher *bhakti* is clearly intertwined with *Jñāna* in the *Gītā*, the element of *śaraṇāgati* shows that the two states are not identical, as *śaraṇāgati* points to an emotional relationship between Man and God which is the unique character of *bhakti*[48]. It points to extreme humility and also shows that since God and man are not equal partners in their unity, man can realize his true element only through the latter's grace.

Grace in the *Gītā* comes in the form of understanding the Lord too, after which God's compassion is aroused and the final grace dawns which makes him complete his spiritual career. *Śaraṇāgati* is essential for final grace. The Lord says, "To those who are in constant union with me and worship me with love I grant the power of understanding by which they come to me"[49]. "Then out of compassion for the same ones.....I destroy the darkness born of ignorance....."[50]. Then the devotee becomes a *Śaraṇāgata*. The Lord says, "Flee unto Him for shelter with all the being Bhārata. By His grace thou shalt obtain supreme peace and eternal abode.[51]" This concept of grace was later on exaggerated in the *Bhagavata Purāṇa* where the devotee attains to the lord not by his own *Puruṣārtha* but by the lord's grace only[52], whereas in the *Gītā* the final grace seems to dawn after a long spiritual career which involves knowing the lord too; in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* it is acquired suddenly, producing the results of *Karma*, austerity, *Jñāna* and renunciation suddenly[53].

46. He resorts to the Lord as the highest goal *Ibid* VII. 18; At the end of many lives the man of wisdom resorts to him alone knowing that Vāsudeva is all that is, Ibid VII. 19.
47. *Ibid* XVIII. 64; XVIII. 65.
48. As '*Śaraṇāgati* involves duality,' Śaṅkara considers it only a preparation for the dawn of knowledge-*Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*.
49. *Gītā* X. 10
50. *Ibid*. X. 11
51. *Ibid* XIII. 62. Ranade notices these three stages and calls them *Buddhiyoga*, *Anukampā* and *Prasada*. R. D. Ranade—*Bhagawad Gīta as a Philosophy of God realization* Ch. XIX pp.226–267.
52. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* VIII. 5–30.
53. *Ibid* XI. 20. 32–33; X. 7.40

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We have seen the relationship of *bhakti* with *Jñāna*. Let us see its relation with *Karma* in the *Gītā*. For Śaṅkara *Karma* was inseparable from lower *bhakti* which is a means for acquiring *Jñāna*. For Rāmānuja ultimate *bhakti* was not what Śaṅkara meant by higher *bhakti*, but worship, which is a blend of *dhyāna*, *Upāsanā* and *bhakti*, which itself issues out of consecrated service of God or *Karma*. He has, thus, linked up *bhakti* and *Karma*. However, *Karma* is related to the love of God in a wider sense too in the *Gītā*. Firstly, by retaining the old idea of regarding *Karma* as *Yajña* where *Karma* meant participating in the cosmic process of the lord[54]. This gave rise to the generalizations of the concept of worship and *Yajña*. One's own duty determined by one's own nature (*svabhāva*) and station (*Svadharma*) is regarded as worship too, as it is ordained by the lord[55] and because as an embodied creature one cannot resist from action according to one's nature[56]. Secondly, the new doctrine of *Puruṣottama* as the enjoyer of sacrifice gave rise to the concept of dedicating all actions to the Lord. This dedication of action was essentially a personal gesture, the surrender of the devotee to a personal deity, hence an act of love or *bhakti*[57].

Thus knowledge and action both culminate in a doctrine of surrender to God which is more than mere knowledge or action.

Hence though the ethics of the Gītā begins with an almost Kantian rigorism it goes on to examine and formulate the essential presuppositions of action as well as knowledge. It ultimately issues in the sublimest religious philosophy of *bhakti*. It is as if the *Upanisads*. *Sāṅkhya* and Kant and the *New testament* had been fused together and transmuted.

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54. *Chāndogya Up.*
55. 'Svakarmaṇā tamabhyarcya', *Gītā* XVIII. 46 also '*sve sve Karmaṇya abhirataḥ saṁsiddhiṁ labhate naraḥ, Ibid* XVIII. 45.
56. *Ibid* XVIII. 59.
57. That is why the offering of even a single flower or leaaf is dear to the lord as it is a gesture of devotee's love to him, *Gītā* IX. 29. This act of offering is taken in the wider sense when the Lord says that whatever the devotee does, he can do it as an act of offering to the Lord, *Ibid*, IX. 27.

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DEUTERO-ISAIAH AND PLATO

ERNEST HORTON, JR., Ph. D.

Initial Observations

Deutero-Isaiah generally is acknowledged to be a high point in the development of ancient Hebrew-Jewish thought. Similarly, Plato represents a promontory in the course of ancient Greek thought. Deutero-Isaiah and Plato are alike in the way they recoil from the extravagances of popular belief and tradition. Both thinkers are mindful of the complex manner in which a society's political and religious life are inter-woven. Both address themselves to the question of many gods, the process of creation, the characteristics and functions of deity, the role of the good ruler, and, among other matters, the record of King Cyrus. Alien to both is the notion of a self-dependent universe. Yet there are few studies endeavouring to compare the attitudes of the two thinkers, separated, of course, by more than a century.

As for chronology Deutero-Isaiah should be dated around 539-538 B. C. E., because he frequently alludes to the imminent collapse of Babylon at the hands of King Cyrus of Persia, as well as the return thereafter of groups of Jewish exiles to Jerusalem (Is. 40:1-4, 9-11, 41:2-3, 25, 27, 43:14, 19-20, 44:26-45:6, 13, 46:1-2, 11-13, 47:1-15, 48:14, 20, 49:7-26, 51:3, 5, 11, 14, 22-23, 52:1-3, 7-9, 54:1-3, 11-17). In spite of Deutero-Isaiah's knowledge of Babylonian rituals and divinities, and notwithstanding the likelihood that he resides among the exiles in Babylon (Is. 46:1-2, 6-7, 47:1-3, 11-13, 43:14, 48:20, cf. 44:9-20, 40:18-20, 41:6-7), there remains an awareness on his part of the circumstances prevailing in Judah, and the locus of attention from beginning to end is Jerusalem, in ruins but awaiting a glad future (Is. 40:2, 9-10, 15-16, 41:27, 44:26, 48:1-2, 49:14-21, 51:3, 17-23, 52:1-3, 7-9, 54:1-3, 11-13, 55:3-5). Of course, Deutero-Isaiah, comprising the bulk of chapters 40 through 55 of the Book of Isaiah, should be distinguished from the eighth century prophet, First Isaiah, Isaiah of Jerusalem, making up the greater portion of Isaiah 1 through 39, in view of the literary and chronological differences between them. Stated in one manner or another, the composite character of the Book of Isaiah is a conclusion

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long-standing, from the critical comments of J. C. Deoderlein[1] to the computer analyses of Yehuda T. Raddy.[2]

When it comes to dating Plato, his lifetime should be pictured as bridging the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. E., while drawing from and enhancing their course. It is probable that most of Plato's career is spent in Athens where, as a young man, he becomes entranced by Socrates' dialectical method and beset by his trial and death, and where, some years later, Plato gathers together a group of his own students, presumably in the format of an Academy, to unravel abstractions like goodness, statesmanship, deity, creation, and intelligibility. To the degree that one can rely on the information in the *Seventh Letter*, it can be acknowledged that Plato's travels and political friendships occasionally take him from the environs of Athens to Itlay and Sicily (326b, 330c, 337e, 339d-340b, 352a). Patently, the life of Plato begins during an era of social unrest; his childhood and youth likely take place under the clouds of the Peloponnesian War and the prolonged conflict and disorder among the city-states of Greece. As an outcome, this Athenian philosopher remains preoccupied throughout his years of writing with determining the structure and rules of the ideal society as well as advancing the possibility of form and permanence in the universe. Indeed, the fertile sources for a knowledge of Plato's religious and political philosophy are his *Republic* and his dialogues, the *Timaeus*, *Laws*, and *Statesman*, generally considered to be among his later works, where witty exchanges of conversation tend to give way to lengthy discourses and tedious classifications. While stated tentatively, the usual dating of Plato's life (ca. 427-347 B.C.E.) rests much on the Olympiad dates given by Apollodorus' *Chronology* and Hermippus, and cited by Diogenes Laertius' *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers in Ten* Books, in the following way :

> Apollodorus in his *Chronology* fixes the date of Plato's birth in the 88th Olympiad, on the seventh day of the month Thargelion, the same day on which the Delians say that Apollo himself was born.

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1. J. C. Doederlein, *Esaias*, 1775, p. xii; 2nd ed., Altorfi, venum prostat in officina Schuipfeliana, 1780.
2. Yehuda T. Radday, *The Unity of Isaiah in the Light of Statistical Linguistics*, Hildesheim : Verlag Dr. H. A. Gerstenberg, 1973, pp. 274-277.

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He died, according to Hermippus, at a wedding feast, in the first year of the 108th Olympiad, in his eighty-first year (III 2).[3]

This comparative study of Deutero-Isaiah and Plato contains two cardinal sections and proceeds as follows. The objective of the first section of this paper is to examine the dissatisfaction with polytheism and the criticisms of its concepts and mechanics which Deutero-Isaiah and Plato both express. Starting with Deutero-Isaiah and continuing with Plato (the *Republic*), the inquiry proceeds to focus on the anthropomorphism, irrationality and inconsistency, and unreal claims of polytheism, in the eyes of its ideological antagonists. Whether the subject matter is idolatry and ceremonies or mythology and superstitions, molding the statues or lauding the foibles of the gods, inert uncommunicative objects or divinities undergoing metamorphosis, or auxiliary issues, the weaknesses and shortcomings of polytheism are to be presented from the vantage point of its critics, Deutero-Isaiah and Plato. The goal of the second section of this paper is to describe the concepts of God and the views of the ruler which Deutero-Isaiah and Plato hold. It is useful to provide an overview of Deutero-Isaiah's attitutes, the way he expresses the unitary and universalistic character of deity, and how he assimilates the vestiges of mythological language. There is merit in following with a synopsis of Plato's stance, his explanation of the functions and relationships which the concept of creator entails, and his reinterpretation of the objects and beings which the traditional gods actually designate (the *Timaeus* and *Laws*). For a fuller understanding of the problem, it is necessary, after an examination of the specific themes of each thinker, to elaborate on the common motifs of Deutero-Isaiah and Plato, like the creativity of divinity, craftsman analogy, principle of causation, question whether God is fully knowable, and use of the shepherd function in terms of the human ruler and the divine sovereign. Mindful of the disparate character of the Hebrew-Jewish and Greek traditions, one nevertheless is compelled to raise a final question as to the reasons explaining the similarities between Deutero-Isaiah and Plato.

3. R. D. Hicks, tr., *Diogenes Laertius*, Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1950, v. I, pp. 277 & 279.

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Discontent with Polytheism and Its Accoutrements

DEUTERO-ISAIAH'S SALIENT CRITICISMS

Deutero-Isaiah makes a thoughtful analysis of polytheism, tracing the logically absurd conclusions to which it leads, and poking fun at its elaborate trappings. The main defect of polytheism, according to Deutero-Isaiah, lies in its crass anthropomorphism; the gods literally and physically are shaped like men. The gods are fashioned by human beings in order to resemble human beings with materials selected by human beings. Whether metal is employed to provide the substance of the god, or whether a type of lumber is preferable, the fact remains that the artisans themselves are men. If the gods are of, by, and for the people, then, unlike modern democracies, they are impotent and the fictions of the people's imaginations (Is. 44:9-14). The author describes the process in the following manner :

> The workman in wood draws a measuring-line over it, shapes it with a pencil, works it with planes, shapes it with compasses, and makes it into the likeness of a man, with a beauty like that of the human form—to sit in a house. (Is. 44:13 AT);

In addition the idols are immobile and unresponsive to human pleading (Is. 46:7); they are a bit like the machines which resemble men but remain uncommunicative and incapable of speech, mentioned by Descartes in early modern western thought.[4]

A related criticism which Deutero-Isaiah directs toward polytheism is that, because of the accompanying superstitions and idolatry, it is characterized by irrationality and contradictoriness When idolatry is practiced, the thouthless worshipper takes an object which he himself has carved and in awe regards it as a god capable of protecting and looking after him. For Deutero-Isaiah, it would be contradictory to assume that one half of a log could be employed to kindle a fire, the purpose of which is to serve man, while the other half could be used to make a god, whose role is to be served by man. On the one hand, the wood provides the fuel needed for cooking; on the other hand, it simultaneously and antithetically furnishes the material from which an idol is

4. Keith Gunderson, "Descartes, La Mettrie, Language and Machines," *Philosophy*, XXXIX 149 (July 1964), 198.

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formed. Only if a person were lacking in reason, would he approach a piece of wood with such ambivalence, let alone worship it (Is. 44:14-20). "He feeds on ashes indeed : His own deluded mind has misled him," as the author puts it (Is. 44:20 NEB). To be sure, Deutero-Isaiah speaks with as much derision of idolaters who prostrate themselves before blocks of wood as does Heraclitus of night-wanderers and magicians who "pray to these statues like a man chattering to his own house," in the latter's classic indictment of idolatry.[5]

Another weakness of polytheism, from, Deutero-Isaiah's standpoint, consists of the powerlessness of its gods within the progression of history. In spite of the fact that both foreign images and Jewish replicas of Yahweh are ineffective (Is. 46:1-2, 5-7), it is the former which come under scrutiny. Foreign gods make no obvious difference as far as the historical process is concerned, neither anticipating nor influencing the events which are yet to transpire, and offering no interpretation as to the significance of the past. If gods are fancied as beings with capacity to accomplish good or ill, who inspire reverence among men, then foreign idols clearly do not qualify as being real. The divinities of other lands scarcely can match Yahweh's claim, either of rescuing the Hebrow clans from the borders of Egypt at the time of the Exodus, or of hastening the end of the Jewish Exile in Babylon (Is. 41:21-24, 43:14-21, 44:7-8, 47:1, 48:14, 20:22).

Finally, Deutero-Isaiah makes a special effort to single out for censure those grandoise gods whose conflicts or activities tend to dominate Babylonian ceremonies and mythology, in particular, the divinities Bel and Nebo (Is. 46:102). Although he may be impressed with their impotence and the way they are collapsing, Babylonian tradition regards Bel-Marduk as the lord of the assembly of the gods and their champion in battle;[6] Nebo, his son, is the sribe of the gods who presumably lists the events for the coming year on the tablets of fate. For Deutero-Isaiah, deity should be defined as the one supporting and upholding man, but the

5. Heraclitus, *The Fragments*, 126. Milton C. Nahm, *Selections from Early Greek Philosophy* (fourth edition), New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964, p. 75.

6. *The Creation Epic*, Tablet IV. E. A. Speiser, tr., "Akkadian Myths and Epics," *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1969, pp. 66-67.

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popular gods to the contrary are supported, transported, and moved into place by men (Is. 46:3-7). Far from sustaining their worshippers in time of trouble, Bel and Nebo, the Babylonian gods, are carted about on the backs of animals in the following way :

> Bel bows down, Nebo stoops,
> their idols are on beasts and cattle;
> these things you carry are loaded
> as burdens on weary beasts.
> They stoop, they bow down together,
> they cannot save the burden,
> but themselves go into captivity (Is.46:1-2 RSV).

While Deutero-Isaiah anticipates the downfall of the city of Babylon and the capture of its grander statues by the Persians to the east (Is. 46:1-2,11, 45:1-3), he also is lampooning the traditional Babylonian Akitu or New Year Festival where Bel-Marduk and Nebo are prominent, and there is a procession of gods from other cities to Babylon and by cart and barge, in the capital itself.[7] Deutero-Isaiah selects the verbs פרע "bow down" 'kneel" "break dawn" and קרס "bend down" "stoop" in 46:1-2,[8] he implies that, whereas ordinarily their devotees would be expected to bow down in worship before Bel and Nebo in the future the gods themselves would be required to bow down in submission to the foreign conquerors intent on destroying them. Not only does the pairing of נשׂא and סבל "lift up" and "bear", in 46:1-7 refer to the Babylonian cultic practice of carrying the divine images on festival days,[9] but, because of the concern

7. An account of the Akitu Festival can be found in C. J. Gadd, "Essay III. Babylonian Myth and Ritual," *Myth and Ritual*, London : Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. 47-58, and in Helmer Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, Philadelphia : The Westminster Press, 1973, pp. 83-89.
8. The Hebrew lexicon used throughout is that of Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1951.
9. John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* (*The Anchor Bible*, v. 20), Garden City : Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968, p. 86.

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with Babylon's fate in the future (47:1,5), it points to the processions and rites of the Akitu Festival. The New Year Festival provides the occasion for the ritual of the fixing of the fates, in which the gods determine the good and evil or fortunate and unfortunate events for the capital for the coming year.[10] In addition, the festival supplies the setting for the recital of the Babylonian Creation Epic, and the epic reports (a) the dissension among the gods in which the older deities, while resting, are disturbed by the clamor of their offspring, (b) the primeval battle between the chief god Marduk and the powers of chaos, and (c) the gory conflict in which Marduk slays the female monster Tiamat with net, bow, and arrow.[11]

When it comes to such mighty gods as Bel and Nebo, whose exploits, dissensions, and fixing of fates make up an integral part of the claims of Babylonian polytheism, Deutero-Iśaiah thus expresses an attitude of unqualified disbelief in the reality ascribed them. He can discover few if any traces of rationality or consistency in the assumptions of idol worship, whether it belongs to the foreign or Jewish category. What strikes him as absurd is the crude anthropomorphic character of polytheism, the habit not only of forming gods to look like men but of transporting them in processions. As far as the Near East is concerned, in no way have the popular gods produced an observable effect upon an ancient or recent series of events. In this rare instance, Deutero-Isaiah is not unlike a contemporary positivist. A polytheistic frame of reference becomes unintelligible to him for these reasons : (a) It, of course, is nonsensical to assign personal qualities to a mere thing or object, an idol. (b) The gods simply don't make a difference; they don't affect anything that happens. For Deutero-Isaiah, polytheism is a meaningless venture.

PLATO'S FIRST OBJECTION

Plato's distaste for popular expressions of polytheism has much in common with the negative attitude displayed earlier by Deutero-Isaiah. At the outset, Plato rejects the anthropomorphic picture of the gods, the one portrayed by the stories of Homer and Hesoid and passed along from parent to child. Not only do the traditional gods act like men, but they

10. The ritual can be found in A. Sachs, tr, "Akkadian Rituals," *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, pp. 331-334.

11. Tablets I-IV. E. A. Speiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-67.

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act like immoral men; Plato amplifies Xenophanes' criticism that the gods look like the men who create them and, if horses and cows could paint, the gods would resemble horses and cows.[12]

Plato is unable to condone an anthropomorphism which selects the unlovely qualities of human beings so as to magnify them on a divine scale, or which reduces the gods to behaving like the basest and meanest of men. This becomes clear in Books II and III of the *Republic*. It is unthinkable, either among gods or men, for children and parents to injure and insult one another. Since, according to tradition, the gods themselves are quarrelsome and given to bickering, it becomes far too easy to rationalize one's misbehavior, to accept contentiousness as the fabric of existence. It's a sorry sight indeed, says Plato, when gods, near-gods, and famous men are described as wallowing in self-pity, weeping and wailing, or unchecked in their lamentations and complaints. Even when the gods laugh, love, and copulate like human beings, they are uncontrolled in their actions. The lack of self-restraint is where the fault lies and why the stories about the gods are fictitious (*Rep.* 377, 378, 387-390).

A case study in self-indulgence is furnished by this reference to Zeus' humanly fickleness :

> And then there is the story of how Zeus stayed awake, when all the other gods and men were asleep, with some plan in mind, but forgot it easily enough when his desire was roused; he was indeed so struck by Hera's appearance that he wanted to make love to her on the spot, without going indoors, saying that he had never wanted her so much since the days when they first used to make love "without their parents' knowledge (*Rep.* 390 b_8-c_1 H.D.P. Lee)."

Deutero-Isaiah and Plato hold these observations in common : (a) The popular gods do resemble human beings, in what they look like and what shape they take, according to Deutero-Isaiah, and in how they are said to act, according to Plato. (b) It is human artisans who really construct the gods. For Deutero-Isaiah, the artisans are woodworkers and blacksmiths; for Plato, the artisans are writers and poets. (c) Whether the finished products are idols or myths, a toppling Bel-Marduk or a

12. Xenophanes, *The Fragments*, 11.-16. Milton C. Nahm, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

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fickle Zeus, they seem like silly caricatures if not complete misrepresentations of deity. There is a similar indictment of the anthropomorphic tendency of polytheism in both Deutero-Isaiah and Plato.

PLATO'S SECOND OBJECTION

The contradictory character of polytheism does not go unnoticed either by Deutero-Isaiah or Plato. However, Deutero-Isaiah emphasizes the disjunction in the attitudes of the worshipper, the person who would create a statue only to revere it, whereas Plato stresses the erratic and nonsensical conduct ascribed to the gods, the divinities who would promise to protect while intending to destroy, in the allusion to the story of Apollo and Thetis' child (Rep. 383 a-b).

Contrary to convention, Plato likes to demonstrate how inconsistent and irrational polytheism is, particularly when measured with the yardstick of divine immutability. As always, he enjoys reducing the ambiguous to the absurd; the final pages of Book II of the *Republic* provide a case in point. If the cardinal attribute of deity is perfection in the sense of completeness, and completeness implies changelessness, then it becomes unreasonable to describe the gods as assuming diverse modes and shapes, or undergoing metamorphoses of any kind. If there can be no waning of goodness within deity, and divinity and truth-telling go hand in hand, then it is contradictory for a god to deceive people by changing from one identity to another, as is the case in legends and myths. Conceiving the perfect as he does, Plato looks with contempt on the idea of any magician-like divinity who would play slight-of-hand tricks on mankind or don a wide array of masks and disguises in a display of cosmic foolishness (*Rep.* 380 d-e, 381 b, 382 e-383 b). The alleged antics of the gods appear to be bizarre, fanciful, and scarcely credible; like Deutero-Isaiah, Plato seems to feel that only a person lacking in reason could take the popular gods seriously; the gods are nothing but the fictions of poetic imagination.

Plato develops this formula to express the inverse relationship between perfection and change : the greater the degree of perfection, the lesser the degree of change. The more complete an object or organism is, whether plant, animal, or manufactured implement, the less apt it is to vary within or without. In the case of divinity, there would appear

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to be a perfect negative correlation between goodness, which is undiminished, and change, of which there is none. It clearly is impossible for God to want to change, so that "every god is as perfect and as good as possible, and remains in his own form without variation forever (*Rep.* 381 c6 H. D. P. Lee)." It is important to notice in this statement that plato not only says of divinity that he "remains forever singly" μένει ἀεὶ ἁπλῶς, with ἁπλῶς meaning "singly" "in one way" "simply" "absolutely," but that he remains so "in his own form" ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ μορφῇ. [13]Plato's emphasis lies upon the inconceivability of deity, being immutable, changing from one shape to another.

The analogies Plato has in mind are several; he includes a biological analogy, just as he does when discussing government. As a healthy organism is scarcely affected by the conditions of diet and fatigue, so the divine is immune to the influences of alteration and decay. As a mature person remains unperturbed while experiencing ordinary vicissitudes and stands unflinching before external onslaughts, so the divine remains self-contained, complete within himself, and unmoved. Obviously, there will be little abrasion, if an object has been manufactured carefully with attention to all the details. To the extent that the making of an object has been completed, it really cannot be modified; to the degree that a person has achieved wholeness and maturity, he will never waver internally or externally. It likewise is impossible for a divine and perfect being to engage in a succession of transmutations and theophanies; it thereby is irrational for polytheistic poets to portray the gods as popping up in different towns in different disguises, or to tell tales about 'Proteus and Thetis' transformations (*Rep.* 380 e-381 d). Curiously enough, Plato does not rely on the word τέλειος "perfect" "complete" when referring here to the perfection of deity, as one might suppose, but rather he applies such words to divinity as ἄριστος "best"

13. The Greek lexicon used throughout is that of Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (A New Edition, Revised by Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie), Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1940,

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and κάλλιστος "most beautiful" "most honourable" (*Rep.* 381 b_2, c_4).

Throughout his speculations, Plato refrains from entertaining the possibility of the gods undergoing transformations while continuing to possess the qualities of permanence and sameness, although a divinity or frictional hero experiencing Protean metamorphoses conceivably could stay the same throughout such changes. "Presumably, Proteus remained himself throughout these transformations", to borrow a thought from Amelie Oksenberg Rorty's article, "The Transformations of Persons."[14] Nevertheless, what is whole cannot be diminished, and the qualities of permanence and sameness do belong to deity without qualification, metamorphosis, or dilution, according to Plato.

Permanence is associated with deity, in a different way for Deutero-Isaiah than for Plato. For Deutero-Isaiah, God is permanent in the sense of being everlasting, the first and the last, and always in possession of thoughts transcendent to those of mankind (Is. 40:28, 48:12, 55:8-9). While Deutero-Isaiah cannot conceive of gods being moved from place to place by animals, and Ploto is unable to imagine gods who visit one village after another in disguise, both thinkers are wary of descriptions which are ignoble and unreasonable, demeaning and inappropriate to the posture of deity. Both look with scorn on the belief in changeable divinities who move or are moved.

PLATO'S OTHER OBJECTIONS

Plato offers additional criticisms of polytheism. A further series of comparisons of the two authors comes to mind. Just as Deutero-Isaiah ridicules the mighty gods who dominate Babylonian mythology, proving how powerless and inconsequential they are, so Plato makes fun of the eminent gods of Greek mythology, showing how foolishly they behave and how outrageous their deeds are. There are few things more absurd than gods who can be bribed, yield to every passing whim, or vent paroxysms of laughter. The focus of attention is upon Zeus, the sky-father and rain-maker, his wife, Hera, and their son, Hephaestus.

14. *Philosophy*, 48 (July 1973), 261.

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Not only does Plato scoff at Homer's picture of Zeus as conniving, absent-minded, and impulsively desirous of intercourse with Hera, but Plato derides Homer for portraying the gods as laughing uproariously at Hephaestus huffing and puffing through the halls. Any suggestion that the highest good consists of gorging oneself at lavish feasts is equally nauseous for Plato (Rep. III 389-390).

Just as Deutero-Isaiah expresses open contempt for Bel-Marduk and Nebo, who traditionally are among the Babylonian gods engaged in fixing the fates and determining the good and evil for the coming year, so Plato disclaims the Homeric accounts of Zeus distributing fortune and misfortune among human beings in the diverse circumstances which befall them. The idea that there are two jars of fates within Zeus' palace, a good one and a bad one, is erroneous. Allowing some persons to experience a miscellany of both weal and woe, while assigning other individuals nothing but misery and foraging, must be negated as a function attributable to deity. Plato concludes that it is inappropriate for writers to apply tawdry symbols to Zeus and to speak of him as the being who dispenses good and evil (Rep. II 379 d-e).

Deutero-Isaiah denies that Bel-Marduk is real; this chief deity dominates the activities of the Babylonian Creation Epic, where dissension occurs among the gods, the younger divinities aggravate their elders, and Marduk becomes the victor in the gory primeval conflict; Deutero-Isaiah likely is cognizant of and intent on refuting such mythology. Far from portraying Marduk as creating all things in heaven and earth, at the end of the primeval battle, and the gods as building the city of Babylon, Deutero-Isaiah describes Yahweh as being known from the beginning, forming the heavens and the earth but destroying Babylon, and remaining the first and the last (Is. 40:21-22,47, 48:12-14). Likewise, Plato clearly finds repugnant the idea of conflict among the gods, and he denies that the traditional accounts are true. Plato's reasons are partly pedagogical and partly an aversion to any discord within deity. Children should not be allowed to hear the stories of plots and wars among the gods, since the young and innocent only tend to imitate what the gods do. Homer's tales about the battles of the gods must be censored, because children are deeply impressionable and unable to perceive the meaning of allegory.

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Even the custom of embroidering clothing with the account of the battle of the giants should be stopped, according to Plato (*Rep.* II 378 b-c). He is swimming against the tide of popular opinion, because he is well aware that "the Greeks were inclined to regard their great poets as reliable sources and infallible authorities for all kinds of practical wisdom", and that "mythological examples were also adduced to excuse actual wrongdoing."[15]

As for dissension between the gods and their offspring, Plato will not hear to it. How can there be family squabbles and bickering, hollering and raising the roof, among the friends and relatives of the gods? How can the children of the gods engage in ill-tempered displays of rudeness and cruelty toward their elders, or certain divinities administer beatings to their spouses? One would not expect human beings so to behave. Plato wants an enlightened society which places taboos on stories like the one of Hera fettered by her son or Hephaestus thrown out of heaven by his own father (*Rep.* II 378). The motif of dissension among the gods is as pronounced in Greek tradition, which Plato criticizes, as in Babylonian tradition, against the background of which Deutero-Isaiah earlier speaks. For Deutero-Isaiah, the popular gods are unreal; for Plato, the traditional stories about the gods are untrue. The observation is applicable to the gods' antics, fixing the fates, and conflicts.

Concepts of Deity and Rulership

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Deutero-Isaiah and Plato share a common antipathy toward the ornaments and imagery associated with polytheism, and working independently, separated in time and place, they are moved in another direction toward a singular approach to deity. It is the one, not the many, to whom attention is drawn. Being repelled by the anthropomorphism, contradictory quality, and unreal claims of polytheism, Deutero-Isaiah has settled on an Plato is moving toward a position of monotheism. While a synopsis of Deutero-Isaiah followed by one of Plato may suggest this thesis, only an explanation of the particular themes presented by each thinker can corroborate it. Included among the various themes will be the relation of the divine to the human ruler.

15. W. J. Verdenius, "Plato's Doctrine of Artistic Imitation," *Plato II*, Garden City, New York : Doubleday and Company, Inc. : 1971, p. 262.

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SYNOPSIS OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH'S ATTITUDES

Deutero-Isaiah's rhetoric is unqualifiedly monotheistic; when he resorts to mythological language, he removes its polytheistic content and uses its figures of speech to emphasize the divine strength and majesty. For Deutero-Isaiah, God is the only possessor of righteousness (Is. 45:21,24 42:6,21), and his kindness is permanent, more endurable than the mountains and the hills (Is. 54:10). God is the source of the complementary aspects of nature, both light and darkness; he is the source of all aspects of human existence, both worthful and otherwise, both prosperity and misfortune (Is. 45:7). Creation throughout is a thoughtful and intelligent process. The mind of the Lord, who is everlasting, contains knowledge, for his way is one of enlightenment and intelligence, and it is neither acquired from nor modelled after any other source (Is. 40:13-14, 28). Although there is no listing of the popular gods whom the Jews encountered in Babylon, two important deities are singled out for scorn, namely Bel-Marduk and Nebo (Is. 46:1-2). The fallen city of Babylon reminds the reader of a deflowered Ishtar, no longer wise and skillful, no longer a mistress forever (Is. 47:3,7,10)

If one turns to the flow of the discourse in Deutero-Isaiah, the evidence and the argumentation, as well as the intense distinctive rhetoric he cannot ignore the force and the singleness of its ideational content. The universalism which permeates the religion of Israel comes fully to the surface in Deutero-Isaiah. The sensitive use of sublime imagery, the awareness of the limits of myth, and the prophetic form for the expression of ideas serve as vehicles for the cosmogonic adulation of God.[16] The belief of the Jewish nation "that its God was the one omnipotent God of the universe, one God who is sole ruler of the whole world," grows out of its possession of the "will and hope to return to its homeland and to renew the life of the nation"[17] As, within this context, Yehezkel Kaufmann states it, "there are religious propositions in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah. God is Creator of the world, and this is the basis of the prophet's faith in historical providence."[18]

16. Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Babylonian Captivity and Deutero-Isaiah*, New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1970, pp. 95-98.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98, 102, 104.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

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More explicitly, Deutero-Isaiah says that God is one and everywhere, he is the sovereign throughout the world, and he is without equals, predecessors or successors. Although Deutero-Isaiah refrains from words like unity, absoluteness, and universality, he makes it clear that there is no divinity before, after, beside, or like Yahweh, and he rules out any possibility of divine companions, competitors, or models for Yahweh. This becomes evident upon examining the content of the formulas of praise which the author offers. There is this aphorism : "I am the first, and I the last (Is. 44:6cAT; cf. 41:4cd, 48:12cd)." There also is this declaration : "I am the Lord, and there is no other (Is. 45:5a, 6c, 18d AT; cf. 45:14e, 22b, 46:9b)." Here is a similar overlapping apothegm : "Beside me there is no God (Is. 45:5b AT; cf 43 : 11b, 44:6d)." That God is entirely without qualification or limitation, by hypothetically prior, posterior, external, or additional sacred forces fancied erroneously to exist, is stated in the following declaration :

Before me was no God formed,
And after me there shall be none;
I, I, am the Lord,
And apart from me there is no savior (Is. 43:10e-11b AT).

Not only embracing these thoughts but further emphasizing the idea that there is one God throughout the earth is the more comprehensive formula which follows :

I am the Lord, and there is no other;
Beside me there is no God.
I will gird you, though you knew me not,
That men may know, from the east
And from the west, that beside me there is none.
I am the Lord, and there is no other (Is. 45;5-6 AT).

The point is made throughout that God is incomparable, the ruler of Israel and of the whole earth (Is. 40:25, 44:7, 46:5; 43:3-7, 15, 44:6, 52:7; 45:22-23, 51:4-5).

When Deutero-Isaiah mentions Yahweh's presenting the host of the heavens or Yahweh's slaying the dragon, he dramatizes the extent of God's power and mighty works at creation, while he abandons the minute of the popular mythology. Deutero-Isaiah is thinking only of the stars,

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when he alludes to Yahweh's creating the heavens and arranging their host by number and name (Is. 40:26, 45:12) just as the author of Job when he refers to the morning stars rejoicing during creation (Job 38:4-7); both the heavenly army and the celestial chorus are metaphors. Of course, כוכבים in Isaiah 47:13 well may designate the star-divinities consulted by the astrologers of Babylon and lampooned by the author. There is little if anything in Deutero-Isaiah to resemble the mythical framework mentioned in the exilic satire against the king of Babylon in Isaiah 13:2-22-14:3-21, where God (אל) reigns among astral figures on the mountain of the assembly of the gods in the far north (Is. 14:12a, 13bc). Absent from Deutero-Isaiah is Yahweh's council of divine beings, controlling Job's fate in the old folk tale recorded in Job 1-2, 42. Absent also are the spirits aggregating about the divine throne, conspiring to delude Ahab in I Kings 22:19-23. Fanciful winged creatures fail to rustle the pages of Deutero-Isaiah as they do of First Isaiah (Is. 6) and Ezekiel (1-3).

When Deutero-Isaiah alludes to Yahweh's slaying of the dragon (Is. 51:9-11), he of course spares the reader any reference to the splitting of Tiamat's dead body into the two halves of heaven and earth, like the one in the Babylonian Creation Epic (IV:36 ff.), as well as any reference to the shattering of the heads of the dragons and the separating of the sea, in Psalm 74 (v. 13).[19] There is little of the explicitness of these fuller mythological accounts in Deutero-Isaiah. Furthermore, he tends to equate the primeval drying of the waters with the conditions making possible the exodus (Is. 51:10). He robs the myth of its content by historicizing it.

In spite of the fact that Deutero-Isaiah uses the formulas, יסד ארץ "who establishes earth (Is. 51:13, 48:13, 51:16)" and עשה ארץ "who made earth (Is. 45:18, 12)," to reinforce the basic creation motif, and even though "the cultic tradition of creation appears to stand as an

19. E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics," *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (second edition) (James Bennett Pritchard, editor; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 66 ff.

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independent element in Deutero-Isaiah," as Theodore M. Ludwig points out,[20] Deutero-Isaiah nevertheless blends together and considers inseparably the creation and the exodus in this section (Is. 51:9-11). Mythical elements largely are submerged in the process.

What is not submerged, however, is Deutero-Isaiah's choice of words or the way his language serves to reiterate that the God of the universe is the God of Israel, that the creator of the entire world is the creator of the Jewish people, whose return to rebuild their land and nation is imminent. While Yahweh is characterized by these terms, בורא קצות הארץ, "the creator of the edges of the earth (Is. 40:28b)," he also is given this epithet, בורא ישראל, "the creator Israel (Is. 43:15)." Deutero-Isaiah refers to Yahweh as either Israel's maker (Is. 44:2) or the maker of Israel and the universe (Is. 44:24bc, 45:9-13, 51:13ab, 54:5). Although the phraseology of the latter group of cases is similar, the wording of Isaiah 44.24bc and 51:13ab nearly is identical. When Deutero-Isaiah pictures Yahweh as addressing and consoling Israel with the expectation that the suffering and oppression nearly are finished, and when Yahweh possesses this characterization עשך נוטה שמים ויסד ארץ, "your maker, spreading out skies and laying earth's foundation (Is. 51:13ab)," it is evident that Deutero-Isaiah with a few strokes is bringing together the realities of the Jewish people, God, and the heavens and the earth. Yahweh also is a maker in the sense of a moulder or shaper; he resembles a "potter," יצרך, in Isaiah 45:9a. Israel and mankind are products of divine workmanship (Is. 45:11a, 12a); Israel is one nation against the background of mankind, "a potsherd among potsherds of earth," חרש את־חרשי אדמה, in 45:9a. Yahweh always is shaping, forming, and moulding; he works with materials at hand, with mountains, hills, and nations (Is. 40;12,15). His tools and materials, on the one hand (Is. 40:12-17), transcend mightily

20. Theodore M. Ludwig, "The Traditions of the Establishing the Earth in Deutero-Isaiah," Journal of Biblical Literature, 92 (1973), 357.

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those of an ordinary human craftsman, an "artificer," a "worker," on the other hand (Is. 40:19-20, 44:11-14, חרש). In the teachings of Deutero-Isaiah, creation is neither depicted as *ex nihilo* nor assigned a beginning in time. Still, Deutero-Isaiah depicts the creator as one, unqualifiedly one, in comparison with Plato, whose monotheism is stated with less consistency.

SYNOPSIS OF PLATO'S ATTITUDES

Plato sounds like a monotheist in the *Republic* and maintains a childlike dependence on God in the *Laws*, but he retains a few vestiges of polytheistic imagery when accounting for certain aspects of creation in the *Timaeus*. In the *Republic*, God is good, perfect, and the cause of the worthful aspects of human existence, although evil, as extensive as it is, cannot be attributed to deity (*Rep.* II 379-381). In the *Laws*, God's desire is to pile blessings upon a community; he will lessen the burdens which individuals bear; he hastens to listen to a parent's prayer for a child (*Laws* IV 710d, V 732c-d, XI 931c). There also is a traditional list of the types and varieties of Greek gods, and there is the proposal, for purposes of political expediency, of a state cult which would merge the traditionalists' affection for Apollo with the intellectuals' nature-orientation directed towards Helios (*Laws* IV 717a-b, XII 946b-c, 947a).[21] In the *Timaeus*, God takes earthy fiery materials and, while keeping in mind an intelligible pattern, moulds and shapes them into the physical universe. That is, the creator makes the universe by looking at the pattern of the unchangeable, lasting, permanent, and intelligible, by fashioning the physical world as a copy of the pattern, and by doing so with a variety of base materials which at the outset are random, erratic, and chaotic (*Timaeus* 28-32). Nevertheless, it does not necessarily follow that the creator is the intermediary between the pattern and the base materials.

It is true that "Plato speaks of God," he does so by way of metaphor, his thought is dynamic rather than static, and he refers to God in the *Timaeus* "as the Demiurge, who, looking upon the Ideas, brings forth

21. E. R. Dodds, "Plato and the Irrational Soul," *Plato II*, Garden City, New York : Dobleday and Company, Inc., 1971, pp. 222, 224-5, 227.

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the world from the nothingness of space or matter," as Karl Jaspers likes to summarize it.[22]

It is incorrect to say, it is careless to overgeneralize, that Plato regards God as the divine intermediary standing between the intelligible world of forms or ideas and the physical world of things or visible objects, and somehow translating the contents of the one world into the other. The divine intermediary is not mentioned in the *Republic;* two worlds separate from each other are not delineated in the *Timaeus.* The demiurge is not an in-between god or a midway divinity.

When Plato talks about the gods in the plural, he has reference to the souls, the stars, or the demiurge's assistants and ministers, not any partners and equals to the demiurge. Virtuous intelligent souls are said to be gods (*Laws* 899b 5-8, 897b 1-5, 897b 8-c2; cf. *Timaeus* 46d 5-6).[23] Since the heavenly gods are made of fire and brightly visible, such divinities can be nothing but the stars *Timaeus* 39e-40d). Even when the demiurge employs created gods as his agents for the making of creatures which are perishable, the demiurge is differentiated from the created gods not unlike the way God is differentiated from creatures in the Biblical heritage *Timaeus* 41a-d). The residents or parts of the world are labeled gods by Plato, because all of them are the works of creation, and the desire of the demiurge provides their only reason for being (*Timaeus* 29e, 41b). Thus, there are sound reasons for concurring with A. E. Taylor when he draws the following conclusion :

> It seems plain that the *Timaeus* knows of no exernal limitation imposed on God's will by conditions independent of God himself. The "maker's" goodness is the whole and complete explanation of the very existence of the natural world. This should justify us in saying that the "Demiurge" really is thought of as a Creator in the full sense of the word.[24]

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22. Karl Jaspers, *Plato and Augustine* (edited by Hannah Arendt), New York : Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962, p. 46.
23. Harold Cherniss, "The Sources of Evil According to Plato," *Plato II*, p. 255, 41.
24. A. E. Taylor, *Plato : The Man and His Work*, New York : The Humanities Press, 1949 (6th ed.), pp. 447, 452-3, 442, 443-4 (quotation).

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The merit of Philo's ancient but similar interpretation cannot be overlooked. Philo regards the lesser gods of Plato as little more than assistants or subordinate ministers charged with the responsibility of carrying on God's work, like the other beings who assisted God at the creation of man, of which Moses stated that God said "Let us make man."[25] While the latter part of the statement may be harmonistic, syncretistic, and the product of wishful thinking, the former explanation of the responsibility for God's work is still useful.

A look at Plato's vocabulary yields a comparable impression of the divine being. On the occasions when Plato mentions God in the *Timaeus* 50c3θ , 30a1, c1, d3, 31b9, 33b6, 46c8, 68d4, 69b5, 71a8, e4, 73b8, 74d8, 75c10), he generally does so in the context of the concept of creatorhood, and he selects carefully a few key terms and expressions. That God is creator is stated in several ways. God is described by the expression, τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς, "the maker and father of this universe" or, more loosely, "the poet and author of this whole (28c4-5)." Further portraying the creative function of deity is the phrase, ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας , "the one begetting this universe" or "the creator of this universe (41a6-7)." God is characterized by another pattern of terms, ὁ τοῦ καλλίστου τε καὶ ἀρίστου δημιουργὸς , "the handicraftsman of the most beautiful and best (68e2)." In addition to the term, δημιουργὸς, demiurge, meaning "handicraftsman", "skilled workman", or "artificer" and here signifying the "divine craftsman (29a3, 41a7, 42e8, 68e2, 69c5)",

25. Philo Judaeus, "On the Creation of the World" XXIV, *The Essential Philo* (Nahum N. Glatzer, ed.), New York : Schocken Books, 1971, p. 21.

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there is a word, τεκταινόμενος, meaning "maker", "carpenter", "planner", or "architect" and here signifying the "divine maker (28c8)." A similar epithet of divine lies in the words, ὁ δ' ἄριστος τῶν αἰτίων, "the best of the causes (29a6-7)." Since, in all relationship there can be no mover without something moveable, there really can be no creation *ex nihilo*, according to the *Timaeus* of Plato (57e). Still, the creator remains the one engendering the universe, unlimited by any equals or partners. As for Plato's approximation to monotheism, a review of Deutero-Isaiah's remarks alongside of Plato's should prove useful.

Deutero-Isaiah is a monotheist, but he borrows poetic symbols and figures of speech from mythological language. The same observation is applicable to Plato, except when his inclination toward monotheism may be interrupted by an atavism to divine agents and subordinates in order to account for certain aspects of creation. Neither Deutero-Isaiah nor Plato would deny that creation is an intelligent process or that fashioning the universe is the function of the divine. According to Deutero-Isaiah, God is righteous and kind; according to Plato, God is good and perfect. For Deutero-Isaiah, God is without peers and companions; for Plato, God is without partners and equals. Neither author would hold to the notion of creation *ex nihilo*, since the creator is pictured as working with materials already at hand, without further explanation of how that is possible. Whether God is the creator of the nation as well as the universe, in the eyes of both authors, must be kept in mind, while looking next at the specific themes of Deutero-Isaiah and of Plato.

SPECIFIC THEMES OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH

Neither overviews nor word studies will suffice to compare in any detailed fashion the ideas of Deutero-Isaiah and Plato. What is required is to examine the contents of the specific themes upon which each thinker likes to elaborate. Several motifs occur again and again in the materials provided by Deutero-Isaiah, consisting of the following : the creativity of divinity, the craftsman analogy, the principle of causation, the distance between divinity and humanity, and the shepherd function applicable to the human as well as the divine ruler. These themes are not mutually exclusive;

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their contents are overlapping and complementary; their cumulative effect is to amplify the prophet's emphasis upon the singleness and transcendence of deity.

(1) Deutero-Isaiah describes God as the creator, maker, and craftsman whose workmanship embraces the entire universe (Is. 40:28, 43;15, 44:2, 24, 51:13, 54:5, 45:6—12). Not only do the divine products consist of the heavens, the earth, and the stars, but they include humanity, the people of Israel, and Jerusalem (Is. 42:5, 45:11—13). As a result of creation, the earth is a fixed rather than chaotic place to live (Is 45:18).

(2) The carftsman analogy surfaces again and again in the pages of Deutero-Isaiah. The maker of the heavens and the earth seems to shape them in much the same way that the potter moulds the clay pot with his hands (Is. 45:9—12). His measuring units, containers, and scales scarcely can be considered ordinary tools, since the materials with which he works are mountains, waters, and nations, and his task is to build the foundations of the earth and unfold the tent of the heavens (Is. 40:12—17; 40:21—22, 42:5, 44:24, 45:12, 18, 48:13, 51:13, 16). The divine craftsman additionally resembles a road builder; he clears a path across the desert and allows the exiles to return home (Is. 40:3-4, 43:19-21, 52:5-6, 9-10, 54:3). Thus :

> Every valley shall be lifted up,
> And every mountain and hill shall be made low;
> And the rugged shall be made level,
> And the rough places a plain (Is. 40:4 JPS).

Crowning the designs of the divine will be the city of Jerusalem, built with precious stones and surrounded by a jeweled wall (Is. 54:11-12). Deutero-Isaiah can see no conflict between the creative and universal task of deity and the claims about a particular community, a restored Jerusalem. He reflects the biblical world of ideas, and, as Shemaryahu Talmon phrases it, "biblical thinking affirms 'particularity', as a *universal empirical fact*, and 'universalism' as a *value*, and as the *particular* goal of Israel's singular monotheism"[26]

26. Shemaryahu Talmon, "Particularity and Universality–A Jewish View." a paper presented at Hebrew Union College, Jerusalem, Israel, August, 1974, 4.

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(3) Deutero-Isāiah relies upon the principle of causation in order to connect the world with deity, to assign the universe to its creator. The effect can only acquiensce in, it has no business disputing, the cause which produced it. The clay pot would never question the potter as to the nature of his product; it would be shameful to inquire of a father what he is siring; a fetus asking a woman what she is bearing is inconceivable. If these analogies are well drawn, then there can be no quarrel between a human being and his creator (Is. 45:7-12, i. e. 9–10).

(4) The question of the distance between deity and humanity emerges in the writings of Deutero-Isaiah. Although God transcends man in both knowledge and conduct, in the sense that God's thoughts and ways are higher than man's, man may mend his ways and turn to God for pardon. The divine transcendence can be compared to the heavens towering above the earth; it consists of a righteousness and fulfillment of purpose often lacking in human beings. From the vantage point above the celestial dome, it would appear as if the occupants of earth were little more than grasshoppers, in the sense of being diminutive rather than orthopteroid. What God perceives lies beyond human understanding; he does not exhibit ordinary frailties, neither tiring nor fainting (Is. 55:6-11, 40:22, 28d, e).

(5) Deutero-Isaiah finds that the function of shepherd may be as applicable to a ruler as to deity. God leads his people along the path to safety and refuge, the exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem, as a shepherd guides his sheep by carrying the lambs and leading the ewes (Is. 40 : 1-10, 43 : 19-21, 47 : 1, 40 : 11). King Cyrus of Persia is a ruler who plays the role of shepherd and has the distinction of being so designated by Yahweh. As Yahweh's anointed or messiah, Cyrus' functions are composed of defeating rival nations and deposing their monarchs, entering fortified palaces and looting their treasuries, as well as liberating the exiles and allowing them the freedom to return to rebuild the city of Jerusalm (Is. 44 : 28-45 : 3, 13). For the prisoners who have been released, the journey home will prove to be an idyll, a lush pasture, a path where food and water are plentiful and travelers are immune to heat and wind (Is. 49 : 9-11). Deutero-Isaiah offers the following characterization of Cyrus, shepherd and conqueror :

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I say to Cyrus, 'You shall be my shepherd to carry out all my purpose.....'
Thus says the Lord to Cyrus his anointed,
Cyrus whom he has taken by the hand to subdue nations before him
and undo the might of kings (Is. 44 : 28 a-b, 45 : 1a-d NEB).

Cyrus is mentioned by Plato as well.

SPECIFIC THEMES OF PLATO

The same themes which Deutero-Isaiah discusses also receive Plato's attention, namely, the divine creativity, the craftsman simile, the causal principle, the line between divinity and humanity, and the pastoral role of the ruler. Plato writes exhaustively analytically, rarely content with the outlines of the solution, and usually spelling out the details minutely. Here are the thoughts which frequently come to the fore, starting with remarks which apply personal analogies to and imply the unitary character of deity.

(1) Plato pictures God as the creator, the father and maker, and the artificer or craftsman whose workmanship comprises the universe in its wholeness and loveliness (*Timaeus* 28a, c, 41 a). Embraced by the process of creation are among other things, the four physical elements making up the world, the placement of the stars, the formation of mortal beings, and the parts of the human body (*Timaeus* 32c, 38c-39e, 41b-43a, 44d-45b, 69c ff.). Finding the world behaving in an erratic and restless fashion, and intending everything to be good and fair, God proceeds to create order out of chaos ((*Timaeus* 30a). At the foundation of a good city, God's presence should be sought (*Laws* IV 712b).

(2) The craftsman simile emerges frequently in certain writings of Plato. The father and maker of the universe, the creator, is an artificer with a diverse assortment of tasks and tools; he mixes together the soul of the universe as well as the souls of the stars in a cup (*Timaeus* 28a, c, 41a, 68e, 69c; 41d). The materials with which the creator works are fire, earth, water, and air; being a magnificent craftsman, God combines these basic elements to form the world; as from a lathe, he shapes the world so it will be round (*Timaeus* 31b-32c, 33b). The divine geometer is able to use combinations of triangles, quadrangles, and cubes to generate the original elements (*Timaeus* 53c-57d). Even more than human workmen,

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God in his supreme wisdom attends to every detail in the interest of maintaining the whole (*Laws* X 902e-903d). Plato states the analogy thus :

> We are never, then, to fancy God the inferior of human workmen. The better they are at their work, the more exactly and perfectly do they accomplish their proper tasks, small or great, in virtue of one and the same skill (*Laws* X 902e A. E. Taylor).

(3) Plato employs the principle of causation to get to the source of the universe, to link the universe to its maker. It is obvious to Plato that every effect proceeds from a cause, and the observation applies to everything which is created, including the universe. The world had a beginning, for whatever is created must be produced by a cause; the universe had a maker or father, and the world can be depicted as "the fairest of creation" by "the best of causes"; God at the outset of creation composed the visible tangible body of the universe, shaping base matter to conform to intelligible patterns (*Timaeus* 28a-29b, 31b). While Plato is thinking of cause and effect in the abstract, he is careful to couch his thoughts in concrete imagery, preferring the simile "father" and using the expression "work of the creator."

(4) Any line drawn between divinity and humanity becomes blurred and indistinct in the dialogues of Plato. Marely hinting of the divine transcendence and refuting the Protagoras in Everyman, Plato nonetheless argues that God rather than man is the "measure of all things," although man by being temperate can be loved by God. Likeness to God is in proportion to temperate, so that the temperate are godlike while the intemperate are not (*Laws* IV 716c-d). Plato acknowledges that the creator can be neither located nor described, and he is beyond reach except for the fact that inquiry can be made as to the patterns by which the world was created (*Timaeus* 28c). That is, "the father and maker of all this universe is past finding out, and even if we found him, to tell of him to all men would be impossible (28c 3-5 Benjamin Jowett)." God cannot be depicted as being lazy or negligent, as having human foibles (*Laws* X 901a). While exaggerating Plato's awareness of the unconscious, Eric Voegelin nonetheless hits the mark when affirming the Plato "shared unreservedly

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the common Greek conviction that things divine are not for mortal to know."[27]

(5) Plato grapples with the question as to whether the shepherd's role is appropriate either for deity or for a ruler. According to the myth of Cronus relating to an earlier cosmic era, human affairs were portrayed as idyllic because God was the shepherd tending the human flock, heavenly daemons served as shepherds of the various species of animals, there was no aggression, and plants and grass appeared spontaneously (*Statesman* 271d-272a, 275a). Drawing an analogy from the story, Plato temporarily entertains the notion that the current ruler's role is to act as " 'shepherd of the people,' feeding humankind in the way shepherds feed their sheep and cowherds their cattle (*Statesman* 275b 7-8 J. B. Skemp)." He is also physician to the sick and midwife to the pregnant *(Statesman* 268a-b). Coming to a less grandiose and more cautious conclusion, Plato defines the function of the king or statesman as tending the needs of a human community or herd when its members give their approval freely (*Statesman* 276e).

Plato furnishes a flattering appraisal of the Persians and their flair for freedom during the rule of King Cyrus. Not only were the Persians able to secure liberty for themselves, but they managed to share it with the nations whom they governed. Plato draws this vignette of Cyrus as parent, conqueror, and man of shepherd heritage :

> As for their father, he was busy winning for them flocks and herds and drove after drove of men and other creatures .....for the Persians, you know, were shepherds and sons of the barren hills-well fitted to turn out sturdy shepherds, equal to the endurance of exposure and wakefulness, and the hardships of a campaign too, when necessary (*Laws* III 694e 6-695a 1, 4-7).

Among other topics, Cyrus' shepherd heritage and the ruler's function are to be the subject of further inquiry.

COMMON THEMES OF DEUTERO-ISAIAH AND PLATO

At this point, a comparison of the motifs shared by Deutero-Isaiah and Plato is in order. To put side by side the ideas which these thinkers

27. Eric Voegelin, *Plato and Aristotle*, (*Order and History*, v. 3), Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University Press, 1957, p. 193.

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have in common, to examine simultaneously the meanings which both of them wish to impart, is the next step. Even though other examples may come to light in the future, there is evidence now of similarities between the two authors in their figures of speech and principles of reasoning, particularly in the five cases enumerated below.

(1) Deutero-Isaiah and Plato use the same kind of epithets when referring to deity; they both speak of God as creator, maker, and craftsman. The workmanship of the divine extends to all parts of the universe, and the results are anything but chaotic. Although Plato acknowledges that God's blessing should rest upon the establishment of a good city, he does not match Deutero-Isaiah's earlier claim that God is the creator of nation as well as the universe.

(2) The craftsman analogy proves to be a convenient figure of speech for both Deutero-Isaiah and Plato. For the former, the maker of the heavens and the earth resembles the potter working with the clay; only the divine workman could measure the distance of the sky and weigh the hills and the mountains. God also is the road builder for the returning exiles. According to glimpses from the latter thinker, the father and maker of the universe mixes together the souls of the stars in a cup; God shapes the world as from a lathe; he surpasses human workmen when it comes to the qualities of exactness and attention to detail. The creator also is a geometer whose chief tool is the triangle.

(3) Both Deutero-Isaiah and Plato avail themselves of the principle of causation in order to trace the universe to its creator. Whether it is the clay pot and the potter, the fetus and the mother, or the individual and his maker, the effect cannot contest the cause generating it, as for as Deutero-Isaiah is concerned. Since everything created must go back to a cause, and the universe itself possesses a maker or father, it is easy for Plato to imagine that God made the corporeal, visible, and tangible universe. Both thinkers utilize the simile of the father when trying to find suitable analogies for the one diety.

(4) Whether God can be known fully is a question confronted by Deutero-Isaiah and Plato, and answered negatively by both. Deutero-Isaiah asserts that God transcends man in both thoughts and deeds; ordinary human weeknesses, getting tired and fainting, do not beset deity;

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what God perceives remains above human comprehension. Plato states that God, not man is the "'measure of all things'"; commonplace human faults, negligence and laziness, are not applicable to deity; the creator cannot be described, since he is out of reach and beyond finding. In spite of the similarity in regard to inscrutability, there is more emphasis upon the characteristic of transcendence in Deutero-Isaiah than Plato.

(5) Scenes of a pastoral life provide the symbolic setting in which the roles of God and the ruler may be explored simultaneously, for both Deutero-Isaiah and Plato. According to Deutero-Isaiah, God leads his people as a shepherd guides his sheep. King Cyrus of Persia likewise functions as a divinely appointed shepherd, for he is conquering enemy nations and rulers, and he soon will give freedom to the Jewish people. Plato's line of reasoning is similar. Just as God is the shepherd tending the human flock in the myth of Cronus, so the ruler is the "'shepherd of the people'" or the one tending the needs of a human community, a human herd. Plato pictures King Cyrus as a man of shepherd heritage as well as a ruler who conquered peoples and seized their flocks. During Cyrus' rule, the Persians reportedly shared their freedom with the nations whom they governed. Deutero-Isaiah and Plato both entertain generous views of Cyrus. In both sets of writings, God is like a shepherd, and the good ruler will act like a shepherd.

QUALIFICATION AND DIVERGENCE

Thus, any list of similarities between Deutero-Isaiah and Plato, whether unexpected or otherwise, has to do largely with conceptions of deity and rulership. Nevertheless, it should not be used to conceal their divergent pictures of the world, the earth itself. Deutero-Isaiah generally refrains from portraying the earth in creaturely terms; when he compares the people of Israel to sheep, he does so figuratively, in anticipation of the merciful return of the exiles (Is. 40 : 11, cf. 49 : 9-10). By contrast, Plato actually does regard the world as an "animal which was to comprehend all animals," "a globe round as from a lathe," a sphere without senses and limbs, a self-dependent being with nothing external to perceive (*Timaeus* 33b-34b). Although Plato's words may sound strange to modern ears, they may be echoed in part by the Gaia hypothesis advanced recently by James Lovelock, specialist in the amounts of Freon in the atmosphere,

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and Sidney Epton. According to them, the earth is a giant system containing the land, the seas, the air, and life itself; its living matter is capable of governing its temperature and atmosphere. "The system seemed to exhibit the behaviour of a single organism, even a living creature."[28]

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

A final problem arises as to how Deutero-Isaiah (ca. 539 B. C. E.) and Plato (427-347 B. C. E.) can come from ancient sources as divergent as the Hebrew-Jewish and the Greek traditions, be separated by more than a century, and still have so much content in common? What is surprising is that there is any agreement between the two authors. Whether there are reasons explaining or relationships accounting for the similarities between Deutero-Isaiah and Plato, between a representative of the Hebrew-Jewish heritage in the latter part of the sixth century and a spokesman for the Greek tradition who bridges the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. E., is the main issue.

To be more explicit, how can one explain the fact that Deutero-Isaiah and Plato both speak of God as creator, maker, and father, apply the craftsman analogy to the creator, employ the principle of causation to trace the universe to its maker, deny that God can be known fully, and apply the shepherd function to the ruler? Why do both thinkers characterize deity as a moral being, unlimited by divine partners, and intelligently fashioning the universe from materials at hand? Are there reasons accounting for the fact that Deutero-Isaiah and Plato share a mutual antipathy toward polytheism, its crass anthropomorphic tendency, its contradictory and irrational character, and its unreal claims about its gods? Whether the artisans who construct the gods are blacksmiths or poets, whether it's a Marduk or Zeus who is being scrutinized, there is a fanciful bizarre quality to the notion of many gods in the eyes of critics like Deutero-Isaiah and Plato. To resume the question, why are both authors repelled by the customs and notions of polytheism and impelled in the direction of monotheism? Deutero-Isaiah has fixed upon and Plato is inclined toward the belief in the unitary character of deity; Plato is less consistent because of his use of divine agents to explain the

28. James Lovelock and Sidney Epton, "The Quest for Gaia," *New Scientist*, February 6, 1975, 304.

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making of creatures which are perishable. Both authors utilize mythological language in a poetic and symbolic fashion.

Several answers emerge in response to these questions and issues. For one thing, it is understandable how Deutero-Isaiah and Plato can find the same personal epithets for God, because their societies contain the same essential tasks, crafts and functions. There are makers of things, craftsmen, fathers, and shepherds in ancient Palestine as surely as ancient Greece. Wherever there may be artisans, families, and flocks to be tended, such analogies may come to mind.

Moreover, the explanation of how Deutero-Isaiah and Plato both use the causal principle to link the universe and God does not lie in an act of cultural borrowing but in a quality of the human intellect. Anywhere the human intellect is restless until it is able to tie events together, connect events coming before with those coming after, discover causes for effects and trace effects to causes, and hypothesize the existence of a cause for an object which has the dimensions of the world. To look for the cause, regardless of the size of the object, is to be a curious, reasoning, and human being. In David Hume's words, "all reasonings concerning matter of fact seem to be founded on the relation of *cause and effect.*"[29]

Furthermore, there is a parallel solution in regard to why Deutero-Isaiah, unqualifiedly, and Plato, qualifiedly, have an aversion to polytheism coupled with an affinity for monotheism. Regardless of the place in the ancient world where each thinker lives, certain logical alternatives are available to him, by virtue of the intrinsic intellectual capacity which the human being possesses. Whenever many factors are offered to explain a phenomenon, whether they be the reasons for an event, the primal elements at work in nature, or the gods responsible for the diverse facets of nature and history, it's quite possible, given the nature of cognitive apparatus and the logical options available to the intellect, to put aside the many and focus on the one. When there are several principles, forces, or powers under consideration, accepting them together, discarding all of them, and choosing one over the rest are the usual operations

29. David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, *Harvard Classics*, New York : P. F. Collier and Son Company, 1910, v. 37, p. 325.

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to execute. Analyzing, enumerating, weighing, judging, and choosing are the mental functions which the human organism has; they may be innate mental functions if, as Noam Chomsky supposes, there is an "innate basis for the acquisition of knowledge."[30] Turning against many divinities and turning toward one deity are correlative activities in a broader judgmental process which, as thoughtful human beings, Deutero-Isaiah and Plato share.

Of course, it is possible that, given the ground swell of intellectual activity and the clash of moral and political opinion represented by the Hebrew-Jewish prophetic movement, the ideas of its spokesmen could make their way to Greece. Why couldn't ideas travel as readily from the Near East to Greece as from Greece to the Near East? Plato is acquainted with a story by a man from Sidon (*Laws* II 663e, cf. *Rep.* III 414c). While it's conceivable that Deutero-Isaiah has an indirect influence on Plato, it's evident that influences which are indirect are difficult to demonstrate. What is demonstrable, however, is that Deutero-Isaiah draws directly on earlier Hebrew-Jewish sources, while Plato borrows directly from other Greek writings. For example, Deutero-Isaiah extracts from and builds on the materials of his predecessors among the prophets, First Isaiah or Isaiah of Jerusalem (Is. 45:9-10, cf. Is. 29:16; Is. 42:6-7, 16, 45:19, 50:10, cf. 9:2; Is. 40:6-8, cf. Is. 15:6, 1:30, 16:8-10; Is. 42:14-17, cf. Is. 26:16-19), Hosea and Jeremiah (Is. 54:5-6, cf. Hos. 2:2,16,19, cf. Jer. 2:2,32, 3:1,8,20), and Micah and Jeremiah (Is. 40:11, cf. Mic. 5:4, 5–6, cf. Jer. 3:15, 23:1-4), among others. More explicity, Plato gives the names of the individuals to whom he is indebted, including Homer and Hesiod, philosophers like Protagoras and Parmenides, other writers like Aeschylus, Pindar and Theognis, and of course, Socrates and his disciples. In terms of the immediate conditions, it follows that Deutero-Isaiah and Plato generally operate within the resources provided by their own traditions.

At the same time, there is one substantial example of cultural borrowing, not one thinker from the other, but both from a further source. Deutero-Isaiah and Plato reflect a common admiration for King Cyrus of Persia. To recapture Deutero-Isaiah's view, Cyrus functions

30. Noam Chomsky, *Language and Mind*, New York : Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1972, p. 171.

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as a shepherd, one divinely selected, who subdues enemy nations and, in the case of Jewish exiles, is ready to liberate a captive people from a former conqueror. For Plato, Cyrus is remembered as a ruler of shepherd heritage, conquering foreign lands, and sharing liberty with the subjects whom he governs. Both Deutero-Isaiah and Plato are relying on the impression, and they interpret the suggestion, that the youthful Cyrus was a herdsman and he came to create the reputation of a sovereign who was lenient, if not generous and humane, and who was capable of ameliorating, correcting, and reversing the circumstances which developed under prior conquerors. Cyrus' career is so recorded in several documents. Herodotus, in his *History*, retains the Persian traditions of how Cyrus was raised as the foster son of a herdsman and how, on an important occasion, he slaughtered his father's sheep, goats, and cows to prepare a feast for the Persian army (I 113, 126). There are vignettes of Cyrus sparing the life of a rival king and saving a city from ruins (I 86-88, 155-156). The Cyrus cylinder, in a tone of aggrandizement, recounts "his good deeds and his upright mind," the places he restrained his troops from terrorizing, that he "strove for peace in Babylon," and how he returned certain gods from Babylon to their own sacred cities.[31] In these records, Cyrus and his illustriousness are virtually indistinguishable; he is not impatient and tries to restore matters the way they were. His image is not lost on his admirers. It becomes evident that the flattering appraisals of Deutero-Isaiah and Plato reflect the same stereotype of Cyrus as good, upright, and just. Thus, Deutero-Isaiah and Plato draw similar pictures of the notable impact and advance of Cyrus, because they are recipients of similar claims regarding him, about a beneficent and shepherdly conqueror.

Generally speaking, Deutero-Isaiah and Plato operate independently of each other, within their own fertile traditions. Where there are similarities, they are due to the fact that cultures, otherwise divergent, generate similar analogies based on comparable occupations and family roles, that human beings have the same cognitive equipment, and that individual thinkers, otherwise different, must rely on the same conceptual

31. A. Leo Oppenheim, tr., "3. Cyrus (557-529)," James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (3rd ed.), Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton, University Press, 1969, pp. 315-316.

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processes. To recapitulate, Deutero-Isaiah and Plato both conceive of God as maker, craftsman, father, and shepherd, because, in their respective cultures, they both are familiar with individuals who create things, artisans, parents, and herdsmen. The two thinkers make use of the principle of causation, since, as human beings, they share a common curiosity as to the source of an event, especially the source of the earth. To choose one over many, in an effort to resolve a question, theological or otherwise, is a logical exercise of which Deutero-Isaiah and Plato equally are capable, having, as individuals do, a common intellectual apparatus. On account of his meteoric career as well as the lenient and generous reputation which he fostered, Cyrus emerges as a praiseworthy figure in the eyes of both authors. Therefore, numerous similarities can be discovered between Deutero-Isaiah and Plato, acknowledged high marks in the course of ancient Hebrew-Jewish and Greek thought. The parallels between the two thinkers can be explained on the basis of similar societal crafts and functions, the same elemental ideational processes, and the admiration they mutually profess for King Cyrus of Persia.

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SAMKARA ON TWO LEVELS OF KNOWLEDGE

LINA GUPTA

In this article we shall examine different quotations of Samkara from his numerous writings in an attempt to elucidate an implied epistemological theory of two levels of knowledge. Discussion of knowledge has been an important part in Samkara's philosophy. But he didn't consider epistemology as an independent area of enquiry, rather as part of his metaphysical discussions. Even though he did not treat epistemology as a distinct philosophical topic, it would be a mistake to suppose that Samkara was indifferent to the problem of the nature of knowledge. Samkara's writings contain numerous hints which enable us to construct a theory of knowledge. However, it is an important factor to note that he was interested not so much in the theory of knowledge as such, as he was in showing the limited value of the empirical knowledge.

In order to establish Samkara's view on two levels of knowledge, it is necessary that we find what he meant by knowledge, its nature and its criterion. Although nowhere did Samkara offer any detailed discussion on knowledge, whenever necessity occurred he certainly mentioned about the important aspects of the theory of knowledge. Nevertheless, whatever he mentioned was mostly a statement here and a statement there which hardly amounts to a complete discussion or evaluation of what he really wanted to say about knowledge. My understanding is that the reason Samkara did not proceed into, any detailed discussion on certain aspects of the theory of knowledge is that he already accepted whatever was accepted by the school of Advaitins to which he belonged. Under this circumstance, we shall take a liberty of using certain theories held by the Advaitins in order to explain Samkara's own view.

He raises this question of knowledge in regard to the enquiry into Brahman or the ultimate reality. He questions whether or not we are in a state of total ignorance when we show our desire for ultimate knowledge, since desire to know can only be explicable with reference to an object which is not definitely known, and which can be known by reasoning and

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analysis. What Samkara seems to be indicating is that if we were in total ignorance we would never have had the desire for the ultimate knowledge at all. By the same token, if we were in possession of all possible knowledge, there would be nothing further to desire. So, according to Samkara, we know and yet we do not know.

He concludes that we have partial knowledge regarding everything we experience and this knowledge serves our purpose to a certain extent. It also gives us an incentive to seek higher knowledge. Knowledge, Samkara explains, is not an acquisition, rather it is the very essence of our being. From two different levels of our experience we view knowledge in two different ways. In India, philosophical enquiry originated as a natural response to the painful nature of human existence. Man was seeking freedom from the pain. He began to enquire into the reason for the pain and how to achieve release from it. Samkara's writings show us this motivation in its true sense. In his *Upadesa Sahasri*, he states :

> Conscious of the body, the senses and their objects I feel pain in the state of waking and also in dream again and again after intervals of rest in deep sleep experienced by me. Is this my own nature or is it causal, I being of a different nature ?
>
> The teacher said to him : listen, my child, this is not your true nature, but causal.
>
> The teacher said : the cause is ignorance (ajnana). Knowledge brings it to an end.
>
> The (false) conception of pain with regard to the self vanishes forever when the (right) knowledge of self (Brahman) arises, like all kinds of pain, experienced in dreams, come to an end as soon as one wakes up.

The above mentioned quotations can be approached in two different ways. From one approach all four of these quotations can be summarized as follows : Pain is a fact in life and the cause of pain is ajnana (ignorance) which in Sanskrit refers to absence of knowledge. In order to remove an effect, one needs to remove the cause. The only possible way ignorance can be removed is by the presence of knowledge. Hence to avoid pain is to "know" and "to know", Samkara explains is to "know one's own self". If we consider the first part of the first

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quotation, it seems that Samkara is trying to explain the nature of pain, "conscious of the body....I feel pain" seems to explain, that pain like any other feeling, is one's response to one's situation or environment. The last quotation seems to explain that one can be released from pain by changing one's response. That is to say, changing one's view or attitude should be the key for solving the problem of pain. It seems in these two different statements, Samkara is expressing his view regarding the two levels of one's experience which he later termed as vyabaharika (empirical) and paramarthika (transcendental).

At the level of vyabaharika one is aware of one's experience of pain and pleasure which are very real to one as long as one is experiencing them. Just as dream experience is very real to the person as long as one is dreaming. But as soon as one wakes up one sees things differently. Samkara stresses that it is just the same in our everyday waking experience. These experiences are real as long as one is having them and one does not know any better. As soon as one has the knowledge of one's own self, these vyabaharika (empirical) experiences become of lesser value. It seems that, for Samkara, things viewed from different points of view are seen to have different qualities and meanings.

It may very well be true that a person who has a changed view about himself is less likely to fall into the old pattern of his painful situations and I think this is an excellent psychological insight that Samkara has shown; but he offers no account of how or why a person is ignorant to begin with, ignorance which he considers to be the cause of one's painful situation.

From another approach, we can see the importance of the analysis of human experience in Samkara's philosophy. His entire philosophy, particularly his notion of knowledge, can be seen to be derived from human experience. Although the aforementioned quotations do not contain any extensive discussion on this matter, it seems that a closer look at these quotations might show us implicit references to the factors which are essential in understanding Samkara's theory of knowledge. It may seem that in his statement "conscious of the body.....". Samkara is referring to the painful human existence. What, in fact, he is trying is to explain what empirical knowledge is.

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Samkara is concerned about painful human existence. Pain as we ordinarily understand it is relative in connotation, which can only be explained with its reference to pleasure. What probably Samkara is referring to is the relative nature of the empirical knowledge. That is, whatever we experience in our empirical level is not an absolute experience or knowledge which could be explained by itself. He seems to be agreeing that, philosophy must start with the conception of subjectivity and for him the starting point is that 'I am aware'. From this point subjectivity is essentially bodily, and interactive with its world. What Samkara is trying to develop may very well be compared with "genetic" phenomenology—one which analyzes the origin and development of experience and the meanings of its objects.

For Samkara, the key element in explicating experience is his concept of bodily subject. It is from the bodily interactions with its surroundings by way of perceptural experiences that the subject-object structure of explicity consciousness emerges. That is, possibility of perception is dependent on a basic duality of the body-subject. "Conscious of the body....." states this idea. The very meaning of what it is to be a seeing or sensing subject requires that the body also have an objective aspect whereby it is visible or sensible. Here Samkara is explaining the most important factor in empirical knowledge; that is, without the duality of subject-object, empirical knowledge is not possible. When properly understood, this aspect of duality in empirical knowledge can be explained in the following manner there is a subject-object duality in our empirical experience, but beyond that there is a constant confusion in meaning between the structure of the body as subjectively experienced and as objectively observed.

The gist of the second approach is : human existence is basically painful in nature. To be precise, whatever we experience in the empirical level is not satisfactory. The reason for dissatisfaction is our ignorance of the absolute knowledge which is the basic and ultimate goal of the human nature. Whatever we are experiencing here and now is relative and dualistic in nature. The main confusion is the confusion of subject with the body. The confusion which Samkara explains later, is the result of our ignorance regarding our own nature. Our nature can never be

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explained with reference to either relatively or duality of subject-object. "I" which we consider to be the subject experiencing or knowing the world around, is not to be confused with either body or mind. "I" is a false imposition on one's true nature which is beyond any subject-object distinction. There is enough to indicate from the previously mentioned quotations that Samkara is really developing a theory of two levels of knowledge. He starts his discussion with an explication of empirical level of knowledge and then slowly brings in the conception of transcendental knowledge.

Conception of Knowledge

In Sanskrit the word for knowledge is 'Jnana'. The term 'jnana' has been derived from the root word 'jna' which means 'to be aware of'. 'Jnana' according to the ordinary Sanskrit usage, stands for either manifestation of an object or the awareness of an object. To say that knowledge is manifestation of an object is to say that knowledge can only be explained with reference to object. That is, knowledge is dependent on the object. To say that knowledge is the awareness of an object is to say that knowledge can only be explained with reference to the subjective awareness. That is, knowledge depends on the awareness we have of the object. It seems that there were two different views on knowledge prevalent in Indian philosophy. From the following quotations we find that Samkara was quite familiar with the popular views regarding knowledge. With respect to the first view Samkara states :

> Knowledge depends on the nature of the object.
> And it is only in relation to other things that the self is called a knower.

He is trying to show that those who are advocates of the transcendental knowledge tend to see the empirical level as the standpoint directly opposite their own. The empirical standpoint revolves around two assumptions. The first is that the world known through perception, exists independently of the object experiencing it. Second, it looks at experiences and the relation of the experient and his world from the perspective of an outsider rather than examining the experience in its lived immediacy. Thus, it assumes that a human subject is a part of the world in fundamentally the same way as other things are. The corollary of this

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second assumption is that our experience of the world can be explained by action of the world on us, by mediation of the body, in a cause-effect relationship similar to that found in the world.

With respect to the second view on knowledge, Samkara states :

> There is no distinction of a jar to a blind man having no power of vision. If, however, they were to predicate distinction about the agents, etc., they must admit that knowledge belongs to the self.
>
> Non-conscious objects of knowledge (objects of sound, touch, sight, smell, etc.) illumine themselves, not one another. Therefore, objects of senses are illumined by one (consciousness) other than themselves.

According to the aforementioned view, knowledge depends on the experiencing subject. Objects of our experience being non-conscious by nature, cannot very well be known to one another. There has to be an experiencing subject. It is evident that we see *with* the eyes, hear *with* the ears, feel *with* the hands, etc. But all the senses, as well as their corresponding objects are non-conscious in nature. We experience the eye, ears, and hands etc. as the reason or cause of our reception of visual sense data. They are not to be considered the subject of experience. What is to be considered as subject ? Samkara explains that self or consciousness is the subject.

Here we are confronted with two completely opposite views on knowledge : according to the one, knowledge depends on the object and according to the other, knowledge depends on the knowing subject. It seems from the above mentioned quotations, that Samkara is not only well aware of these two opposite views, he is, in fact, in favour of both these views. If we are to take Samkara seriously in both aspects of this elucidation, as I believe we must, then the key to the resolution of the issue lies in the recognition that for Samkara conception of knowledge has to be understood from different points of view. From the empirical point of view knowledge is a product of the interaction of both a subject as well as an object; in which case the subject is an important contributive factor in knowledge as the object is. Consequently, knowledge depends on both.

We find that through the discussions on the prevalent views on knowledge, Samkara is slowly preparing the ground for his own view on

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knowledge. He proclaims :

> The word knowledge is used secondarily for the mental modification. I have told you that what is your consciousness is nothing but absolute knowledge.

According to these statements, the term 'knowledge' has been understood by Samkara in two different senses. In the secondary sense of the term, knowledge is a product of subject object interaction; the interaction which could be termed as mental modification. Knowledge in the primary sense of the term is pure consciousness, which is beyond any subject-object distinction, consequently beyond any sort of interaction.

Knowledge in the secondary sense according to Samkara is mental modification. Mental modification is a form of mind. Knowledge in the level of everyday life is knowledge 'of something'. That is, knowledge in the empirical sense is knowledge of an object known by a subject. On the one side of a knowledge situation there is a subject and the other side there is an object. How is the contact between a subject and an object possible ? Mental modification is the connecting link which connects the mind to the object. Mind by its own nature is devoid of any knowing power. It is only with the help of consciousness that the mind becomes the knowing subject. That is, mind being closest to the consciousness receives the light of consciousness and becomes illuminated.

Mind through the sense organs comes in contact with the object and assumes its form which is called mental modification; the result is that we come to know the object. So in order for us to know something, mind has to come in contact with the object as well as with the consciousness. However, we have to remember that contact between the consciousness and the mind is different from the contact between the mind and an object. Contact between consciousness and mind, Samkara explains, is more like a contact between a light and the object. The question would be how does mind get to know more than one object at the same time. That is to say, how does mind come in contact with more than one object at a time. The answer to such question according to Samkara is that mind is finite and of medium magnitude. So it can be connected with one or more organs at the same time and thereby come in contact with more than one object at a time.

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Although mind does not contain any knowing power, through the reflection of consciousness it becomes a knower and takes the form of the object. So in the secondary sense mental modification according to Samkara is called knowledge.

'Knowledge' in the primary sense of the term according to Samkara is pure consciousness. Pure consciousness, he explains, is neither a subject nor an object, rather it is a state of being which is devoid of any subject-object distinction. Consciousness according to Samkara is fundamental in every act of knowing. There cannot be any feeling, willing, thinking or imagining without the light of pure consciousness. Consciousness is not the product of any act of knowing or feeling. Rather it is the changeless underlying reality of all our experiences. That is to say, it is the fundamental reality that alone exists; the reality which Samkara termed as Brahman.

Essence of Absolute Knowledge or Brahman, Samkara explains is "in which there is no differentiation of knower, knowledge and known." Samkara has referred to such sense of knowledge innumerable times in his writings. Although it is not readily apparent, it seems to me that at this point Samkara attempts to show the difference of transcendental knowledge which is undifferentiated, pure consciousness from the empirical knowledge which depends on the duality of the subject and the object.

It seems that Samkara is offering two somewhat inconsistent explanations of knowledge. On the one hand, knowledge in the true sense of the term for him is pure consciousness which is beyond any subject-object distinction; that is, consciousness is devoid of any individual act of knowing. Yet on the other hand, he asserts with equal insistence that knowledge is knowledge 'of something' which depends on subject-object interaction and the interaction is possible only through the mind which is influenced by the knowing power of consciousness, so consciousness possesses knowing power yet lacks the individual act of knowing. This apparent inconsistency can be explained if we take into account that he is not referring to different explanations of knowledge which belong to the same level, rather referring to knowledge of two different levels.

As we already noted, consciousness is the underlying reality which persists through all our varied experience. The objects of our knowledge

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change, but the consciousness stays the same. In order to show the continuity and oneness of consciousness, Sankara analyzes human experience into four states. The four states are : the waking state, the dreaming state, deep sleep and the transcendental state. He starts his discussion with the waking state, as that is what considered to be the first stage of self-consciousness in our ordinary life.

In the waking state, one is aware or conscious of external objects as well as of internal feelings. Samkara is not interested in explaining the functions of the waking state, rather he is interested in showing the self-identity which persists throughout our varied experiences. Objects of our experience change but the "I" who is conscious of all the happenings, remains the same. The second state according to Samkara is our dreaming state, where one is aware of the impressions left by the waking state. The dream state as Deutsch explains "is thus a natural extension of the waking state." It is the same "I" who is conscious of the waking state who is also conscious of the dreaming state.

The third state as Samkara explains, is the state of deep sleep, which is devoid of any external or internal objects. It is a unified state of consciousness where objects are absent. However that does not mean that the deep sleep state is a state where we are unconscious. If that were the case, no one would have awakened and said, "I slept well." How does one know that one slept well ? One has to be consciousness or to be aware to witness the experience of deep sleep. One is conscious in deep sleep, yet not in the same way as one is conscious of waking or dreaming states. The fourth state is the state of self-realization when one realizes the identity of one's self with the universal consciousness (Brahman). It is evident that Samkara's intention in bringing up the four states of consciousness is to show the continuity of consciousness through all our varied experiences.

As he states :

> For what is one's own nature is never seen to cease to persist while one is persisting. But waking and dream cease to persist while pure consciousness continues to do so. Pure consciousness, the self, persists in deep sleep and whatever is non-persistent (at the time) is either destroyed or negated in such as adventitious

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things, never the properties of one's own nature are found to possess these characteristics, for example the destruction of money, clothes, etc., and the negation of things acquired in dream or delusion, are seen.

What Samkara is trying to do is to get us to take a fresh look at the structures of the world as experienced and human behaviour as it is known objectively or reflectively. To talk about our experiences of the world is to talk about things which we are aware of. And one of the first things to be noted in this respect is that, the world and the experience regarding the world can be differentiated in the several different levels. We must not forget, however, that in all this analysis, Samkara is not merely interested in pointing out the minute details of these different levels of experience, but rather in finding the a priori condition for human experience or knowledge.

The question would be : What is knowledge ? Is it an activity, quality or a relation ? Different schools of Indian philosophy tried to explain knowledge in different ways. We find that nearly everything that Samkara said of value, he said against something which has been said first by other schools of Indian philosophy. It is, therefore, important that the conceptions made by other schools be discussed since they provide the true background to his metaphysics and in consequence vital for its understanding. However, to recognize the significance of Samkara's rejection of other views is one thing and to understand the arguments is another. Admittedly, in Samkara's philosophy little space is devoted to this subject. So instead of going into the details of the arguments, we shall try to point out the main idea behind those criticisms and arguments.

Conceptions of Knowledge as Criticized by Samkara

According to Samkara, knowledge is not an activity directed towards an object as Mimansakas inclined to believe. He clarifies his view by pointing out the distinctive nature of 'knowledge' as well as of 'activity' : "Knowledge depends on an object while action depends entirely on the performer." With this remark, Samkara seems to be implying that an activity is that which can be accomplished irrespective of the nature of the object. It depends on the volitional aspect of the

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individual concerned. But knowing cannot be considered in this sense. "Knowledge depends on an object", that is, Knowledge is not optional as either to do or not to do, or to do it any way one pleases. To be precise, we cannot choose the way we are experiencing the things. We experience things as they are, such as we cannot just open our eyes and wish that we could see a beautiful lake where in fact there is a mountain in front of us.

So it seems that if we consider knowledge in its secondary sense as mental modification (individual act of knowing), it is not an activity, since activity depends on will of the person and knowledge depends on the nature of the object concerned. However, consideration of knowledge in its primary sense as pure consciousness does not establish Mimamsaka's theory either. Pure consciousness, Samkara claims, is self revealed. It is always there and we do not require anything else to prove its existence. We must note the distinctive nature of activity, that is, activity needs to be known in order for its existence to be established. So the self or manifested consciousness which is responsible for the knowledge of activity cannot in turn be known in terms of activity. So knowledge for Samkara in the secondary sense is simple awareness or consciousness of an object and not an action directed towards an object. Knowledge in its primary sese is pure consciousness, is not something to be attained by an activity; it is by nature attained by all because it always "is".

According to the Nyayayika, School of Indian philosophy, knowledge is a product. In a knowledge situation, self is in contact with the mind which contacts the objects through the sense organs. So according to the Nyayayikas, knowledge is the end product which arises through all these contacts. Objecting to such view, Samkara explains that knowledge is a state of being which is devoid of any subject-object distinction, hence cannot be the product of subject-object contact. Knowledge is pure consciousness, which makes all the relationship between subject-object possible. It produces the relationship among mind, sense and the objects. So consciousness cannot in turn be the product of any contact. Although in any individual act of knowing we experience consciousness as limited by the mental modification, an individual act of knowing is nothing other than the manifestation of consciousness limited

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by the mental modification. As D. M. Datta explains in his *Six Ways of Knowing* : "Mind is a factor in the modification of the already existing consciousness.

Knowledge, Samkara explains, is not an attribute or quality of the self as the Visitadvaita School holds. Consciousness or knowledge cannot be the quality of the self. Since consciousness is self's very essence, consciousness is the underlying reality of everything we experience. So it is the essence of all we experience including the individual self rather than its quality.

It can be argued that consciousness is the quality of the mind which is necessary in one's individual act of knowing. Samkara rejects that idea by saying that, mind is devoid of consciousness. It is the light of pure consciousness which turns mind-sense-object contact into an individual act of knowing. So whether we consider knowing in its primary sense or in its secondary sense, knowledge as consciousness is neither an attribute or a quality of the self nor of the mind. The important point to be observed here is that Samkara is expressing his view on the difference between a quality and essence of an object.

I have explained the theories of knowledge as rejected by Samkara. I shall now explain what seems to me Samkara himself thinks of knowledge. We already noted that pure consciousness or knowledge according to Samkara is beyond any characterization. It is a state of Being. It just "is". It can neither be affirmed nor be denied. However, knowledge in the secondary sense as accepted as mental modification can be affirmed or denied. As Samkara explains :

> That supreme Brahman which is beyond the range of all speech..... the embodiment of knowledge.

I have already explained what Samkara meant by pure knowledge, and I also mentioned that Samkara nowhere gave any detailed discussion of his theory of knowledge. So I shall explain empirical knowledge (valid or invalid knowledge) as defined by the Advaitins to the school Samkara belongs to.

Definition of Knowledge According to the Advaitins

'Jñāna' or knowledge in its broadest sense includes different forms of knowledge, forms which according to the Advaitins could be divided

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under two categories. The first one of these categories is called Prama or valid knowledge, and the second one is called Aprama which is other than valid knowledge. Aprama can also be divided under two categories which include invalid and non-valid knowledge.

Prama or valid knowledge as defined in *Vedanta Paribhāsā* as "that knowledge which has for its object something that is not previously known and is uncontradicted". Aprama or knowledge other than the valid knowledge according to the Advaitins is the apprehension of having something for its knowledge which it does not have. Definition of Aprama or knowledge other than the valid knowledge is offered by the Advaitins is a broad definition which includes not only false experience but includes memory as well. Consequently, it can be subdivided into invalid and non-valid knowledge.

NOTES

1. Sri Samkaracharya, *Bhasyas on the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana*, Trans. 5, Radhakrishnan, London : George Allen and Unwin, 1960, I.1.1.
2. Ibid.
3. Sri Samkaracharya, *Upadesa Sahasri*, Trans. Swami Jagadananda, Madras : Ramakrishna Math, 1973, II : 45.
4. Ibid., II : 46.
5. Ibid., II : 48.
6. Ibid., XVIII : 193.
7. Ibid., II : 45.
8. Ibid.
9. Samkara, *Bhasya*, P. 106.
10. Sri Samkaracharya, *Atmajnaopadishavidhi*. Trans. Swami Jagadananda, Mylapore : Ramakrishna Math. 1967. P. 4.
11. Samkara, *Upadesa*, VIII:140.
12. Ibid., XIV:41.
13. Ibid., II:78.
14. Ibid., II:93.
15. Sri Samkaracharya, *Vivekachudamani*. Trans. Swami Madhavananda. Mayavati : Advaita Ashram. 1921.
16. Duetsch, Eliot, *Advaita Vedanta : A Philosophical Reconstruction*. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press. 1973.
17. Samkara, *Upadesa*, II:89.
18. Samkara, *Bhasya*. I.1.4.
19. Ibid.

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100. Gambhirananda. *Eight Upanishads,* Vol. II. Brh. Up. 2.5.19.
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Professor of Philosophy
California State Longbeach University
California, U. S. A.

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THE YOGA OF ALCHEMY : SENSE & ESSENCE

HOMAYUN TABA

There has been a collective failure on the part of majority of the historians as regards the medieval period, and more often than not the term applied to this period has been the "dark ages". In contrast, the proceeding movements of the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution have been hailed as the greatest events in human history. The reason for this preference, unjust as it will always remain, lies in the major shift that took place in the overall consciousness of the people. In this new perspective "man" came into the limelight and the "divine" was pushed to the background, if not totally eliminated. This was a shift from theo-centricity to anthropo-centricity. The error not only became widespread but also persisted.

The Medieval period was far from dark, and many traditional systems and spiritual sciences lived side by side, flourished or reached their full maturation at this time. Among these, probably the most prominent and noteworthy system is Alchemy.

Alchemy has had a colourful, and at the same time, quite a traumatic history. The origin of alchemy is still shrouded in mystery and the name alchemy has been interpreted in various ways. Our aim here is neither to go through the historical accounts nor to deal with the skirmishes which were pursued by adherents of this or that view concerning the nature of alchemy. What is attempted here is a cutting through to the core of alchemy with a view to gaining insight into its various aspects and essential features; and at the same time and in almost the same breath to highlight its relation to the science of yoga.

The Science of Transformation

The key words in alchemy are "transmutation" (on the chemical level) and "transformation" (on the psycho-spiritual plane). Hence the transmutation of base metals into gold has to be considered both in the actual and symbolical sense. Alchemists spoke of precious metals, also called "noble", as being highly evolved specimens in the minerological

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domain. And by analogy "making gold by their arts" meant the process by which man's consciousness would be raised or evolved reaching a fine state of responsiveness to high-frequency energy. However in certain occasions a contrary statement was made by the alchemists which pointed to the fact that it was not common gold that they strived for (aurum nostrum non est aurum vulgum).

"Turn inward for your voyage", says Angelus Silesius, "for all your arts; you will not find the stone in foreign parts". Thus implying the purely spiritual nature of their endeavours. This view is in a way justified judging from the fact that alchemical ideas have found their place among the sacred books. In China we come across them in Taoist literature and in Islamic mysticism we encounter many a sufi who was an alchemist. The famous alchemist Geber (Jabir ibn hayyan) refers to one of the Shi' ah imams as his mentor. And the theologian of Islam, Al Chazzali, has a treatise entitled "The Alchemy of Happiness" (Kimiayeh Sa'adat). Also many Jewish Cabbalists were adepts in the sacred art of alchemy.

The relationship between the physical and psycho-spiritual realms in alchemy requires some explanation. Alchemists through their endless experiments and meditations found that there existed certain laws that were operative at every level of energy organisation and corresponding level of consciousness[1]. Another way of looking at the same thing is in the recent findings in high energy physics, where the distinction between the observer and that which is observed is not summed up in the mere act of "passive observation" but rather in the active and almost sympathetic "participation". "At the atomic level" writes Fritjof Capra, "objects can be understood only in terms of the interaction between the processes of preparation and measurement". And the end of this chain of processes lies always "in the consciousness of the human observer"[2].

Alchemists not only considered matter as "alive" but also charged with a sacred force ("shakti" as in Tantra). Hence their entire efforts were geared towards the awakening and subsequent utilization of this force. For them the world did not stand "out there" as an objective entity or as "dead matter" but it was alive, and behind the multiplicity

1. Metzner Ralph--Maps of Consciousness Collier-Macmillan Ltd. 1972, P. 103.
2. Capra Fritjof—The Tao of Physics Bantam Book, 1977, P. 126.

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of forms lay the unity of its essence. They regarded metals and stones as reservoirs of creative energies. According to Gurdjieff, man is a "cosmic apparatus" for the transformation of "subtle energies".

Obstructions

Almost all the spiritual traditions have conceived and further elaborated the bondage-causing and entanglement-creating components of the human nature. Christianity speaks of the "fallen man". In the Islamic context it is the Al-nafs Al-ammarah or the passion-filled self, against which a holy war (jehad) is to be waged. According to Buddha, the root cause of all human suffering can be traced to desire, or better, thirst (trsna). In yoga the consciousness-limiting factors are identified as afflictions (klesas). And in alchemical terminology they are collectively perceived as "dross".

Once the extent and scope of these down-pulling tendencies are mapped out, each tradition sets out to provide the appropriate techniques of combating, minimizing and ultimately eliminating them. And it is here that lies the pilgrim's progress—a movement towards the successive removal of the ignorance (avidya) which veils the truth. In other words we are all "Buddhas" but densely "clouded".

The Great Work

With the proper and systematic applications of the methods and procedures, both at the physco-chemical as well as psycho-spiritual planes, starts the work of the alchemists. It is called the "opus". This is a quest for the forces operative at both the levels. The external transmutations are in a way correspondingly and simultaneously "interiorized".

Yogis looked to nature as their field of observation and then turned to their bodies as the field of experimentation. They always began from the gross and external (bahiranga) and slowly moved towards the subtler realms (antaranga.)

The proposed transformation is said to take place gradually and through the medium of fire. It is this fire which ultimately burns out the dross-laden personality of its impurities.

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In the niyama limb of yoga we have the two components of "sauca" and "tapas" and their understanding is of immense importance for our comparative study.

Sauca signifies not only external cleansing but also refers to the internal purification of the nadis or psycho-pranic passages and it also implies mental purification (citta shuddhi).

Tapas literally means "to burn", produce heat or create energy. It applies to all those disciplinary processes which are ascetic in nature. The ultimate aim is to burn the inner impurities, above all, the accumulated store of karmas. Fire generally pertains to all those tantric-yogic ways of inner heat or "mystical heat" generation, where the vibratory rate of structures in the "inner anatomy" is raised. Hence much like the vedic soma, pranayama practices (such as kumbhak) come to symbolize "a daily sacrifice in respiration"[3]. The pranic heat thus generated is not only of physical form but also of psychic nature.

The symbolism of fire as a purifying medium occurs in many alchemical sketches. In one illustration (by Maier–1687) we see a wolf devouring a dead king and in the background we notice the king emerging out of fire while the wolf remains in the flames. One interpretation would be that in the fire, all the lower tendencies are purged, and consequently ultimate sublimation of consciousness takes place.

Parallels

1. Questions of ultimate concern

These are essential features of yoga and alchemy. The main preoccupation is with deliverance, emancipation and freedom from the limits of man's consciousness. Both experiment on the soul, using the human body as a laboratory or a vehicle for the transportation from the finite to the infinite.

2. Theistic nature

Isvara was introduced into the yoga system by Patanjali, and this constitutes the main difference between yoga and Sankhya (the latter

3. Eliade Mircea--Yoga : Immortality and Freedom Princeton University Press, 1973, P. 111.

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being basically atheistic). However Isvara of yoga is a purusha which has remained eternally unafflicted. God of yoga is not the supreme creator, for creation comes out of substance (prakrti). Meditation on God is said to hasten the advance towards samadhi.

In a few alchemical illustrations we come across kneeling adepts in a praying pose, seeking divine grace and assistance for the success in their works. There also appears in alchemical texts the words "if God wishes" (Deo concedente) almost immediately after the exposition of an experiment. In all accounts alchemy was never considered to be a man-made but rather a divinely inspired science. And there was a metacosmic supremacy over the micro/macro cosmic realms.

3. Holisticity

The ultimate goal of both yoga and alchemy is the total integration of the personality, "individuation" (in Jungian terms) that is, to make whole or "indivisible"—to restore unity to the so-called "divided self". Both work towards the harmonious development of man.

4. Transformation through purification

Both the traditions envisage an external as well as an internal transformation. This transformation generally has a happy ending for it frees man from dross and paves the way for immortality. The Vajrayanists refer to "diamond body" and yogis speak of "siddha-deha" and this could be confidently compared with the alchemists "body of glory". The adept realizes "the transmutation of the flesh, constructs a divine body (divya deha), a body of wisdom (jnana deha), a receptacle worthy of him who is 'liberated in this life' (jivan mukta)"[4].

Gold with its eternal brilliance has always signified immortality in various cultures (amritam ayur hiranyam) and the symbolic use of gold in these traditions refers to a spirit which has attained moksha. From the alchemical point of view "goldiness" is next to "Godliness". The alchemists' quest was for the "philosopher's stone" (hence the term "adepts of the stone") sometimes called tincture or elixir. The alchemical elixir corresponds to amrit or nectar of immortality in tantric tradition. However in China many perished drinking concoctions believed to be elixir.

4. Ibid--PP. 274-275.

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5. *Experimental dimension*

Neither of the two sciences are solely speculative or in other words armchair philosophies. Alongside their theoretical expositions are placed systematic methods for the subsequent application of the principles. Therefore, truly speaking, they are systems of "Applied Spirituality". As is the case with the Gita, where through the combined forces of Brahma-vidya and yoga-sastra, Arjuna is transformed. The Gita lays down practical means for achieving a unitary consciousness and hence leading a unitive life. It is a superb document of the alchemical type of transformation.

6. *Tantric link*

The origin of both alchemy and yoga could be sought in that body of universal system which is called tantra. The word tantra is composed of tanoti (expansion) and trayati (liberation). Hence, tantra is that system which liberates energy and expands consciousness. More than one curious parallel can be noted between "tantrism and the great western mysterio-sophic current that, at the beginning of the Christian era, arose from the confluence of Gnosticism, Hermetism, Greco-Egyptian alchemy, and the traditions of the Mysteries"[5]. Tantrism, in the course of time, assimilated varieties of sciences and arts and more so those which reflected in one way or another, the unicity of nature and the inter-relatedness of all things. And it was but natural for both yoga and alchemy to become an inseparable part of tantric tradition, which is rightly termed as the perennial philosophy (alchemists mentioned that their teaching was the same as that taught by the "ancient sages").

Tantra yoga facilitated the continuation of alchemy to some extent; and side by side through the secrets of shakti which he came to possess, a yogi became able to imitate its transformations. And from this it was but a short step to the siddhi referred to in texts[6] where the metallic transmutations occur by the application of the yogi's urine and excreta.

The period between 7th and 8th centuries in India was a very interesting period, for a new interpretation of timeless doctrines was

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5. Ibid—P. 202.
6. Yoga Tattva Upanishad 74, Siva Samhita iii 54.

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offered. And this finally completed the synthesis among "the Vajrayana and Sivaist tantrism, magic, alchemy and hatha yoga[7]."

7. Psychological Symbolism

Both yoga and alchemy employ extensive symbolical shapes and forms. Symbols are generally shorthand forms of concepts and ideas which are for one reason or another inexplicable. Hence no symbol stands as a self-sufficient entity in itself, but points to the way "beyond".

Alchemists used a hieroglyphical language which had various animals and birds and mythological creatures. In many alchemical woodcuts we come across seven-petalled roses signifying the seven planets and the seven phases of transformation with their corresponding colours. The birth of the phoenix symbolizes the completion of the work (illumination) which had begun from the chaotic state of matter (massa confusa). The alchemical symbol for the "work" is the two interlaced triangles. The six pointed star thus created, plus the central point common to both the triangles, represent the seven chakras. These two triangles are found in various traditions and bear names like the Star of David or Solomon's Seal. This is particularly interesting, for it matches well with the geometrical compositions known as yantra (especially with Rama and Sri yantras). This symbol is also employed in the chakra of the heart (anahata). It is believed that at this chakra, there exists harmony between the upward-ascending energies and the downward pulling forces. The most amazing parallel occurs between yoga, alchemy and the Sufi tradition (we already said many sufis were alchemists). Sufis are called the "people of the heart" (ahl-e dil, in Persian) those seers whose "eye of the heart" (chashm-e dil, in Persian, ayn al-ghalb, in Arabic) has opened up. This is the tantric third eye and the biblical single eye.

Tantric masters also conceived of the integration of the outer and the inner realms, particularly the "transmutation of sensory experience from a binding to a liberating role, through visual (yantra), auditory (mantra) and postural-gestural (mudra) means"[8].

All the symbols are to be considered as aids or tools for insight and have to be ultimately discarded once the aspirant is firmly "mounted".

7. Eliade—Op. Cit., p. 304.
8. Metzner Ralph—Op. Cit., p. 41.

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Symbolism also meant understanding according to the level of aspirant's understanding. If his perception was sharpened he could always discern much more from a given symbol—as the Greek philosopher has put it : knowledge depends on the mode of the knower.

8. Androgyny

The principle of polar opposites has acquired a prominent position in the universal symbolism. In China we have yin-yang, among the Buddhist, Prajna and Upaya, among the Tibetans, Yab-Yum. In India we come across such examples as the upright lingam with the encircling yoni at its base, also the iconographic representation of Ardhanarisvara. In yoga we encounter the polarity in the form of Siva which is pure consciousness and Shakti which is energy. Then we have the two nadis of ida (lunar) and pingala (solar). The term hatha yoga itself is quite significant (ha meaning sun and tha, moon). Alchemy speaks of gold and silver and their influencing planetary counterparts which are sun and moon (this also explains the enduring relationship between alchemy and astrology).

The alchemical androgynous consciousness, much like yoga, is indicative of the principles of the active-dynamic male (always appearing on the right side) and the passive-magnetic female (on the left). From their union occurs the "chemical wedding" also shown as the union between the upward-rising fire and the downward-flowing water. This process is called "conjunction" in alchemy (coincidentia oppositorum-union of the opposites, in Nicholas of Cusa's words) and its significant message is that this sacred marriage does not take place only in the chemistry of the "without" but also happens in the chemistry of the "within". Hence the appropriate name for alchemy encompassing both these physical and metaphysical dimensions would be "the alchemystical system".

9. Multi-dimensionality and the inter-relatedness

Alchemy and yoga have both evolved as means and ways for consciousness-awareness expansion. They correspond to man who is presumed to be a meeting ground of various levels (one such level being between microscopic). Hence both the sciences are to be approached and understood at various dimensions which are closely interwoven.

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Both alchemy and yoga have their corpus, anima and spiritus. One can talk of the body of yoga (asanas etc.) also of the body of alchemy (actual experimentations with substances). At the same time, one can consider their psycho-spiritual aspects. Both have their external visible sides (exoteric) as well as their inner dimensions (esoteric). Both these aspects have to be considered in any serious approach or study... "He who realizes the truth of the body" explains Ratnasara tantra "can then come to know the truth of the universe".

Both the sciences speak of various levels and have constructed a cosmology to elaborate them further. In the words of the father of western alchemy Hermes Trismagistus (hence the term Hermetic Philosophy). "As above so below and as below so above". And Vishvasara tantra makes it still clearer. "What is not here is nowhere". These concepts indicate the subtle correspondences that exist between different cosmic planes (lokas, bhumis). The same ideas appear in the koshas or sheaths and also in the tantric chakra symbology, and in Islam by the nocturnal ascension of prophet Mohammed (mi'raj). To show how the different planes exert influences upon each other the Hasidic masters (a 17th century Jewish mystical movement) say that a slight movement of a small finger "here" would cause a whole world to move over "there". As a result of this, human actions are not confined to this world only, but are endowed with cosmic significance—a massive leap in scale. If this was the ascending trend, there exists a descending movement in which higher worlds create influence in the lower in the form of emanations.

10. Speeding up the evolution

Both yoga and alchemy tend to hasten the evolutionary processes, which would have required a thousand years to evolve. The period is drastically reduced so that evolution becomes possible in a few years or sometimes within the life span of an individual (as in the case of jivan mukti).

In China the alchemists collaborated with the work of nature and speeded up the temporal rhythm. The furnace of these adepts became a womb in which the minerals were made to reach maturation faster than it would have taken if they were to remain underground.

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11. Rites and practices

Neophytes, after being tested, were initiated into the tradition of alchemy and consequently took an oath of secrecy. There have always existed secret circles and esoteric fraternities in the history of alchemy.

Among the various rituals, construction of the furnace, or athanor was a very sacred act and only the pure and virtuous could attempt it. The hermetic vessel was regarded as a cosmic womb, a uterus with a spiritual significance in which birth and renewal took place.

Alchemists often talked of "gentle cooking" by the "living fire" so that the digestion would be completed. This stressed the systematic and gradual way in which the experiments were to be conducted. We come across a similar caution as regards yogic practices (especially pranayama).

Alchemists referred to Hermes as their first master (or adi guru) and he was succeeded by a line of masters. In the alchemical tradition just like in yoga, aspirants enjoyed a close contact with their gurus.

Alchemists went through systematic and intensive sadhana and observed tapas (ascesis). On these occasions they cut themselves off from the public and remained, much like their vessels, "hermetically sealed". Eliade in his book "The Forge and the Crucible"[9] explains some of the ascetic practices of the early alchemists and metallurgists which were performed in front of their furnaces. Not only did they persist in their endeavours (abhyasa) but also remained detached (vairagya).

Rhythmic breathing which was an essential characteristic of Taoists became an important ingredient of alchemical discipline. It is almost definite that they knew and practised highly developed meditational techniques, which were at both the levels of concrete substances as well as the essence of the elements (as samyama of yoga).

12. Misconception

Yoga and alchemy have received severe blows on account of the general and widespread misunderstanding and misinterpretation regarding their true nature and ultimate goals. Yoga has been associated now with one thing and at another time with something else. Often one section of

9. Eliade Mircea--The Forge and the Crucible Harper and Row, New York, 1971.

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it has been lifted and then presented as the "whole" of it. It is said that one of the reasons that prompted Patanjail to undertake the task of writing the Yoga Sutras was the utter confusion in which he found this ancient science. Yogis stood on their leg or head for hours, and claimed to be practising yoga. The opening lines of Hatha Yoga Pradipika states the confusion surrounding Raja yoga and how Swatmarama out of compassion set out to write the book as a torch to dispell the ignorance regarding the subject.

Alchemy had a similar fate. The misunderstanding in alchemy led to the excessive attention given to the phenomena at the cost of the noumena (psychomental). Gold making became the sole obsession. However bogus yogis and charlatan alchemist (about whom both Ben Jonson and Chaucer have written) are to be held responsible for part of the public misunderstanding.

Alchemical language and symbology which were deliberately made obscure so that the secrets would not leak out, and fall into the hands of the uninitiated, in the course of time grew so vague and abstract that it almost reached the point of unintelligibility.

It seems that at all times, much like magic, two types of yoga and alchemy existed side by side—white and black. In its pure and white form, alchemy was carried forward chiefly by men who were not only scientists but also seers. And we had alchemists who were healers (harmony restorers) of one type or another (Paracelsus was one).

13. Future task

The Yoga system is a tradition in which the continuity of spiritual realities has remained substantially unbroken, thanks to the efforts of the masters, who, through their insight now and then corrected the course of its development and removed the misconceptions. Unfortunately, alchemy has practically vanished (though it was revived by groups like the Rosicrucian Brotherhood in the 17th century). Many alchemists were persecuted and much of their knowledge disappeared with them.

In the light of the foregoing similarities, it is of paramount importance that the science or yoga should rush to the help of alchemy. This would be made possible by tracing the identical patterns and similar

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techniques and by putting them together piece by piece until a full picture of alchemy begins to re-emerge. It is then that alchemy would gain the immense vitality that it once possessed.

Writers such as Aldous Huxley (The Doors of Perception), Carlos Castaneda and Alan Watts (in his book : This is It) have narrated accounts of their transformational experiences through the use of mind altering drugs. This has prompted some to coin the term "New Alchemy". However there is nothing new about this, for it was a known medium among many ancient peoples. Patanjali uses the word aushadhi (yoga sutras iv, 1). However aushadhi is not to be taken as referring to such drugs as LSD or ganja but to the juice of certain herbs such as Anjana and others which are hard to get and still more difficult to prepare and known only to a few.[10] And modern taoists in fact call those who resort to the use of psychedelic drugs as perverse sects (Chieh p'ai).

We referred, in the beginning, to the short sightedness exhibited by men towards some of the historical phases and also as regards some of the "ways of wisdom". However the disastrous implications of such faulty assumptions are now coming to the surface in the form of civilisation and its discontents. And many are of the opinion that the present ecological crisis mirrors man's inner fragmentation and spiritual impoverishment. And the modern man in search of a soul has come to feel the need for retracing the events in the hope of restoring the correct perspective. In the twentieth century, and especially in recent decades, a grand transformation has been taking place. This change, strangely enough, has been happening among those sciences (such as physics) which were initially responsible for industrial upheavals.

The current change of outlook is called the "paradigm shift". It is a shift from the limited Cartesian-Newtonian world view (which was also static, mechanistic and divisive) to one which is dynamic, holistic, integrative, ecological and finally spiritual. This indicates the beginning of a new understanding in which scientists are getting out of their "self-sufficient finitude" (in Paul Tillich's words) and are learning to follow in the footsteps of ancient seers and sages who had a profound insight into

10. Swami Satyananda Saraswati—Four Chapters on Freedom : Bihar School of Yoga, 1979, p. 213.

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the nature of cosmos and the meaning of life. In other words science of today is turning spiritual (in Fritjof Capra's words "Modern Physics—A path with a heart"). And this was precisely what many so-called premodern sciences were. "Natural science" writes Evola, "was at once a spiritual science, and the many meanings of the symbols united the various aspects of a single knowledge". And the same holds for both, yoga and alchemy. Alchemy is not a pre-chemistry or a pseudo-science but a spiritual system par excellence. The transformations envisaged in both alchemy and yoga make us pose the question : is it "Alchemy of yoga" or "Yoga of alchemy ?" And the difference is hard to tell.

Chartolle Ville,
Ground Floor,
4 Roque Road, Bandra
Bombay--400-050.

11. Evola—La Tradizione Ermetica, p. 28f. (Quoted in Jung's Psychology and Alchemy) p. 231 Footnote Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953.

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SWAMI VIVEKANAND-VIEWS ON RELIGION

Mrs. KANCHAN MALA THAKUR

"Our age is still in desperate need of that which religion alone can give" says Dr. S. Radhakrishanan.[1] When centre cannot hold, things fall apart. No centre holds the world together. Ours is an age of moral degeneration, spiritual confusion. In present age when people are becoming too materialistic and individualistic, when confusion and horror are abroad and people are throwing moral and social values to the winds, contemporay mind is vacillating between vague apocalyptic fears and deep mystical yearnings. We have made great material advances but in improving human relations, we are retracing our steps. In this hour of moral and mental crisis, the fundamental need of the world is a spiritual re-awakening i. e. recovery of faith. This is the rasion de'tre for this article. So let us see what Swami Vivekanand thinks about "Religion", which shows a bright ray of hope to the present day man surrounded by despair.

What Hinduism needed amidst the general disintegration of modern era, was a rock where she could be at anchor, an authoritative utterance in which she might recognise herself. And this was provided in the words and writings of Swami Vivekanand, the meeting point not only of east and west, but also of past and future. His views on religion are but a small fraction of his gospel to the world at large, contained in the 8 volumes of "The Complete Works of Swami Vivekanand".

There is no freedom in nature. Even the man is not free. To be more free is the goal of all human efforts, for only in perfect freedom can there be perfection. This effort to obtain freedom underlies all forms of worship whether we know it or not.[2] God, the master of nature is an embodiment of freedom. The whole nature is worship of God. Wherever there is life, there is search for freedom and freedom is synonymous with God. People worship God or unknown force and because they

1. S. Radhakrishnan "*Recovery of faith*" p. 1.
2. *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekanand*, Mayawati memorial edition, vol. 1. p. 333.

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feel that these beings are greater, more powerful than themselves, can limit their freedom, can molest or reward them. The conception of God therefore is as essential and as fundamental a part of mind as is the idea of bondage. God is self-evident, omnipresent, omniscient, impersonal, the knower and master of nature, the Lord of all. Evil is also worship of God, because the impulse behind evil is also that freedom. God's shadow is both death and immortality. He is the power within man. To rise above pleasure and pain is the idea of freedom.

In fact, we are one with God but the reflection makes us seem many. God lives in every being. He is nearest to us than ourselves and to have this knowleege is religion, is faith. Swami Vivekanand said, "If one religion be true, then all the others also must be true".[3]

The apparent contradictions and perplexities, in every religion mark the different stages of growth. All religions teach the eternity of soul, as well as that its lustre has been veiled, and its primitive purity is to be regaind by the knowledge of God. Religion is not a bundle of doctrines and dogmas but is the realisation of God in the soul. This is the universal religion. The universal truth or the kernel of all religion is the realisation of God. Ideals and methods may vary but that is the central point or quintessence of all religions. Until the religion makes one realise God, it is useless.

A religion has to satisfy the demands of the scientific world, by reforming it to the highest generalisation and to the law of evolution.[4] The religion of Vedanta satisfies these two principles.

Everyone's idea of practical religion is according to his theory of practicality, and the standpoint he starts from. There is work, the system of worship and knowledge. To a philosopher, knowledge is the goal and for him practical religion is gaining that knowledge. For a worshipper the practical religion is the power of love and devotion, while for a worker practical religion consists in doing good work. One is always trying to bind the whole world to one's own standard.

Religion is one of the most potent forces that have worked and are still working to mould the destinies of human race. In very many

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 374.

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cases, the bonds of religion have proved stronger than the bonds of race, or climate or even descent. Modern scholars accept two theories regarding the genesis of religion one is the spirit theory of religion and the other is the evolution of idea of infinite. Swami Vivekanand reconciles these two views on a third basis and to him, the struggle to transcend the limitations of senses is the real germ of religion.[5] Those facts, which one comes to know, after he has transcended the limits of one's senses, form the basis of all religions of the world. One characteristic is common to all these facts that they are abstractions as contrasted with the concrete discoveries of physics.

The ideal of ethics is perfect self-annihilation. Ethical laws are not derived from considerations of utility and hence utilitarain standards cannot explain the ethical relation of men. Utilitarain theories are practicable only in the present social set up and beyond that, they have no value. But an ethical code, morality, derived from religion and spirituality has the whole of infinite man for its scope. It applies to the whole society. Thus spiritual religion is always necessary for mankind. Man cannot always be materialistic, however pleasant that may be. One can find the solution of one's problems in the vast store house of religious episodes, stories, myths and legends.[6] Swami Vivekanand agrees with Confucius that we should take care of this world first, but he says that too much attention to the so-called practical hurts us here and here-after and makes us materialistic.

Man's goal is not nature but something higher. It is good to know about external nature but is much more grand to conquer internal nature of the inner man, to understand the secrets of the subtle workings that are within the human mind and to know its wonderful secrets. This belongs to the realm of religion. Thus apart from the solid facts and truths, comforts gained from religion, a religion as a science, as a study is the greatest and healthiest excercise that the human mind can have. Moreover on the utilitarain basis that man should seek pleasure, he should cultivate religious thought, for it is the highest pleasure on earth. However to Swamiji the study of religion seemes absolutely necessary.

5. Ibid vol. 2 p. 59.
6. Chidambara Kulkarni, "Vedic foundations of Indian Culture."

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Religion is the greatest motive power for realising that infinite energy, which is the birthright and nature of every man.[7] Religion is the highest motive power in building up character, in making for everything that is good and great, in bringing peace to others and to one's own self and therefore ought to be studied on a very broad basis. Future religious ideal should embrace all the existing good and great in the world and at the same time have infinite scope for future development.

Swami Vivekanand thinks that the different religions of this world are not contradictory, but supplementary. Each religion, as it were, takes up one part of the great universal truth and spends the whole force in embodying and typifying that part of truth. It is therefore additional, not exclusive. Hence, all the religions are different forces in the economy of God working for the good of mankind, he opines.[8]

Universal religion already exists, only there are number of persons who fail to see this and only upset it by crying for new brotherhood. Different religions have different ideals and so long as they keep to that ideal, their religion lives. Islam's central idea is equality, while Hinduism has spirituality for its ideal and Christianity has faith and devotion. If there ever is going to be an ideal religion, it must be broad based and large enough to supply food for the different types of mind-philosopher, worshipper, ritualist. To make such a broad religion, one will have to go back to the time when religions began and take them all in. It is difficult to find any universal features in regard to religion, and yet we know that they exist. Different religions are like pearls and God is the thread that runs through all these pearls. This is the only recognition of universality, that we can get. For Vivekanand the ideal religion is a harmonious balance in philosophy, mysticism, emotion and work. This religion is attained in India by Yoga-union. Unity is the goal of Religion.[9]

Generally we find two methods of procedure for studying religions of the world. One is from God to man—semitic group of religion[10]. The other is through man to God i. e. Aryan religion. Realisation is religion

7. Ibid vol. 2 p. 67.
8. Ibid p. 366.
9. Ibid vol. 3 p. 1.
10. Ibid vol. 6 p. 3.

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and one who realises is the religious man. Those men who have realised religion, the prophets, will give us the methods, the particular methods, through which only we shall be able to realise the truths of religion. These methods must be various because men vary in nature. Vivekanand says that one may follow any religion which suits his nature to reach the goal.

Religion is a science which deals with metaphysical world. The book of Religion is one's own mind and heart. The science of religion is based on the analysis of the human soul. It has no creed. Like other sciences it has its own particular method. Religion is realisation and self-abnegation.

Swami Vivekanand picked up his ideas from different religions and discarded all that did not appeal to his reason. He has picked up the idea of monotheism and different aspects of god from traditional Hindu Religion[11]. Christanity also has the idea of monotheism and Ram Mohan Roy was also infuenced by this idea. His views on "Religion" reveal the sublimity and catholicity of his ideas. He was a latitudinarian. He provides a beautiful synthesis of oriental and occidental ideas on religion and in so doing has joined "scientific reason to vedantic faith and the past to the future"[12].

Lecturer
Deptt. of History
C. M. College Darbhanga
L. N. Mithila University
Darbhanga.

11. Ideas in History, ed. by B. Prasad–some aspects of traditional Hindu Religion by J. N. Banerjee, p. 3 & 4.
12. Life of Ram Krishna, R. Dolland p. 282.

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LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

S. K. JHA

Law in ancient India has been described as an attempt "to give analytical and realistic pictures of the glorious legal achievements of ancient India in all the branches of law." In such a pursuit the author has separately dwelt upon topics like "the history of sources of law, the theory and conception of law, Constitutional law, Civil law and its administration, Criminal Law and its administration, International law, Public Administrative Law and Jurispudence of ancient India.....".

Many of us have had by now a flitting glance through the Prehistoric Period covering the period roughly from 2700 B. C. to 1200 B. C.. The Indus valley civilization and Harappa culture were at their height during B. C. 2700-1700, while we get a reflection of the Aryan invasions of the Indian subcontinent and the composition of the earliest hymns of the Rig Veda. Thereafter is reckoned what is popularly known as the Vedic Period comprising the composition of the Rig Veda (1200 B. C.— 900 B.C.). The great war is depicted in the epic of Mahabharata (900 B.C.). 900-500 B. C. is commonly known as having given birth to the later Vedas, Brāhmanas, and early Upanishads. 800 B. C. or thereabouts is proved to be the era when Aryans reached eastern Bihar and Bengal and 600 B. C. marked the end of Brahmana period.

Some learned people have described Hinduism as having laid down the four ends of man : (1) *Dharma;* (2) *Artha;* (3) *Kama;* and (4) Moksha. I would rather confine them not only to Hinduism, as such, but as representing the ideals and the ideas of all contemporary Indian civilization. It is difficult to find any one single formula embracing the comprehensive character of Dharma. And yet it is widely acknowledged as the foundation of the whole universe; and upon dharma everything is founded and, therefore, dharma is called the highest good of (Taitirīya Āranyaka). That from which result material gain and spiritual good is dharma (of Vaisesika Śutra) Dharma, when violated, verily, destroys; dharma, when preserved, preserves : therefore, dharma should not be violated, lest the violated

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dharma destroy us (Manu Smrti). The Vedic scriptures (Shruti) the sacred law (Smriti), the practices of the good, whatever is agreeable to one's own self, and the desire which has arisen out of wholesome resolve—all these are traditionally known to be the sources of dharma. The realization of the self by means of yoga—acts of self-discipline—has also been included in the connotation of dharma. You will find sufficient literature to establish that dhrama is not static.

But, alas : what am I doing ? In the ecstasy of writing something about this treatise of the very learned scholar (or, shall I say Pandit ?) I was drifting in the current as if to write a book myself, for which I am wholly incompetent. So I must come down to brass tracks and confine myself to the author and his stupendous and arduous endeavour in bringing out this book.

"Moksha which means the supreme bliss being the ultimate goal of life, the law of religion and rituals which were all subsumed in the word Dharma, and wealth and material resources connoting the term 'Artha' and, desire and pursuit of life comprising the term 'Kama' were but the means towards the achievement of that goal. These four factors governing every civilised people during all times including the modern world had to be seen in their different perspective according to the social needs depending upon the social changes of the time. The author has, therefore, devoted himself to the history of Dharma in a particular social set up from the ancient times to the modern one. It must be emphasised, as all enlightened people must be knowing by now, that Dharma was not quite synonymous with the term religion but was supposed to lay down a code of conduct to be followed by the civilised society so that all could live in peaceful harmony without chaotic conditions putting any obstacle in the way of the attainment of the supreme bliss. Such a code of conduct is what we call law today. The author must not, therefore, be supposed to have lived in the past by devoting his energy and valuable time in dwelling upon the past. Realism prevents one from prophesying Utopian future. It must be said in all seriousness that there is only a chance that with our deep rooted democratic traditions, we will grasp the position in time and will be enthusiastic enough to revitalise our ancient heritage to meet the new situations, as and when they confront us.

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"A large number of mutually related *principia media* form a structure. An inter-dependent change in a number of *principia media* constitutes a structural change but there is nothing more mistaken than the assumption that the organisation and trend of structural changes taking place in our society can be discovered by a scientist or a statesman or a legal philosopher at a glance. The most we can really see today is the interdependent modifications of various *principia media* in the political, economic, technological and psychological spheres and law is no exception, as it is subsumed in the political philosophy of the time.

It is in this background that we have to judge the value of this treatise as demonstrating how Dharma equal to law was a dynamic process evolving and changing itself to the challenging task of a new social order. And thus we start from the monarch who was supposed to be the wisest in the society, as did Socrates and Plato also picture him to be, and who was taken for granted as the most competent to lay down Dharma or the Law to be followed by all else in the society who were not as wise as was the monarch. Experience, however, proved the fallacy of one human being the sole repository of knowledge. Even if he were so, no human being was infallible and when the evil in man took the better of the monarch than the virtue of knowledge in him, he was taken to prove disastrous to the society. Thus was evolved the political philosophy of aristocracy which soon in its perverted form gave way to the repulsive idea of oligarchy. As time rolled by the concept of democracy has thus far been recognised as the only good system for any civilised Government. But the concept of democracy has its own variations we are still trying to grapple with the situation.

This in essence and essentially is the theme of the author in this book. Not has he taken great pains only to expound the norms of conduct equal to Dharma and equal to law of the sages (Rishis and Munis) coming one after the other in the Orient of the lore, specially India, but in order to give it more credence to such of us who feel more easily persuaded by observations in the old mythological literature, the epics, verging upon religion the author has made reference to works like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata (including the Geeta), the works of Kalidas and so on.

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The reader of this treatise will find the subject being dealt with by the author according to its well-captioned contents. The legal researchers will find subjects like evolution of legislative, administrative and judicial systems; historical analysis of the sources of law in ancient India, as reflecting the deep knowledge of the author in the subject by delving into the dark crevices of the old legal literature making it an interesting reading too. Thereafter is an analysis of the oldest Dharma Shashtra (Srutis) followed by Smritis and the commenteries. As times changed, with the advent of Industrial Revolution the means of communication made it not only possible but easier for the man in changing his place of abode to a more subjectively suitable enviornment, social customs and traditions took a new mould governing a particular area from the point of view of homogeneity and compactness. Such geographical enviornments had their own repercussion on the ideals and ideologies of the civilised people within that geographical unit giving rise to an interpretation of the old texts as suited to the needs of local customs and usages. Thus was ushered in an era of the Nibhandhakars who took upon themselves the task of putting their own gloss upon the old scriptures : the Smritis, the Srutis and all the rest. To suit the social conditions as well as the psychological moulds of the people of the particular locality, the author has not failed to take notice of the contemporary account of foreign travellers like Megasthenes and Fahien on the norms of conduct being followed by our people at a particular point of time when such travellers came to the vast subcontinent to learn about the civilization prevailing here and the sociological impact on people at a particular point of time in following the prevailing concept of dharma or law.

Having so done the author has, true to his word, given a comparative statement of how the modern India picked up the sound basic principles of such norms of conduct (branches of law) which have a universal application for all ages and all times in equal measure. Thus for instance, form the subjects of adjective and procedural law, the rules of pleadings, the principles of res judicata, the law of evidence including *onus probandi*, the law of limitation and prescription, the substantive right

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of appeal being dealt within the modern perspective sucking from the pure stream of milk flowing ever from the hoary antiquity.

Before, however, I part with the task assigned to me, I may in the passing observe that since the author has touched upon Kautilya in his work, a comparison of the principles and art (practice) of diplomacy of Kautilya of Ancient India with those of Machiavalli of the modern Italy may not be out of place.

Judge,
Patna High Court,
Patna

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STATUS OF DAUGHTERS IN MANU

DR. R. M. DAS

Manu, acquainted with the laws of nature knows fully well that if members of either sex do not get a fair deal in the social scheme of things the very existence of human species will be seriously jeopardised so he thinks it puerile to show anxiety for a male child. He wants the increase of progeny in general and not of sons alone. This is evident from the fact that he uses *santati*, a word of the common gender. Although his commentators, from age to age, have joined in a chorus of anxiety for a male child alone he himself does not bless such preference.

The *Puṁsavana saṁskāra* was performed very zealously to secure the birth of a male child and to effect the change of sex if a female child was apprehended.[1] Though Manu's predecessors as well as successors have laid stress on the performance of the *saṁaskāra*, Manu himself does not say anything about it. His silence on the point clearly indicates that he does not favour it.

Manu regards the daughter as an object of highest tenderness.[2] She is to be brought up with as much affection and care as is bestowed upon the male child; rather greater kindness is to be shown to her as she is physically more tender and her emotions are more delicate. According to Manu no householder should enter into any quarrel not even wordy warfare with her.[3]

Manu is very particular about the maintenance and well-being of the daughter. He says that she is to be kept well-dressed and gracefully decked in ornaments and that her father and her brother if they want prosperity in their homes should have very kind regards for her; if she is not properly honoured and consequently feels unhappy, all that is

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1. प्रमांसं प्रत्रं जनयते प्रमाननुजायताम् A V, III 23.3.
2. दुहिता कृपणं परम Manv IV, 185.
3. Manu III. 55, III. 59.

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done in the house loses its sanctity and bears no fruit and the house is soon ruined.

Manu regards an *agredidhiṣupati*[1]—man who marries a girl whose elder sister is yet unmarried—as unfit to be invited at a funeral repast. This statement has a great significance. In the natural order an elder daughter should be married earlier than the younger one. But if the order is disturbed people start talking disparagingly about the elder one even though there be no defects in her; and this besides wounding her feelings and sentiments might have very far-reaching consequences on her career and harm her physically and psychologically. That is why Manu lays emphasis on the right of the elder sister to be married earlier than the younger one and says that sin attaches to the man who marries the younger sister as he could have easily avoided the breach of law by not marrying such a girl.

Manu grants special privileges to maidens. On ceremonial occasions they are to be fed even before the *brahmanas*. Manu expressly says that the unmarried girls should be given precedence over the *brahmans* in this respect. It is for the first time that the unmarried girls have been separately mentioned by him in this context and this reveals his most tender affection for maidens.[2]

Not to speak of the daughter herself even her son and her husband are regarded as auspicious persons; a kind of special sanctity attaches to them. Manu says that on the occasion of a funeral repast they are to be specially invited and sumptuously fed.[3] This indicates Manu's highest regard for the daughter and this might have certainly gone a long way in raising her social status.

Eight forms of marriage were known in the days of manu and before him. They are *Brahma*, *Daiva*, *Arsa*, *Prajapatya*, *Asura*, *Gandharva*, *Raksasa* and *Paisacha*.[4] Although the last four of them are absolutely condemned by him yet he has given them a place in his work. One great reason for him to incorporate them in his work is that they grant a kind of relief to

1. Manu III. 173.
2. Manu III. 114.
3. Manu III. 235, 238.
4. Manu III. 21.

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such innocent girls as might have fallen a victim to the brutal passions of men. In forms of marriage like *Rākṣasa* and *Paiśācha* the stigma attaching to the victimized maiden is removed and she is given the status of legally married wife. Hed such cases been dealt with in a less liberal manner their effect on society would have been very disastrous, specially in those days when foreign invasions were very frequent and chaotic conditions prevailed everywhere. This foresight and broadmindedness of Manu towards the waylaid daughters of India is really a strong proof of his kindest regard for these innocent creatures who deserve to be shielded and safeguarded against the consequences of such brutal assaults at the hands of their fellow males.

His recognition of *kānīna* and *sahoḍha* sons and giving them a place among the sons to be maintained by the father is a further testimony to his liberal views towards the maidens. It was possible that the man who wronged her could not be caught hold of or might have somehow managed to escape the obligation of marrying the girl whom he had violated or the girl herself having developed a positive hatred against him might have refused to become the life-long companion of such a brute. Manu does not think it proper that the girl should, in any way, be penalised and so he recognises the *kānīna-kanya's* son—and allows her to marry a man subsequently in a regular way. Similary, the mother of a *sahodha* son is also treated leniently and allowed to undergo a regular marriage.

One thing may be noted in this connection. Though on account of his sympathy for the daughter he recognises the *kānīna* and *sahoḍha* as legitimate sons yet from the point of view of social ethics he assigns to them a lower rank in society. That is why he treats them as mere *bāndhavas* and not as *dāyādas.*[1]

In ancient times girls were sometimes purchased for marriage. But Manu is very much against it and severely condemns the acceptance of money by the father of the girl from an intending bride-groom. He says, "No father who knows the law must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for, a man who through avarice takes a gratuity is a

1. Manu IX. 160.

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seller of his offspring."[1] Not to speak of high castes, he does not permit this even to the *sudras;* he says, "Even a *sudra* ought not to take a nuptial fee when he gives his daughter in marriage, for he who takes a fee, sells his daughter in a disguised way." This kind of selling is not palatable to him.

The father is the real guardian and protector of the daughter as long as she is not married. It is his duty to maintain and look after her properly. When she comes of age it is the father's duty to give her in marriage to a right person at the right time. If he fails in his this duty he not only becomes an object of contempt but also loses his right over her and the daughter becomes free to choose her own husband.[2]

Chastity was the highest virtue for a maiden in the eyes of Manu. He lays down very strict rules for the protection of the honour and reputation of the maidens. He propounds that a maiden's respect in the society as far as that is well-founded should not be impaired in any way. He recommends a fine of one hundred paṇas to a man who defames a maiden unwarrantedly.

Manu's anxiety for the fair name of a maiden is due to the fact that the *pāṇigrahaṇa saṁskarā* is possible in the case of virgins alone. If a maid loses her virginity she is not entitled to this samskara. Manu says, "Nuptial texts are applied solely to virgins and nowhere among men to females who have lost their virginity, for such females are excluded from religious ceremonies."[3]

Manu's sympathy towards maidens is so prominent that he recognises the marriage of even defective girls. He does not want that a girl should remain unmarried on account of either physical or even moral defects in her. This regulation of Manu may be due to the fact that he apprehends the spread of corruption in society if there be a large number of even such unmarried girls in it. The only condition is that their defects were not to be concealed from the bridegroom at the time of their marriage. Manu says, "He, who gives a damsel having first openly declared her

1. Manu III. 51.
2. Manu IX. 90.
3. Manu VIII. 227.

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blemishes, whether she be insane or afflicted with leprosy or may have lost her virginity, is not liable to punishment."[1] But if fraud was practised in such cases the marriage itself stood cancelled and the guardian of the girl was liable to punishment for practising fraud.

Thus we see that Manu recognises the marriage of the defective girls on principles of public policy and fair deal to all. Even the restriction of stating plainly her defects just before the marriage is in the interest of the girl herself and conducive to her well-being in future; for if her defects were concealed from the prospective bridegroom and were discovered later on after the marriage, he might develop against her and subject her to harsh and even cruel treatment. This would have made her life more miserable. So rightly viewed this restriction is a blessing in disguise.

While dealing with the punishment to be inflicted for sexually knowing a maiden Manu attaches great importance to two main points; whether the maiden is willing or unwilling and whether the initiatve is taken by the man or the maiden herself. In the view of Manu if the maiden is unwilling the crime is very serious, the man is to be put to death immediately. But if she be a willing partner the seriousness of the crime is very much reduced he is not to be killed but given some light punishment.[2] But if the maiden herself takes the initiative no crime is committed at all; she is not to pay any fine.[3] The liberal attitude of Manu towards the fair sex is very clearly seen in the following provision laid down by him; if a lower caste man approaches a higher caste maiden, he is to be put to death immediately but if a higher caste woman approaches a lowercaste man she is only to be confined in her home; only so long as she has any attraction for the man; when she loses all charms for him she may be set at liberty. So even though the nature of lapses in both the cases is the same—intercourse between a higher caste maiden and a lower caste male—the punishment for the two sexes are quite different—very severe for the male but much too lenient for the maiden.

While dealing with cases of pollution of the maiden by a member of her own sex Manu is sympathetic towards maiden when the offender

1. Manu VIII. 205.
2. Manu VIII. 364.
3. Manu VIII. 365.

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is a maiden, the punishement is lighter but when she is a married woman the punishment is heavier; the maiden is fined by the king and has to pay to the father of the wronged maiden a sum of money amounting to double the dowry and receives ten lashes yet her guilt is not given much publicity, but if the married woman is the offender her guilt is publicly proclaimed by making her ride an ass and parade along the roads.[1]

An unmarried girl being brought up within the four walls of her father's house is quite inexperienced and unaware of the consequence of her own doings. Naturally, therefore, she is swayed by her natural passions which are strong enough at the time of puberty and which she has no means to assuage. Hence a lighter punishment is prescribed in the case of the lapses of a maiden. But married women have got their husbands to keep their sexual propensities in balance. So when they violate a maiden the crime is of a greater enormity and consequently the punishment is heavier.

Saṁskāras for Girls

The *saṁskāras* are purificatory rites and ceremonies prescribed by religion and are performed for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual so that he or she may become a full-fledged member of the community.

Girls also had to be prepared for the task of daily life as the boys. Being the potential mothers of the race they were the custodians of racial culture. Hārīta aptly says how can a woman who is herself not sanctified produce sanctified men. *Saṁskāras* are, therefore, as much needed for them as for boys. This is the reason why Manu says, "The whole series of the sacraments must be performed for females also in order to sanctify their body at the proper time and in the proper order but without the recitation of sacred *mantras*".[2] This ban on chanting *mantras* in case of girls is apparently due to the complex and sacred nature of the former. The society did not brook even the slightest mistake in their pronunciation for mastering which the girls did not get sufficient time on account of their being married much earlier than the boys.

1. Manu VIII. 367-68.
2. Manu II. 66.

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Manu is very particular about the *Nāmakaraṇa saṁskāra* of girls. He says, "The names of women should be easy to pronounce, not imply anything dreadful, possess a plain meaning, be pleasing and auspicious, end in long vowels and contain a word of benediction."[1] These rules are based on very sound psychological principles. The names of ladies should be easy to pronounce and sweet to hear. Nature has differentiated between men and women by giving them different physical features. Men are hardy and robust; women are tender and lovely. Therefore, only such names are to be selected for women as are in consonance with their natural built and disposition. That is why female names should end in a and i as these vowels are comparatively pleasant to hear. The uneven number has generally been considered to be more auspicious and magical.

Women are the embodiment of auspiciousness and benediction. So it is quite in the fitness of things if their names also indicate something good and noble. The first impression that we form about a person is generally based upon his name. Good names are suggestive of good qualities in a person. The meticulous attention paid to the naming of a girl is due to an innate feeling that a girl's name should have an auspicious aroma about it and should be immediately and infallibly suggestive. A good name, like a beautiful face, is a perpetual letter of recommendation; hence its practical and social importance. Simplicity of names prescribed by Manu is based on sound grounds of aesthetic relish. Names, learned and obscure call for gymnastics of intelleet and inhibit the melting and mingling of hearts so necessary for social intercourse. Besides, simple names, as against difficult ones marked with academic pedantry, are more musical and melifluous to the ears. Names, according to Manu, have to be simple however high might be the cultural watermark attained by a society in its evolution. He is so particular on this point that he declares certain girls as not fit for marriage on account of their bad names alone.

Proprietary Rights of the Daughter

The position of the daughter regarding her rights of succession and inheritance to an ancestral property has also received due considera-

1. Manu II. 33.

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tion from Manu. First of all we shall enquire into the rights of such daughters in the paternal property as have got brothers.

Manu observes, "After the death of the father and of the mother the brothers being assembled should divide among themselves in equal shares the paternal estates, for they have no power while the parents live."[1] Thus when the sons themselves have no such right of partition during the life time of their parents their can be hardly any question of the daughters having it. She is entitled only to being properly looked after and maintained till she is married.

That Manu does not give the daughter any right of partition in the paternal property even after the death of her parents, becomes evident from the following facts.

While considering the partition of the father's property Manu has mentioned only the brothers and not the sisters. Had he meant to give anything to the sister also, he would have made a clear mention of it as he has done in respect of the partition of the mother's property. That Manu does not include sisters in the word 'brothers' is further proved by his well-reasoned statements regarding the right of a brotherless daughter in her father's property. Had she been entitled to a share even along with the brothers there could have been no reason for Manu's arguing so much about her rights if she were brotherless.

Manu says, "But to maiden sisters the brothers shall severally give portions out of their shares, each out of his share one-fourth; those who refuse to give it will become outcaste."[2] Here he uses the word '*dadyuḥ* (should give) in connection with the allotment of shares to the unmarried daughters. The use of *dā* is very significant. It clearly indicates that Manu does not recognise the right of the daughter in the paternal property, otherwise *da* would become meaningless.

And another statement of Manu that one-fourth should be given to the unmarried sisters alone and nothing to the married ones does not leave any shadow of doubt that the share given is an allowance for meeting the marriage and other expenses of the unmarried daughter; it is not a

1. Manu IX. 104.
2. Manu IX. 118.

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share on account of her inherent title to her father's property. Had she an inherent title it would not have been contingent upon her being married for remaining unmarried.

These facts lead us to conclude that Manu does not accept the right of the daughter in her father's property although he makes it incumbent upon the brothers to set apart a portion of the patrimony for their sister's marriage and other expenses.

But Manu does grant a share to the daughter in her mother's property. He says, "But when the mother has died all the uterine brothers and the uterine sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate"[1]. Here he concedes legal rights to the daughter in her mother's property and hence neither uses the word *da* nor makes any distinction between the married and the unmarried daughters.

Manu does not give any thought to her as long as her parents are alive, because they are expected to do all that they can for her. But as soon as the parents have passed away her anxiety for the daughter begins because of the great limitations that she is subject to in this world. The most important thing in her life is her marriage. She is there in her father's house only so long as she is unmarried; and as soon as that *Saṁskāra* is performed she leaves it and goes away to another man's house. So Manu has been steadily careful about such a vital stake as the marriage in a girl's life.

Now we pass on to the question of the share of a daughter in the property of her mother. The daughter might have brothers or might be brotherless. In the former case Manu provides, "When the mother has died, all the uterine brothers and uterine sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate"[2]. In mother's property unlike in that of her father she does receive a share. There is a special pool, an adhoc arrangement, for expenses incidental to her huptial ceremony. But the share which she is entitled to get in the property of the mother, could be carried by her to her husband's house without any let or hidrance. From the description of the mother's property it is clear that it generally consisted of movable

1. Manu IX. 192.
2. Manu IX. 192.

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articles such as ornaments, clothes and other household cattle and so there could not have been much difficulty if the daughter chose to take them away. The share in the mother's property is to be given to all the sisters, whether they are married or unmarried, or whether they are well-placed or ill-placed in life.

Manu further privides, "Even to the daughters of those daughters something should be given as is seemly out of the property of their maternal grand-mother on the score of affection". Here it is to be noted that the grand-daughters also are not entitled to any share in the property but only something may be given to them as a token of love and affection. In such cases also Manu does not make any distinction between the married and the unmarried ones.

Now the rights of a brotherless daughter : First we shall examine the provisions about her share in the paternal property. Even if she were brotherless Manu does not give her the right of inheritance or partition in her father's property. This is due to the fact that he attaches greater importance to the capacity of the person who is to succeed to the property for conferring spiritual benefit on the original owner of the property, mere blood-relationship is not his prime consideration. No doubt, the daughter is as much of conferring spiritual benefits on the parents, she is inferior to the son. The change of *gotra* which marriage entails makes her spiritually undeserving and unfit for offering *pindas* to her parents. That is why he does not allow even a brotherless daughter to succeed to her father's property.

To meet such critical situations Manu rules that the daughter shall be formally appointed as a *putrika*. The father shall declare as a procedural formality, 'the male child born of her shall perform my funeral rites'. Once again the sharer derives the title to a share from his or her capacity to confer spiritual benefits. As regards the fitness of such a male child for performing the rites Manu says, "Between son's son and the son of a daughter there is no difference, neither with respect to worldly matters nor to sacred duties, for their father and mother respectively have sprung from the body of the same man."[1] This may lead one to think that Manu is inclined to give the daughter as such the right of inheritance

1. Manu IX. 133.

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in her father's property. But that is not literally true, because here also the appointment of the daughter is essentially not as a substitute or as one equal to the son, for, the father's mind is on the fitness of the daughter's son for confering spirtual benefits on him. The right of inheritance, in the ultimate analysis of things, belong to a son though he may not be his own.

But one point deserves special notice. While dealing with the partition of the paternal property among brothers Manu has been very particular about the well-being of the unmarried daughters. Each of them is to be given the one-fourth share of her brother as her marriage-allowance. But when we come to the brotherless daughter the position is quite different. Naturally one would have expected that in such a case she would have been allowed to get more rights and better claims in the father's property. But the case is just the reverse. A sister with brothers had certainly better prospects than a brotherless one. The whole property of the sonless man should go to the son of the daughter whom he selects for the purpose. But while doing so he has altogether lost sight of the unmarried daughters left behind. So provision is made for their marriage.

Let now turn to the question of the rights of such a daughter in her mother's property. In this context Manu says, "But whatever may be the separate property of the mother that is the share of the unmarried daughters alone."[1] So far as the married ones are concerned they are entitled to nothing. This might be due to the fact that they do not stand much in need of help and so it is immaterial whether they get any share in the mother's property or not. This might be due to two things. Firstly, as they are already married there is no need of any money for them. Secondly, they could get the whole of the property of their sonless father as the appointed daughter or atleast a share in it if there were more than one such daughters. So Manu has given no share to a married daughter in the property of her mother.

Taking all the provisions regarding the inheritance of property into consideration it can be said that Manu takes all possible care for the daughter's well-being. For the marriage of the unmarried daughter he

1. Manu IX. 131.

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has made provisions suited to the family-status and for that purpose he has allowed her a share along with her brothers in the property of the father by way of marriage-allowance. But he has not given her any inherent right in her father's property even if the father had no son of his own. The principle is that only he could be entitled to get the property of a man who would confer some spiritual benefit on him and since according to the established scriptural tradition a daughter was not fit to confer such benefits she was cut off with a shilling as it were. On the other hand her title to get a share in her mother's property has been recognised by all. This means that even though she could not confer any spiritual benefit on the mother, the mother, in her love could not help making a selfless gift. The paradox of the father's position was that because he was interested in the spiritual benefit his gift was tainted and less spiritual but the mother's gift was one of pure love and affection and hence decidedly more spiritual.

Education of the Girl

Except that girls were debarred from the study of the Vedas and reciting the *mantras* there was no other restriction imposed upon their receiving a general education. From the position they occupied in the society it is evident that they were not kept wholly uneducated and ignorant. They could take part in the religious activites of their husbands, offer oblations and entertain guests. They even commanded great respect from the puils of their husband which would look well only when they were them-selves educated.

So far as the art of house-keeping was concerned girls were given good training in it. The duties assigned to them in the home clearly show that in the domestic affairs they were all in all. They were to control and regulate the family-budget and keep everything neat and clean and in good order. Over and above this, they were given some training in the cottage industries also such as weaving, spinning and lace-making etc. This was meant to enable them to earn a subsistence for themselves and for their children in times of hardship and emergency. Manu thinks that women's sphere of action lies primarily in the home for which not much of education is needed. Their husbands' education and learning was

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enough to help them in it, which in his company was always available to them.

We now close with Jayaswal's observation regarding the position of the daughter in Manu : "Although in the Mānava daughter is not a heir in the list of heirs yet her position is very high. Nowhere in Hindu Law her legal position is so tenderly defined. On no other subject the severe author of the Manava spends so much sentiment. For a moment he forgets that the daughter is a woman, the object of frown of all masculine thinkers from Buddha down to Nietzsche. He knows her only as a daugher. She is, he says, to be always excused."[1]

Department of Buddhist Studies,
Magadh University, Bodh-Gaya.

1. *Manu and Yājñavalkya* : page. 258.

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ISLAM AND ITS EARLY MISSIONARIES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

B. N. PURI

The missionary activity of Islam begins with the life of its founder, and the numerous biographies of the Prophet portray stories of his efforts to win over unbelievers to his faith. The Holy Koran lays down provision for missionary work in the following passages; quoted here in translation in chronological order of their revelation.

"Summon thou to the way of the Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning : dispute with them in the kindliest manner (XVI.126). They who have inherited the Book after them (i.e. the Jews and the Christians) are in perplexity of doubt concerning it. For this cause summon (them to the faith) and walk uprightly therein as thou hast been hidden ... and say : In what so ever Book God hath sent down do I believe; I am commanded to decide justly between you : God is our Lord : We have our works, and you have your works; between us and you there be no strife. God will make us all one; and to Him shall we return (XIII. 14). Say to those who have been given the Book and to the ignorant. Do you accept Islam ? Then if they accept Islam, they are guided alright, but if they turn away then thy duty is only preaching (III. 19). Further the faith of Islam was to be preached to all nations and all mankind were to be summoned to believe in one God.'

The life of the Prophet presented for succeeding generations an example of missionary activity. Religion, like charity begins at home, and so were the Prophets first efforts directed towards pursuading his own family members to accept his message. It may here be mentioned that the earlier discomfitures in his attempt to propagate his religion in his native place did not deter him in the pursuit of his mission. His migration to Yathrib (afterwards called Medina) in September 622 was taken afterwards as the date for the beginning of the Hijra era. This was a turning point in his career, and the propagation of his religion. It might as well be mentioned that the later history of Islam is that of the expansion of the

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Arab rule which was equally responsible for a large number of persons from among the conquered population to the dominant faith. This history of Islam and its expansion from a political angle need not be considered here, confining our attention only to the role of missionaries in diffusing the religion of the Prophet.

With the decline of the Arab empire the Muslim world was faced with the task of converting its new rulers. The conversion of the Turks proceeded slowly. The earliest converts appear to have been the Turkish soldiers who took service under the Khalifah of Baghdad. There are, no doubt, a few legends of proselytysing efforts in Turkestan. In the absence of definite evidence, the progress of Islam in Central Asia before the 10th century A. D. appears to be obscure. The migration of the Seljuk Turks into the province of Bukhara and the adoption of Islam by the people over there was a turning point in the history of this religion of the Prophet in Central Asia. A more formidable task, no doubt, was the conversion of Mongols who were politically very strong. Here Islam had to encounter the opposition of the pagan Mongols, and also the two competing forces of Buddhism and Christianity. Both were initially very successful. The davastations caused by the Mongol inroads in the countries overrun by them had no doubt caused great setback to the progress of Islam. It was from the latter part of the 13th century that converts begun to be made from among the Mongols as well, thus heralding the beginning of a new era in the history of Islam in Central Asia. In this context the Muslim religious orders in general and the *Naqshbandi* in particular played an effective part. The flood of the Mongol conquest had cast shadow over the Muslim evangelists and their activities, leading to the emergence of a spiritual guide, exercising great influence over the masses and was of special importance to the proselytising agencies at work.

The first Mongol prince to profess Islam was Baraka Khan, the chief of the golden horde from A. D. 1256 to 1267. According to Abdul-Ghazi he was converted after he had come to the throne. He is said to have fallen in with a caravan coming from Bukhara. Taking two merchants aside he questioned them on the doctrines of Islam and they expounded to them their faith so persuasively that he becme converted in all sincerity. According to another writer Al-Juzani, Baraka Khan was

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brought up as a Muslim from infancy. He was able to force his brother also to follow his example, but half a century later when Uzbeg Khan, the chief of the horde from 1310-40 tried to convert his followers, he failed. The people were not interested in shaking off their old pagan beliefs, and continued to adhere to the faith of Chingez Khan. In other parts of the Mongol empire too the progress of Islam was still slower and equally fluctuating. The Ilkhans of Persia too could not have Islam as the dominating religion till 1295.

In other parts of Central Asia, at Kashgar, its first Muhammadan ruler Tuglug Timur Khan was converted by an evangelist named Sheikh Jamal. al. Din. It was, however, as late as the 16th century that a dervish named Ishaq Wali could find scope for his proselytising activities in Kashgar and the neighbouring country where he spent a period of twelve years for the propagation of Islam. The extension of Mongol rule in China also provided an impulse to the spread of Islam in that country. Muslim merchants had, no doubt, reached the coastal towns much earlier. It is, however, from the 13th century that Islam was firmly established in China with the settlement of immigrants from the West forming great communities of Chinese Muslims. The rise of the Mongols equally helped in the diffusion of Islam in India. The terror of the Mongol arms had caused a number of learned men and members of religious orders to take refuge in India where they succeeded in making new converts to Islam.

In the above context the role of early Islamic missionaries and their contribution in the propagation of the faith of the Prophet elsewhere, especially in North-west India (now Pakistan) as well as in South-East Asia might as well be made. Such a comparative study would be helpful in assessing the nature and success of endeavours made by the protoganists of Islam as a religious force, backed by the independent political force, or exclusively by one or the other in an independent way. The history of the spread of Islam by the missionary effort is occasionally shrouded in complete mystery, except where evidence is provided by other sources. A body of historical literature has grown up in the shape of the biographies of Muslim saints while local traditions contain references to a successful propaganda carried on by such missionaries. Among these may be mentioned Sheikh Ismail a

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Bukhari Sayyid who preached in Lahore in 1005, another Sayyid Nadir Shah, the patron saint of Trichnopoly where he died in 1039, and Abd-Allah who landed in Cambay in 1067 and is said to have been the first missionary of the Mustafali Ismail sect, known in India as that of the Bohras. Towards the end of the same century another Ismail missionary, this time of the Khoja sect named Nura-al-Din carried on successful evangelical work in the Hindu kingdom of Gujarat. The great of the Indian saints Khwaja Muni-al-Din Chisti who died in 1236 at Ajmere, had settled there while the city was still under the occupation of the Hindu Chauhan ruler. He had made there a large number of converts. A decade later Sheikh Jalal-al-Din Tabrizi one of the apostles in Bengal died. In the Punjab the history of Islamic missionaries could count among the luminaries the saints of the Suhrawardi order, as for example Bahal-al-Din Zakariya and Sayyid Jala-al-Din and his descendants. These represent but a few out of the long series of preachers of Islam who carried on distinctively missionary work, side by side with the various other factors—social and political that contributed to the spread of Islam in India.

The progress of Islam through missionaries in the countries of Malaya, Indonesia and Phillipines was slow but steady and progressive. These missionaries and traders mostly came from south and western India. The different Muslim settlement of traders formed the nucleus of their proselytising zeal. They did not go there as conquerers, not did they arrogate to themselves the privileges of a superior and dominant race, so, as to degrade and oppress the native population. Coming simple in the guise of traders they employed all their superior intelligence and civilization in the service of their religion, rather than as a measure towards their personal aggrandisement and then amassing of great wealth. Tradition, however, represents Islam as having been introduced into Sumatra from Arabia, but the evidence seems to point to India as the source from which the people of Sumatra seem to have derived their knowledge of the new faith. The first missionaries there were probably Indian traders, though the Malayan chronicles assign precedence to an Arab missionary named Abd-Allah-Arif who is said to have visited the island about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. while one of his disciples Burjan-al-Din is said to have carried the knowledge of the faith down to the west coast

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of the Island. According to the Malayan chronicles Juhan Shah in 1203 was the traditional founder of the Muhammadan dynasty there. He is said to have been a stranger from the west and to have come there to preach the faith of the Prophet. He married a wife from among the people of the country, and was hailed by its people under the half Sanskrit, half Arabic title of Shri Paduka Sultan.

Islam is traditionally represented to have been introduced into Palembang about 1440 by Raden Rehmat who was hailed by an Arab Missionary Shaikh Maulana Jumada'l Kubra as the promised Apostle to East Java. He was well received by the ruler of Majapahit, and appointed as governor at Anpel, and was allowed to convert the people in his jurisdiction to Islam, which he finally did. Another name worth mentioning here is that of Nur-al-Din-Ibrahim who won for himself a great reputation for his curative and healing powers. He was noted for converting the people to Islam by the gentle means of persuation and not by the sword. In West Java the progress of Islam seems to have been slower than in the east. It was not till the middle of the 16th century that Islam could flourish after the end of the Hindu kingdom of Panamtaran. The conversion of Java according to the native annals began in the 15th century, and Islam spread from this island into Moluccas and Borneo. The arrival of the Portuguese and later of the Spaniards in the 16th cent. checked for a time the growing influence of Islam, and the rival faith of Christianity and Islam entered into conflict for the adherence of its peoples. The oppressive behaviour of the Spaniards and their attempts to enforce the acceptance of their religion ultimately contributed to the success of the Muslim missionaries who adopted more conciliatory methods for the spread of their faith, intermarried with the natives and conformed to their manners and customs. The Islamic missionery activity was orginally sporadic in these islands.

Throughout the long course of the History of Islam, the religion of the Prophet at times received large number of converts for various reasons—political and social—wholly unconnected with missionary activities. All the same it has always retained its original character as a missionary religion without any permanent organization to serve as a medium for its propagation. Societies for the continuous propaganda were unknown in

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the Muslim world for a long time. It was the individual believer who prompted by his personal devotion to his faith endeavoured to win over others to his religion. There were no doubt religious teachers who could be looked upon as professional teachers, but it is the trader who has the biggest share and greater credit for the propagation of Islam. No profession or occupation is a bar for the office of the preacher of the faith or its defender. Some observers have gone so far as to say that every Muslim is a missionary and carries on propaganda on his own responsibility and at his own cost. Even Muslim prisoner, if an opportunity is available will not hesitate to preach his faith to his captors or to his fellow captors. It may here be mentioned that the first introduction of Islam into Eastern Europe was the work of a Muslim Juris cousul who was taken prisoner, probably in one of the wars between the Byzantine empire and its Muhammadan neighbours in the beginning of the 11th century. In India, too, in the 17th century, a theologian named Sheikh Ahmad Mujaddid unjustly prisoned is said to have converted a large number of prisoners—his inmates to Islam. The influence of Muslim women wives made itself felt in the slow work of converting the pagan Mongols as also the Malayasian and Indonesian ruling princes to Islam. In Abyssinia too the Muhammadan wives of the Christian princes, pretending to be converts to the religion of their husbands brought up their children in the tenets of Islam, and used every means to spread their original faith. It might as well be noted here that a number of converts have written their apologies for their change of faith and in defence of their new religion. Several documents making a direct appeal include one in Arabic and the other in Persian written by the Timurid prince Shah Rukh Bahadur addressed in 1412 to the emperor of China inviting him to observe the law of the Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and strengthen the religion of Islam so that he might exchange the transitory sovereignty of this world for the sovereignty of the world to come.

It may thus be concluded that the role of the Islamic Missionaries, using subtle and pursuasive measures were effective in the propagation of Islam. The crusaders and zealots backed by political forces with religious devotion and firmness no doubt had their way in the propagation of Islam. But Islam as religious force filled the vacuum in societies which were

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dormant and dull, feudal and explosive unequal and inhuman in an atmosphere tense and fearful with the weak and underprivileged ever anxious to try their fortunes in a community where they might in principle attain equality.

Emeribus Professor, Lucknow University.

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RE'U-MIG OF SUM-PA-MKHAN-PO

BIRESHWAR PRASAD SINGH

I

Sum-pa-mkhan-po-ye-ses-dpal 'byor, the Mangolian histriographer, completed his encyclopaedic work popularly known as *dPag-bsam-ljon-bazaṅ* in the year Sa-pho-'brug (Earth-Dragon) of the 13th Cycle, that is A. D. 1748 according to its colophon[1]. The *Re'u-mig*, i. e. chronological table, forms part of Part III of the aforesaid work as edited by Dr. Lokesh Chandra from the collection of Dr. Raghuvira. Sum-pa was a prolific writer and hardly there is any subject which has been left out from the domain of his writing. He wrote on history, grammar, mathematics, astrology, geography and almost all subjects concerning Buddhist religion[2].

We do not know much about the life and activities of Sum-pa-mkhan-po. Sources from which we can glean some facts about his life and activities are *Re'u-mig*, an English version of *rnam-thar* (biography) summarised by S. C. Das[3] and recently published two texts in original, viz, *mKhan-po-e-rte-ni-paṇḍitar-grags-pa'i-sPyod-tshul-brjod-pa-sgra-'dsin-bcud-len*[3a] which is given in eighth volume (*Nā*) of his collected works (*gsun-'bum*)[4] published by Dr. Lokesh Chandra and *Sum-pa-mkhan-chhen-ye-ses-dpal-'byor* found in the work entitled *Yul-mdo-smad-Kyi-ljoṅs-su-Thab-bstan-rin-po-chhe-je-ltar-dar-bai-Tshul-gsar-bar-brjod-pa-deb-ther-rgya-mtsho-ses-bya-*

1. *dPag-bsam-Ijon-bzaṅ*, Part III, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi : 1959) p. 179: Cf. *The Geography of Tibet* ed. and trans. Turrel V. Wylie (Roma : 1962), p. 196, note 763 wherein Wylie erroneously states that the date should be corrected to 1749.
2. A complete list of his work can be found in *dPag-bsam-Ijon-bzaṅ*, Part III, ed. Lokesh Chandra, pp. XIX-XXXI.
3. *JASB*, 1889, pp. 37-39.
3a. This work contains an autography of Sum-pa-mkhan-po up to the 73rd year of his life (folio 8*b*-292*b*) and a continuation of his biography written by his desciples with an account of his death (292*b*ff).
4. Available from International Accedemy of Indian Culture, 122. Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi.

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ba-bshugs-so known in its abbreviated form as *Amdo-chhos-byuṅ*[5]. While giving a short biography of Sum-pa-mkhan-po in subsequent lines, we have mainly relied upon the two original Tibetan texts just now referred.

Speaking about his birth place Sum-pa-mkhan-po in his autography states that he originally belonged to a place Tho-li[6] situated on the bank of river rMa-chhu (Hoangho) near mountain rMa-chhen towards south-west of lake Khri-gshog-rgYal-mo (Kokonor).[7] Sum-pa further narrates in his autography that his father rDo-rje-bkra-śes and his mother bKra-śes-mtsho also named Juhun Thar had five sons and two daughters. Sum-pa-mkhan-po was the fourth son of his parents and was born on *Pūrṇimā* day of the month of *Bhādra* in the year Wood-Ape (A. D. 1704) of the twelfth *rab-'byuṇ*.[8] He died in the year Earth-Ape (A. D. 1788) at the age of eighty-five.[9] His father observed auspicious signs in Sum-pa-

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5. This work was written by one dkon-mchhog-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas in the year Wood-Sheep (A. D. 1865) in the monastery of bkra-sis-'skyl in Amdo. The author was born in wood-bird year (A. D. 1801) of thirteenth rab-byuṅ (cycle). The work was published in the year 1974 (New Delhi) and contains a biography of Sum-pa-mkhan-po (folio 64*a*-65*b*).

6. In another Tibetan text (*ACB*) referred to above, it is mentioned that Sum-pa-mkhan-po was born at a place named Je-Tshan-pa-skyabs (*ACB*, folio 64 a).

7. For identification of Khri-gshog-rgyul-mo, see *DGRB*, pp. 54, 201 (note 821).

8. CWSM, Vol. VIII (Ña), p. 398 a.
ACB agrees with this view (folio 64 a). S. C. Das incorrectly calculates the year Wood-ape as equivalent to A. D. 1702 (*JASB*, 1889, p. 37). For correct Christian equivalent of Tibetan years, see "Table of Sexagenary Cycle", *Journal Asiatique* 1913, Part I, NP. 666-67.

   The English version of the full text of P. Pelliot's contribution entitled "Le Cycle Sexagenaire dans la Chronologie Tibetaine" appearing in *Journal Asiatique* Part I, pp. 633-667 is given at the end of this article as appendix for benefit of scholars. The author is indebted to his friend late B. M. Bajpai, a noted journalist and linguist, for rendering the Pelliot's article into English from French.

9. *ACB*, folio 65*b*; also see *THI*, p. 17. This should settle the controversy with regard to the year of the death of Sum-pa-mkhan-po. Cf. S. Bira, who also gives A. D. 1788 as the year of his death (*Acta Orientalia*, XVII, Part-I, p. 77).

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mkhan-po in his childhood and himself gave him primary education and towards religious teaching his father taught him *Stotra* of Pan-chhen-Lama. His father sent him to the monastery of Brag-dKar-me-lon in the year Fire-Hog (A. D. 1707) for primary education. Here a Mongolian monk named Chho-Hor gave him some religious lessons in the year Earth-Mouse (A. D. 1708) and the year Earth-Ox (A. D. 1709)[10] a scholar named Kun-mKhyen showed much favour to Sum-pa-mkhan-po, arranged essential commodities for him and put him under a teacher named Chhos-skyoṅ-rgya-mtsho in the monastery of Thar-Sal in the year Iron-Tiger (A. D. 1710). He was admitted in dGon-luṅ[11] monastery in the year Water-Dragon (A. D. 1712). He studied deeply in this monastery and at the age of twenty in the Water-Hare year (A. D. 1723) he studied *Sūtras* under dPa'-rin-ṅag-dbaṅ-bkra-śe. Thereafter he went to the monastery of Sgo-mañ[12] in Central Tibet. When Sum-pa-mkhan-po went to Sgo-mañ, eight of its students had already received degree of *dGe-śes* with distinction. He was taught mathematics by La-mo-nam-mkhas. When teaching of *Prañā-Pāramitā* was being introduced in the curriculam of the monastery, he chose Mog-Kya-'jam-dbyaṅs-rgya-mtsho of Khu-'bum as his teacher. At this time r-Tag-tshag-rje-druṅ, Thor-Thod-sga-man-sprul-sku, mÑa-sprul-sku and bTsan-po-no-han had also come to study in this *Vihāra*. In the year Fire-Horse (A. D. 1726) Sum-pa-mKhan-po joined the famous monastery of 'Bras-spun-dga'-'phel for higher learning and studied under Bo-'U-Kya-ldan, bKa'-'gyur-pa-chhos-rin-chhen of Koṅ-po, Sha-dmar, śes-rab-rgya-mtsho and Sems-ñid-dam-chhos of Sgo-mañ monastery. He learnt advance mathematics from mDzo-mKhar-pa-smon-la-lhun-grub. He studied grammar (*Triśatāvatara-Liṅgāvatāra*) from bSam-blo-mi-thuṅ of sKu-'bum. He attained the knowledge of various scripts from bTsan-po-mi-tshan-pa-tsa-grags-pa-lhun-grub. He learnt white calculation (*dKar-rtsis*) and black calculation (*nag-rtsis*) from sDe-ba-lha-dbaṅ (a desciple of sDe-srid of sKyor-mo-luṅ and Sog-ram-pa-nag-dbaṅ-rgya-mtsho, a desciple of Lug-mgo-bla-mKhyen-na-dbaṅ. Sum-pa went on pilgrimage of Kushinagar and

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10. *CWSM*, Vol. VIII (Ña), p. 391.
11. This monastery, also known as Dgon-luṅ-byams-pa-gliṅ, lies to the north-east of Hsi-ning in the Ching-hai (Tsinghai or Kokonor) province of China which is inhabited by Chinese, Tibetans and Mongours (*PSJZ*, preface, p. XIII).
12. For its identification and location, see *DGRB*, pp. 109, 195 note 757.

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Himalayas. He returned back to his country in the year Iron-Hog (A. D. 1731) and got initiated in *Kālchakra* by a great scholar dGe-'dun-don-'grub of Khri-ga-'i monastery. He heard religious sermons in the monastery of La-mo-bde-chhen from religious teachers Khn-chhen-sprul-sku, dKa'-chhen-smon-lam-pa and Tshis-Ka'i-sñags-rim-pa etc. At first he heard the traditional sermons from Grog-tshañ-brag-sprul-ba'i-sKur-Kun-mkhyen. In Fire-Dragon year (A. D. 1736) he founded the monastery of dGa'-ldan-bsad-srub-gliñ. In the year Fire-serpent (A. D. 1737), he went to China and had an audience with Chinese emperor. In the year Earth-Horse (A. D. 1738), while he was camping in mTsho-ba-bdun-monastery situated behind Śan-li river, he met with Chun-gar-dmar-byol, discendent of Hal-ha-don-grub-lwan an incarnate of rje-btsun-dam-pa. He returned from China in the year Earth-Sheep (A. D. 1739). In the year Iron-Ape (A. D. 1740), the meeting hall of the monasteries of Ri-Khord of Dgon-luñ and bDe-sKyid-sgrub-sde of Sha-Khog. Sum-pa, thereafter, engaged himself in constructive work. He re-built the monasteries of dGon-luñ-dga'ldan-lha-rtse, Sri-gnon-'bum-chhen-pa, Zim-yol-la-Khañ and dMar-gtsan. He installed the image of Matreya in the temple of dGon-luñ monastery and constructed great stupas in front of it. In the year fire-Tiger (A. D. 1746) he was appointed Chief abbot of dGon-luñ monastery. In the year Iron-Horse (A. D. 1750) he retired for sometime to the sacred mountain of Ri-bo-rtse-lnar in China. He also acted as Chief abbot of the monasteries of bKra-śis-chhos-gliñ, 'Brag-luñ, 'Dal-ba-dgon, dga 'ldan-rin-chhen-gliñ and Pho-ro-pra-sdi etc.

As has been stated in the beginning Sum-pa wrote extensively on history, religion, philosophy, astrology, medicine, biography, iconography, tantra and on bird divinations, poetics, drama as well as on subjects related to monastic discipline.

II

The style in which Sum-pa-mkhan-po has written Re'u-mig is full of textological problems and to understand them we had to refer frequently to parallel passages in other texts. To enumerate a few, he even translates Indian proper names, names of geographical places, Buddhist works and Buddhist terms from Sanskrit into Tibetan. In introductory portion of Re'u-mig which has been left untranslated Sum-pa-mkhan-po

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gives subscript notes and numbers beneath the lines and at the end of sentences which even some of my learned Tibetan friends could not decypher despite their best efforts. We have to some extent been able to decode the meaning of figures given beneath the lines but meaning of several such numbers given beneath the lines or at the end of sentences could not have been decypherd. Another difficulty which we had to face is that Sum-pa-mkhan-po generally mentions abbreviated forms of both proper as also geographical names and employs conventional symbols and signs. It will be profitable to give in some details the meaning of conventional signs and symbolic numbers used by Sum-pa-mkhan-po in the text of *Re'u-mig*. Conventional signs generally used in the text are ṙ in place of *'Khurungs* i.e. was born and ⁝̈ for *gshigs* i.e. died. So far symbolic numbers are concerned Sum-pa-mkhan-po has followed the Sanskrit maximum *Aṅkānam vāmato gatih*. For example, when in introductory portion of *Re'u-mig* Sum-pa-mkhan-po writes *me-mKh'a-rgya-mtsho*, the Tibetan words *me* (fire) stands for three, *mkh'a* (sky) implies zero and *rgya-mtsho* (sea) means four. Hence *me-mKh'a-rgya-mtsho* symbolically represents figures 304. This, however, will be read from right to left and will really express 403 following the sanskrit principle described in preceeding lines.

S.C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, 37-84) has made an attempt to translate the text of *Re'u-mig* but his translation has been far from satisfactory. Besides, he has not translated a short exposition of events prior to the Tibetan era given in the beginning of *Re'u-mig* and has also left untranslated certain passages of the text given at the end of *Re'u-mig* which contain critical comments on the chronology followed by other Tibetan scholars. About the translation of S.C. Das, late A.S. Vostrikov, the great Russian Tibetologist observes that S.C. Das has published "his translation in an article entitled Life of Sum-pa-mkhan-po, also Ye'ses-Dpal-'byor, the Author of the *Re'u-mig* (chronological Table), but this translation is absolutely unsatisfactory. Even limiting himself to a translation of the actual tables only without the introductory and concluding parts, S.C. Das accomplished this task very negligently. Despite the fact that the original text correctly gives the names of the years every time they occur, S.C. Das found it possible to do away with them and was satisfied with his own conversion of these into the European calender. Not only that the

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conversions made by him are not correct even from the general principle which he followed in this regard: he has also digressed from these principles for no reasons whatsoever. Floowing Csoma de Koros and E. Schlagintweit, S.C. Das regarded the first year of the Tibetan era as 1026 instead of 1027 and therefore, as correctly shown by Prof. P. Pelliot, all the dates cited by S.C. Das should be advanced by one year for obtaining the true dates. But even without comparing the true dates with those mentioned by S.C. Das after conversion, P. Pelliot has pointed out a case when S.C. Das digressed from the actual date not by one but by two years. In fact, there are several such cases in the conversions made by S.C. Das. In particular, the events which he has dated to the years between 1225 and 1253 (yearwise) actually happened from 1227 to 1255. In the same way the events marked 1269 and 1270 respectively actually took place in 1271 and 1272 etc. The events which, the original texts, are shown to have taken place in the same year, have been ascribed by S.C. Das to different years, and vice versa. But the matter does not end at these chronological errors only. A considerable portion of the information available in the original text is totally omitted by S.C. Das. In certain cases, S.C. Das translates only half the sentence and omits the remaining part. What is stated in the original as a hypothesis or as the view of someone else, of the authenticity of which the author is not quite sure, appears, in the translation of S.C. Das, as a categorical statement of the author. Numerous references by the original authors to the view of other historians are almost invariably omitted by S.C. Das. Finally, in certain cases, even the very facts stated in the text have been distorted by S.C. Das beyond identification. Two names of the same persons have been shown by S.C. Das as those of two different persons and, on the other hand, the names of two different persons have been turned into those of the same person etc. It is no use enumerating and rectifying all the defects of the translation of S.C. Das. It is simply necessary to make a fresh translation of the entire text of the chronological table of Sum-pa-mkhan-po. When the original text is available, it is better not to use at all the translation of S.C. Das".[12A]

We must, however, admit that introductory portion of the text at several places has continued to baffle us and we crave the indulgence of

12A. *THI*, pp. 130-137.

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scholars if incorrect interpretation is found at certain places in translated text of introductory passages in original text.

The chronological table Re'u-mig begins from 1027 and ends at 1748 describing important events under each year. The chronological table throws light not only on important events taking place in Tibet, but also of India, Mangolia and China. He has divided the whole chronology according to Tibetan system into 12 cycle of 60 years each. An English translation of *Re'u-mig* is furnished below.

III

TEXT

A chronology of learned scholars and Buddhist *Siddhas* are being given here with a view to know their birth and succession easily. It is divided into two parts. In first part a summary of events before the start of *Rab-byuṅ* (A. D. 1027) has been given and in the second, chronological table has been furnished. Mention has already been made previously about the chronology of four Buddhas (each appearing in *Kṛtayuga*, *Tretāyuga*, *Dvāpara*, and *Kaliyuga*), Buddhist councils organised in India and *Kulika* Kings of Sambhala. The periods of Tibetan kings and scholars have also been recorded almost in detail. But to have some idea of their time, these are being described here also in short. Tibetan historians have expressed different views about the dates of birth of Tibetan Kings in their annals. But according to original *Sba-bshed*[13] Buddha was born in the year Fire-Horse and since then 2661 years have elapsed (till the year A. D. 1747) and attained *Nirvāṇa* in the year Fire-Hare. After 498 years of the advent of Buddha and 417 years after the Nirvana of Buddha, King gÑa'-Khri was born in the year Wood Mouse and since then 2163 years have passed (till A. D. 1747).[14] Six hundred and sixty years after him (gÑa'-Khri)[15], Lha-Tho-tho-ri was born in the year Wood-Dog and since then 1503 years have elapsed (till the year

13. *Sba-bshed*, see *THI*, p. 24.
14. Sum-pa-mkham-po seems to have counted the years elapsed taking A. D. 1747 as the base year as his Chronological Table (Re'u-mig) ends with the year A. D. 1746; Cf. *THI*, p. 106, note 133.
15. gÑa'-Khri-btsan-po.

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A. D. 1747).[16] When Lha-tho-tho-ri entered into sixty years of his age (Fire-Hare), the signs of initial introduction of Buddhist religion began to appear in Tibet. The King lived for another sixty years and died in the year Water-Hog. Two hundred and fifty-four years after him King Sron-brtsan-sgam-po was born in the year Fire-Ox. Eighty years after his birth *rGya-mtsho-rnam-rgyal* sat on the throne of Sambhal in the year Wood-Ape and in the same year era of *mkha'--rgya-mtsho* (era of 403 years) started in Tibet and Mohammad[17] converted the people of Mecca to Muslim religion. Thereafter in the year Earth-Hog foundation of Lha-ldan-'Khrul-snaṅ was laid. In the year Fire-Hare, chapter of *Sādhanā* started. Khri-Srong was born in Iron-Horse year. In Fire-Dog year *phalita-jyotiṣa (byed-rtsis)* was introduced in Tibet. *Achārya* Padmasambhava came to Tibet in Earth-Ox year and three years after his arrival in Tibet bSam-Yas monastery was established in the year Iron-Hare. It is said that in the same year (Iron-Hare) physician Yon-tan-mgon-po of Khyuṅ-po became twenty-five years old. Ral-pa-chan was born in the year Fire-Dog and Bla-chhen-dgoṅs-pa-rab-gsal was born in the year Water-Mouse. In Iron-Bird year Glaṅ-dar (Lang-Darma) destroyed Buddhist religion in dBus and gtsaṅ. In Iron-Horse year (A. D. 958)[18] Lo-chhen-rin-bzaṅ-po was born. Some scholars believe that in Fire-Hare year Tsi-lu-pa (chilupa) preached Kālachakra in India. In Water-bird year or three years after the year Fre-Mouse, which was also the year of the birth of Sna-nam-rdor-dbaṅ, restoration of Buddhism started in the year Earth-Tiger (A. D. 978). Jo-bo (Atīśa) was born in the year Water-Horse (A. D. 982). Khyuṅ-po-rnal-'byor was born in Water-Tiger year (A. D. 1002). In the year Water-serpent 'Brog-mi-lo-tsasha-śak was born. Abhayākara was born in the year Wood-Dragon. In the same year 'Brom and rGyal-gyi-blan-tshul-byaṅ was born. *Achārya* named Klu-mes and his desciples erected the temple of Mo-ra'gyal in the year Earth-Bird (A. D. 1009).[19] In the year Iron-Dog dGe-bses-glan-ye-'bar and rÑog-byaṅ-'byuṅ was admitted into religious

16. According to Sum-pa-mkhan-po Fire-Horse year in which Buddha was born was equivalent to 915 B. C. and Fire-Hare year in which he attained *Nirvāṇa* is equivalent to 834 B. C. (See *THI*, p. 108).
17. The Tibetan text has spruṅ-rtsi-blo-gros which means '*Madhumati*' and stands for Mohammad.
18. *BA*, I. p. 68.
19. *BA*. I, p. 74.

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(Buddhist) order and rṄog founded Yer-ba-ba-reṅ. In the same year Nag-tsho-lotsasha-tshul-rgyal and Khu-ston-brtson-'grus-gyuṅ-druṅ was born. In Water-Mouse year Gra-pa-mṅon-śes-chan-śer-rgyal and Mar-pa lo-tsasha-chhos-blo was born. In the same year Śaṅ-sna-nam occupied the chair of the monastery of rGyal. In the year Wood-Tiger year Zur-chhuṅ-ser-gragsa of rÑiṅ-ma-pa sect was born. In the year Wood-Hare rNal-'byor-pa-A-mes-chhen-po and the year Wood-Dragon-mdzed-dgon-pa were born. In the year Fire-Serpent rGya-gar-phyag-na and Chhag-Khri-mechhog were born. In the same year Gru-mer constructed Sol-Nag-thaṅ-po-chhe. In the Iron-Ape year bTsan-Kha-po-chhe was born. In the year Water-Hog rṄog-chos-rdor and in the year Wood-Ox Khams-luṅ-pa-sak-yon were born. In the next year i.e. Wood Tiger year, the era of *Me-mkha'-rgya-mtsho* (era of 403 years) came to an end and in the next year (Fire Hare year)[20] first *rab-byuṅ* commenced and Chhos-rgya-Ñi-ma sat on the throne of Sambhala.

FIRST CYCLE

Fire-Hare (A.D. 1027)	*Kalyāṇamitra* Po-to-ba-rin-chhen-gsal[21] was born. The twelfth *Kulikāditya* (Rigs-ldan-bchu-gñis-pa-ñi-ma) sat on the throne of Sambhala. Gyi-jo-lo-tsatshas (lo-tsa-ba) translated *Kālacakra* into Tibetan language. Since Budha attained *Nirvāṇa* in the Fire-Hare year, this was the 36lst year of *Adhidṛṣṭi*. According to some historians who believe that Budha passed away in the year Iron-Dragon, this was the 408th year of *Adhidṛṣṭi*.
Earth-Dragon (A.D. 1028)	According to some Gyi-Jo tanslated the great commentary of *Kālacakra* into Tibetan in the year[22].
Earth-Serpent (A.D.1029)	Se-ston-kun-rigs, the spiritual teacher of the sister of Ma-chig-sha-ma-lcham-sriṅ and desciple of Brog-mi-lo-tsatsha was born.
Iron-Horse (A.D. 1930)	Nil

20. A. D. 1027 (see *infra*, table).
21. Po-to-ba-rin-chhen-gsal.
22. Here Sum-pa is obviously referring to Bu-ston (See E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, p. 217).

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Iron-Sheep (A.D. 1031)	Phu-chhuṅ-ba-gshon-rgyan was born. According to *Deb Sṅon-po*[23] (Blue Annals), Po-to-ba was also born during the year but the year Fire-Hare is certain[24].
Water-Ape (A.D. 1032)	sTod-luṅ-pa-rin-chhen-sñiṅ-po, the pupil of sPyan-Sna-ba was born.
Water-Bird (A.D. 1033)	sPyan-sna-ba-tshul-khrim-'bar was born. *Deb Sṅon-po* (Blue Annals), however mentions that he was born in Earth-Tiger year.
Wood-Dog (A.D. 1034)	'Khon-dkon-mchog-rgyal-po of Sa-skya was born.
Wood-Hog (A.D. 1035)	bLa-chhen-po-dgoṅs-pa-rab-gsal passed away from this world.
Fire-Mouse (A.D. 1036)	rṄog-chhos-rdo-rje, the pupil of Mar-pa was born.
Fire-Ox (A.D. 1037)	Nil
Earth-Tiger (A.D. 1038)	Nil
Earth-Hare (A.D. 1039)	According to doxology and travel accounts of Jo-bo (Atīśa)[25], he reached mṄa'-ri[26].

23. *Deb-ther-sṅon-po*. Its full title is : *Bod-kyi-yul-du-chhos-daṅ-chhos-smra-ba-ji-ltar-byuṅ-ba 'i-rim-pa-deb-ther-sṅon-po or the Blue Annals, the Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the land of Tibet*. It was composed by 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba-gZon-nu-dpal (A. D. 1392-A. D. 1481). It is generally referred to by its abbreviated title *Deb-sṅon* or *Blue Annals* (*BA*, I, Intro., i).

24. See *BA*, I, pp. 263 according to which Po-to-ba was born in Iron-Sheep year (A. D. 1031) and died at the age of 75 in the year Wood-Bird (A. D. 1105).

25. Atīśa is popularly known in Tibet by the name of Jo-bo or Jo-bo-rje (literally the *Ārya* or the noble lord).

26. The year of Atīśa's reaching mṄa-ri does not seem to be correct for Sum-pa himself later states that he reached mṄa-ri in Water-Horse year i. e. A. D. 1042. Gos-lo-tsa-ba also holds that Atīśa reached mṄa-'ri in Water-Horse year i. e. A. D. 1042 (*BA*, I, p. 247; Cf. Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atīśa and Tibet*, Calcutta : 1967, pp. 307-11). mṄa'ri is identical with mṄa'ris which is the westernmost province of Tibet, also known as Ngari khorsum, consisting mainly of the districts of Purang, Shangshung and Man-yul (*TED*, p. 362, Cf. *TEJ*, p. 132),

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Iron-Dragon (A.D. 1040) Thos-pa-dga' (Mid-la-ras-pa) was born. Bo-ri-lo-tsa-rin-grags was born[27]. The monastery of Sha-lu[28] was founded. According to written travel accounts, Atiśa left Nepal. Nā-ro-pan-chhen died[29]

Iron-Serpent (A.D. 1041) According to some travel books Jo-bo (Atisa) reached Nepal.

Water-Horse (A.D. 1042) sNe'u-zur-pa-ye-'bar, the principal desciple of dGon-pa-pa[30] was born. sMyug-rum-pa-mṅar-sgon-brtson-'grus-'bar was born. Atisa reached Mna-ris.

Water-Sheep (A.D. 1043) 'Brog-mi-lotshas founded the monastery of Myug-luṅ[31].

Wood-Ape (A.D. 1044) rMa-lo-tsha-Chhos-'bar, a native of La-Stod and famous as the male-partner of Ma-chig-sha-ma was born[32]. 'Brom paid his respects to Atiśa.

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27. Thos-pa-dga' (meaning delightful to hear) was the name given to Mid-la-ras-pa at the time of his birth by his father. Sum-pa seems to have borrowed the date from 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba who also assigns his death to Water-Hare Year (A. D. 1123) and says that he died at the age of 84. Go-lo-tsa-ba has arrived at these dates after making firm calculations (*BA*, II pp. 427-436). In another source, the dates of his birth and death are given as Water-Dragon year (A. D. 1052) and Wood-Hare year (A. D. 1135) respectively. This source, however, also agrees that he died at the age of 84 (W. Y. Evans-Wenz, *Tibet's Great Yogi Milerapa*, London : 1969, pp. 52, 273).
28. The monastery of Sha-lu was, according to Bu-ston, founded by Lche-btsan-śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas. There were four primary and six secondary sections here (*Buston*, II, p. 206). The place was a few miles south-west of Tashi-lhun-po, the seat of the famous historian and chronologist Buston Rin-po-che (*TED*, p. 184).
29. Nā-ro-pan-chhen (i. e. Naropa) was born in A. D. 956 (*JBRS* 1967, p. 125).
30. S. C. Das translates this passage : "Ye-śes-hbar of Snehu-ssur, the eldest son of Dgon-pa was born". He thus describes the name wrongly and translated the Tibetan word *Bu-chen* to mean "eldest son" incorrectly here. The word means "Principal desciple" (Cf. *BA*, II, p. 311).
31. Cf. *BA*, I, p. 207
32. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 41), however, translates the crucial text as follows : "Ma-chig sha-ma's husband was born. rMa Lo-chawa Chhos-'bar of La-slod was born". But in our opinion the text refers to only one person named rMa-lo-tsha-Chhos-'bar who was not the husband of Ma-chig-Sha-ma but her

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Wood-Bird (A.D. 1045)	Nil
Fire-Dog (A.D. 1046)	'Briṅ-Ston of rGyal was born. Zla-grags-pa, son of lChe-dal-sgaṅ-Pa was born. Chhag-khri-mchhog met Atīśa.
Fire-Hog (A.D. 1047)	rGya-'dul-'dzin-dbaṅ-phyug-tshul-khrims-'bar was born. Jo-bo (Atīśa) had the honour of seeing Maitreya and *Mañjughoṣa* and having religious discussions with them at sÑe-thaṅ.
Earth-Mouse (A.D. 1048)	Nil
Earth-Ox (A.D. 1049)	Mu-dra-pa founded E-dgon[33].
Iron-Tiger (A.D. 1050)	gÑal-chhos-bar was born. 'Brom gave rich presents to Atīśa.
Iron-Sheep (A.D. 1051)	mKhas-grub thinks that Atīśa wrote his work on Buddhist chronology during the year and hence according to him Atīśa was born in Water-Horse year[34].
Water-Dragon (A.D. 1052)	mDsed *Dharma-bodhi* ('Dseṅ *Dharma bodhi)*, the pupil of Khams-pa-luṅ-pa, Lab-sgron, Yo-mo and sBa-sgom of rNiṅ-ma sect of later spread (of Buddhism in Tibet) was born[35].

male partner. Ma-chig-Sha-ma was married at the age of 14 but being disgusted with her marriage, she feigned insanity and separated from her husband (*BA*, I, p. 221). rMa-lo-tsa-ba accepted Ma-chig-sha-ma as his *Mudrā*, i. e. female partner (*BA*, II, p. 219) after she left her husband.

33. Identical with the monastery of Bo-doṅ which lies on the route from P'un-tsogs-gliṅ to bKra-śes-lhun-po (*MBGHC*, p. 156 n; Cf. Tucci, *TPS*, p. 205 wherein Tucci places Poton i. e. same as Bo-done-e on road between Lha-rtse and bkra-śes-lhun-po i. e. Tashil-hunpo in the neighbourhood of Zabs-dge-ldiṅ).

34. Here S. C. Das does not give the complete translation of the passage. He simply mentions "Atīśa wrote his work on the Buddhist Chronology" (*JASB*, 1889, p. 41). Water-Horse year, the year of Atīśa's birth given here, is equivalent to A. D. 982 (vide M. P. Pelliot, "Table of Tibetan Sexagenary cycle", *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, part I, pp. 666-67).

35. S. C. Das translates the whole passage incorrectly (*JASB*, 1889, p. 41); Cf. *BA* I, pp. 175-189 wherein names of the teachers of *Dharma-bodhi* are given.

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Water-Serpent (A.D. 1053)	Was sDin-po-snubs-Chhos-'bar born ?
Wood-Horse (A.D. 1054)	gLaṅ-ri-than-pa-rdo-rje-seṅge, the desciple of Po-to-ba was born[35]. bLa-ma-gsen, the pupil of Ron-Zom-lo-tsa-ba-chhos-bzaṅ, was born. Atīśa attained *Parinirvāṇa*.
Wood-Sheep (A.D. 1055)	Pa-tsha-ba-lo-tsa-ñi-ma-gra-gsa was born. rMa-sgom-chho-yab-śes of Shi-byed[37] sect was born. Shan-ston-chhos-hbar was born, but some say that his birth should be placed in the year Water-Serpent. Ma-chig-lab-sgron was born but according to some other authorities she was born in Water-Horse year. Lo--chhen-rin-bzaṅ[38] died in the second Tibetan month (corresponding to Indian *Chaitra*) of the year.
Fire-Ape (A.D. 1056)	Tre-bo-mchhog-gi-bla-ma, the abbot[39] of rṄog-Legs was born.
Fire-Bird (A. D. 1057)	Shang-Karm-śer-'od was born. 'Bom-Ston-pa founded the monastery of RWa-sgren-but according to Blue Annals it was founded in Fire-Ape (A. D. 1056).[40]
Earth-Dog (A. D. 1058)	Chhag-Khri-mchhog, the desciple of Atīśa died.
Earth-Hog (A. D. 1059)	rṄog-blo-ldan-śes-rab was born.[41] Dol-bu-śer-rygam or Rog-dmar-Shur was born.[42]

36. gLaṅ-ri-thaṅ-pa-rdo-rje-seṅ-ge died in A. D. 1123 (*BA*, I, p. 270).
37. *Shi-byed* is the Tantrik Buddhist sect founded by Phadampa (*TED*. p. 1070).
38. Cf. *TPS*, p. 99, He was born in A. D. 958.
39. Tib. *mKhan-po* (Sanskrit. *Upādhyāya*).
40. Cf. *BA*, I, 263. It is mentioned therein that 'Brom built a monastery at sÑe-thaṅ and in A. D. 1056, he constructed the main shrine with two columns at Rba-sgreṅ, 'Brom was born in A. D. 1005 (*BA*, I, 251) and died in A. D. 1064 (See *supra*, Text; *BA*, I 264). For his detailed biography, see *BA* I, pp. 251-254. Rba-sgreṅ is situated north-east of Lhasa (*MBGHC*, p. 77). This monastery later became the seat and stronghold of bKa-gdams-pa (RI, p. 132).
41. Cf. *BA*, 325.
42. S. C. Das wrongly translates the second sentence of the passage making Dol-bu-śer-rgyam or Rog-dmar-shur-pa as two distinct persons (*JASB*, 1889, p. 41). Actually both the names refer to one person was an important personage of bKa'-gdams-pa sect (*THL*, p. 135).

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Iron-Mouse (A. D. 1060) rMa-bya-rṇa-ra-ba of rGyal was born. Shang-sna-na-rdor-dbaṅ[43] died and after his death gLan-Tshal-byaṅ[44] became abbot of the monastery of rGyal.[45]

Iron-Ox (A. D. 1061) Ma-chig studied Buddhist scriptures from A-Ston.

Water-Tiger (A. D. 1062) sKor-chhung of Phyag-chhen-sect was born. Ma-chig-Shan, the desciple of Se-ston-kun-rig was born. So-chhung-dge-'dun-'bar of Shi-byed sect was born. Kun-dga' of the later Shri-byed sect (of Tibetan Buddhism) was born.

Water-Hare (A. D. 1063) Nil

Wood-Dragon (A. D. 1064) It is said that bSe-Khar-chhuṅg-pa of Lam'bras sect captured the monastery of Ldo-mkhar-chhuṅ, 'Brom died during the year although bSod-grags holds that he died in Water-Hare year.

Wood-Serpent (A. D. 1065) *Yogāchārya* A-mes became the head of the monastery of Rwa-sgreṅ.[46]

Fire-Horse (A. D. 1066) rGya-gar-phyag-na (Bhartiya *Paṇi*) visited Ye-raṅ[47] in Nepal.

Fire-Hare (A. D. 1067) Ś-po-sgaṅ-pa-padma-byaṅ-chhub, the desciple of Phu-chhung-pa was born. rGyal-tsha-byaṅ-ye was born. gÑos-Skyi-khuṅ-pa Hab-jo-sras-'jam-dpal[48], the desciple of famous

43. For a sketch of the life of Shang-sna-nam-rdor-dbaṅ, see *BA*, I, pp. 87-88.
44. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, 41) does not translate the later portion of the sentence of the passage dealing with gLan-tshul-byaṅ, who was born in A. D. 976 (BA, I, 87).
45. The monastery of rGyal (rGal-lug-lhas) was erected by Shang-sna-nam-rdor-dbaṅ (sNa-nam-rdo-rje-dbaṅ-phyug) in the year A. D. 1012 (*BA*, I. p. 88). The monastery is situated in the valley of 'Phan-yul which is north-west of Lhasa.
46. RWa-sgreṅ or Ra-sgreṅ is identical with Reting of modern maps of Tibet. For more details refer to *MBGHC*, pp. 77-78.
47. Ye-raṅ is identical with Kathmandu (*BA*-I-P-231). It was a seat of Sanskrit grammar and logic (*Nyāya*).
48. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 42) translates the text incorrectly by making gÑos-skyi-khuṅ-pa and Hab-jo sras-'jam-dpal as two separate persons.

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Siddha (*grub-thob*) was born. 'Dsed-*Dharma* paid respects to Dam-pa (Pha-dam-pa.)[49] lChe-sgom-naṅ-bso discovered the hidden Buddhist scriptures of lChe-btsun of rÑiṅ-ma sect.[50]

Earth-Ape (A. D. 1068) — Nil

Earth-Bird (A. D. 1069) — 'Kon-phu-ba-chhos-Kyi-rgyal-po, the brother of Ma-chig-sha-ma was born.

Iron-Dog (A. D. 1070) — Śa-ra-ba-yon-tan-grags, the desciple of Po-lo-be was born.

Iron-Hog (A. D. 1071) — Nil

Water-Mouse (A. D. 1072) — Nil

Water-Ox (A. D. 1073) — 'Khan founded the great monastery of Sa-skya and rÑog-legs-śes founded the monastery of gSaṅ-phu. rMa-Chhos-śes had the honour of meeting Pha-dam-pa.

Wood-Tiger (A. D. 1074) — Sgro-Phug-pa, the desciple of Zur-chhuṅ and dka'-ba-shi was born. 'Brog-mi-lotsa died. Zur-chhung-rgya-bo-ba-śer-grags of rÑiṅ-ma School of Tibetan Buddhism died.

Wood-Hare — sPrul-sku-bya-yul-pa-gshon-'od[51], the desciple of sPyan-

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49. Dam-pa refers to Pha-dam-pa whose complete name is Pha-dam-pa saṅs-rgyas. He was an Indian monk hailing from South India and was also associated with Vikramśīla monastery of India. He also visited Tibet and is credited with the founding of Shi-byed-pa Tantrik School of Tibetan Buddhism. He died in A. D. 1118 (*RT*, pp. 133-134; Cf. *TED*, p. 815).

50. For further details, see *BA*, I, pp. 193-199. Tucci also by dating the discovery to A. D. 1066 (*TPS*, p. 109) commits the same mistake as that of S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 42) in converting the Tibetan Fire-Hare into its Christian equivalent.

51. Cf. *BA*, I. p. 286. He was born at Gol-go-luṅ in sTod-luṅ in the year Wood-Hare (1075) and died in the year Earth-Horse (A. D. 1138). For details of his life, see *BA*, I, pp. 286-291.

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(A. D. 1075) sña-pa was born. Khu-śer-brtshan was born.[52] It is said that Khu-chhen-po-brtshon-gyuń died.[53]

Fire-Dragon (A.D. 1076) The great religious Council (Tib *chhos-'Khor* : Sans. *Dharmacakra*) of the king rTse-sde was held[54]. rÑog-lo went to Kashmir[55].

Fire-Serpent (A.D. 1077) gTsań-pa-rin-po-chhe-nam-mKh'-rdo-rje was born. Pa-tshab-sgam-pa, the desciple of Kun-dga' of shi-byed-pa sect was born[56]. Mid-la came to Mar-pa.

Earth-Horse (A.D. 1078) 'Brom-Ston of rGyal was born. sGro-chhos-brtson, the desciple of sGam of Shi-byed-pa sect was born. After the passing away of A-mes, mDsed became the abbot of RWa-sgreń[57].

Earth-Sheet (A. D. 1079) Dwagas-po-lha-rje-sgam-po-ba-blo-gros-grags was born.

Iron-Ape (A. D. 1080) *Vinayadhara* ('dul-'dsin) of rGya attained perfection in practising Vinaya at the monastry of dga'ba-gdon during the year although *Deb-ther-sńon-po* states that it was water-Horse year.[58]

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52. Cf. *BA*, I. p. 94.
53. Cf. *BA*, I, pp. 93-94. Khu-chhen-po-brtson was born in the year Iron-Hog (A. D. 1011).
54. For details, see *BA*, I, pp. 70, 328.
55. We learn from other source (*BA*, I. p. 325) that rÑog-lotsa-ba-blo-ldan-śes-rab returned from Kashmir in 1092 after studying there for 17 years. The date of departure, therefore, is confirmed.
56. See *BA*, II, pp. 923-924 for details of the life of Pa-tshab-sgom-pa. He died in the year Earth-Tiger (A. D. 1158).
57. mDsed here seems to refer to 'Dzen-dBań-phyug-rgyal-mtshan of *Deb-ther-sńon-po*. He was born in Fire-Dragon year (A. D. 1016) and died in A. D. 1082 i. e. Water-Dog year. A-mes was born in the year Wood-Hare (A. D. 1015) and died in the year Earth-Horse i. e. A. D. 1078 (*BA*, I. p. 265).
58. *Vinayadhara* of rGya is identical with rGya-'dul-'dsin-dbań-phyug-tshul-khrims-'bar who was born in A. D. 1047. It is not understood as to how Sum-pa says that according to *Deb-ther-sńon-po*, he attained perfection in practising Vinaya in Water-Horse when we find that this authority (*Deb-ther-sńon-po*) also gives the same date (*BA*, I, pp. 78-79). The monastery of dGa'-ba-gdoń was near Lhasa, the capital of Tibet (*MBGHC*, pp, 167, 175).

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Iron-Bird (A. D. 1081) — Grwa-pa-mṅon-śes-chan laid the foundation of the monastery of Gra-thaṅ.[59]

Water-Dog (A. D. 1082) — Po-to-pa-rin-chhen-gsal was promoted to the abbotship of Rwa-sgreṅ which post he held for about one yeat or according to some for about three years.[60] mDsod-dgon-pa-pa died at Rwa-sgreṅ.[61]

Water Hog (A. D. 1083) — After this, it is said, religious indigence[62] prevailed at Rwa-sgreṅ.

Wood-Mouse (A. D. 1084) — Byaṅ-chhub-dge-mdses, the desciple of sNe'u-zar-pa was born. Ras-chhuṅ-rdor-grags, the desciple of Mid-la was born at Guṅ-thaṅ.[63] Mid-la performed *Sādhanā*.

Wood-Ox (A. D. 1085) — Sa-mi-sgom-pa-smon-lam-'bar, the desciple of So-chhun-pa was born.

Fire-Tiger (A. D. 1086.) — Nil

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59. Grwa-pa-mṅon-śes-chan is identical with Gra-pa-mṅon-śes or sTug-tshab. He was born in the Water-Mouse year (A. D. 1012) and passed away at the age of seventy nine in A. D. 1090. He laid the foundation stone of the monastery of Gra-thaṅ in A. D. 1081 and almost completed in A. D. 1093 (*BA*, I. pp. 95-97). The monastery was in Gra-thaṅ valley and was formerly a rÑiṅ-ma-pa shrine (*MBGHC*, p. 132).

60. S. C. Das, (*JASB*, 1889, p. 42) translates the passage : "Po-to-va Rin-chhen gsal died, after discharging the function of the abbot at the religious seat of RWa-sgreṅ for one year or according to some for two years. The passage in question does not signify anything about the death of Po-to-pa (Po-to-ba) here. Both Sum-pa (*PSJZ*, p. 12) and 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba (*BA*, I, p. 269) mention A. D. 1105 as the year of Po-to-ba's death. Das himself translates the passage relating to his death subsequently (*JASB*, 1889, p. 44).

61. dGon-pa-pa is identical with dGon-pa or dGon-pa pa-dSeṅ-dbaṅ-phyug-rgyal-mtshan. He was born in the year Fire-Dragon (A. D. 1016) and died in the year Water-Dragon (A. D. 1082). After his death there was no abbot at RWa-sgreṅ and Po-to-pa acted as abbot for three years (*BA*, I, p-266).

62. Tib. mu-ge literally means 'famine'. We have preferred 'indigence' instead used by Hoffman (*RT*, p. 133).

63. Khab Guṅ-thaṅ of *Deb-ther-sṅon-po* (*BA*, II, p. 436). It was a monastery in upper Tibet (*BA*, I. p. 338).

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Second Cycle

Fire-Hare (A. D. 1987)	Nil
Earth-Dragon (A. D. 1088)	Śaṅ-pa served Po-to-ba as desciple.
Earth-Serpent (A. D. 1089)	rMa-lo-tsa-chhos-'bar died of poisoning.[64]
Iron-Horse (A. D. 1090)	dGyer-sgom-chhen-po-gshon-nu-grags, the desciple of Byayul-pa was born. rṄog-mdo-sde, the son (Tib. *sras*)[65] of rṄog-chhos rdor was born. dGe-bśes-tshul-phags-ṅan-lam-pa was born. Rog-śes-rab-bla-ma of the linage of rGyal-brten-nes was born. Chhos-SKyabs-don-sten looked after (the monastery of) Grwa-thaṅ after the death of Grwa-ba-mṅon-śes-chan.[66]
Iron-Sheep (A. D. 1091)	*Vinayadhar* brtson 'grus-'bar of Bya was born.[67]
Water-Ape (A. D. 1092)	Sa-Chhen-kan-sñin, the son of Sa-skya dkon-rgyal was born. It is said that Pha-dam-pa came to Tibet.[68] rṄog-lo (lotsāba) returned to Tibet.
Water-Bird (A. D. 1093)	The monastery of Glaṅ-Thaṅ was founded by Glaṅ-ri-Thaṅ-pa. Mid-la after completing his *Sādhanā* went towards Ti-se(Kailash) etc.
Wood-Dog (A. D. 1094)	Was Shang-grub-thob-ṅid-phug-pa-chhos-grags, the desciple of Byaṅ-sems-zla-rgyan-pa born in this year ? rṄiṅ-ma-rgya-shag-pa was born. Ras-chhung-pa had the honour of meeting Mid-la.

64. Cf. *BA*, I. p. 222.
65. Tib. *sras* means 'son' (*TEJ*, p. 581; *TED*, p. 1288). S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 43) render the Tib. *sras* into English as 'spiritual son' incorrectly. Cf. *BA*, II p. 406 wherein it is clearly stated that he was born of his mother sBa-mo-chhos-brtson from his father rNog, the great.
66. Cf. *BA*, I, p. 97. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 43) while translating the text here mentions only about the death of Grwa-mṅon-śes-chhan and does not translate the passage relating to Don-sten.
67. Cf. *BA*, I, p. 80.
68. Cf. *BA*, I. p-72.

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Wood-Hog (A. D. 1095) — There are three different opinions about the foundation of the monastery of Lo. But sPyaṅ-sṅa-tshul-'bar lived at Lo for six years and at sMyug-Khum for three years. It was, thefore, founded either in water-bird year or during this year.

Fire-Mouse (A. D. 1096) — Swa-dmar-tshul-khrims-dpal, an incarnation of Khol-pa-dga' (the desciple of Ti-lli-pa) and pupil of sGam-pa was born.[69]

Fire-Ox (A. D. 1097) — rÑiṅ-ma-shang-ston-bkra-śes-rdo-rje was born. Mar-pa-chhos-blo died.[70]

Earth-Tiger (A. D. 1098) — Nil

Earth-Hare (A. D. 1099) — Nil

Iron-Dragon (A. D. 1100) — Khrom-gsher-rin-śen or 'od-zer-seṅ-ge, the desciple of Bya-yul-pa was born. Dwags-po-chhos-gyuṅ the Chief of disciple[71] of sGam-po was born.[72]

Iron-Serpent (A. D. 1101) — Bya 'chhad-Kha-pa-ye-rdor, the desciple of śa-ra-pa was born. Did Pha-dam-pa go to China ?[73]

Water-Horse (A. D. 1102) — 'Khon-ston-dKon-mchhog-rgyal-po died and Ba-ri-lo tsā-ba occupied the chair of the monastery of Sa-skya. Glaṅ-tshul-byaṅ died and 'Brin-ston became abbot of rGyal. rNog-chhos-rdor died.

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69. S. C. Das's translation (*JASB*, 1889, p. 43) of the text is not complete. *BA*, I, pp-520-21.
70. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 43) translates "Mar-pa-chhos-blo was born" incorrectly. Cf. BA, II, p. 404, where also it is stated that Mar-pa died in the year Fire-Ox i.e. A. D. 1097. The same source tells us that he was born in the year Water-Mouse i. e. A. D. 1012.
71. Tib. *bu-chen* S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 43) translation of the word is "Chief spiritual son".
72. See also *BA*, II, pp. 453, 461.
73. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, 43) translates the passage; "Pha-dam-pa visited China". He thus makes a categorical statement whereas the text does not say so. The Tibetan text runs : "pha-dam-pa-rgya-nag-tu-byon-nam". Cf. *BA*, I, p. 73 wherein it is stated that Pha-dam-pa proceeded to China after A. D. 1080.

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Water-Sheep (A. D. 1103) sTab-Ka-pa-dar-ma-grags, the desciple of Sa-ra-ba was born. Khyuṅ-tshaṅ-thod-dmar-ba was born. Grol-Syom, the desciple of sGam-po was born. sTod-luṅ-pa founded the monastery of bTsan-gro.

sPyan-sṅa-tshul-'bar died at sÑug-rung.

Wood-Ape (A. D. 1104) sGam-po-pa received the final monastic ordination (*upasampada*).[74]

Wood-Bird (A. D. 1105) Po-to-ba-rin-chhen-gsal died.

Fire-Dog (A. D. 1106) gTum-ston-blo-gros-grags, the desciple of Sa-ra-pa was born. Phu-chhun-pa died at the monastery of Po-to.

Fire-Hog (A. D. 1107) sTeṅ-ba-lo-tsa, who brought *Alaṅkadeva* of Kashmir to Tibet, was born.

Earth-Mouse (A. D. 1108) Nil

Earth-Ox (A. D. 1109) Phyag-pa-chhos-seṅ was born. After the death of rÑog-lo,[75] Shang-tshe-srong-chhos-Kyi-blama[76] occupied the chair of gSaṅ-phu monastery and remained in that post for 32 years. After him gÑal-ba-ri-lu-pa (was abbot) for two years, rNa-bar for eight years, Phya-pa for 18 years, rTsag-dbaṅ-seṅ for eight years, gTsaṅ-'jam-sen for 13 years, gÑal-dar-bzaṅ for seven years, dSam-cho-ne for seven years, Zad-pa-dar-'od and Don-grub for 13 years, dSo-Naṅ for 15 years, Rog for one year and 'og-mgon for 35 years. In this way 159 years elapsed till the Fire Tiger year (A. D. 1326).[78] sÑum-rum-chhen-po died.

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74. Tib. *bsnen-par-rdsogs-(pa)* means "to be ordained into full order of a Buddhist monk" (*TED*, p. 1060; *TEJ* p. 201).
75. Cf. *BA*, I. p. 328.
76. Cf. *BA*, I. p. 328.
77. gShaṅ-phu was founded in A. D. 1073 (*TPS*, 680, note 31).
78. For details, see *BA*, I, pp. 328 et. seg, where the account of succession differs in some cases.

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Iron-Tiger (A. D. 1110) Phag-mo-grub-pa-rdo-rje-rgyal Po was born. Karma-(pa)-dus-gsum-mkhyen was born during the year although according to bSod-grags he was born in Water-Serpent year.[79] Sgam-po became the desciple of Mid-la.

Iron-Hare (A. D. 1111) Kun-sñiṅ sat on the chair of Sa-skya monastery. The monastery of Grwa-gor was founded by gÑal-chhos-bar.

Water-Dragon (A. D. 1112) A troop of demons attacked Mid-la at Chhu-bar. sGam-po performed *Sādhanā* at 'oL-Khar. gÑal-chhos-'bar died.

Water-Serpent (A. D. 1113) It is said that Dam-pa (Pha-dam-pa) paid his last visit to Tibet from China. Some say that the incarnations of Las-chhen-kun-rgyal etc. founded the monastery of Bya-yul in the Wood-Horse year, but it is certain that they founded the monastery during this year.

Wood-Horse (A. D. 1114) Nil

Wood-Sheep (A. D. 1115) Khyuṅ-tshaṅ-ye-śes-bla-ma, the desciple of Ras-chhuṅ was born.[80] Jo-tshul-śes, the son of rÑog-mdo-sde was born. Kham-luṅ-pa-chhen-po, the desciple of 'Grom died.

Fire-Ape (A. D. 1116) Dwags-po-Sgam-pa-tshul-Khrims was born. rGyal-ba ye-grags-dmar-ba was born. sTod-luṅ-pa chhen-po died.[81] Se-ston-Kun-rigs died.

Fire-Bird (A. D. 1117) 'Chhus-dar-brtson, the desciple of sGro of Shi-byed-pa was born. It is said that Shaṅ-Ston of rÑiṅ-ma sect discovered the religious books concealed by Bi-ma-la at 'Chhen-phu and by IChe-brtsun-nag-po-seṅge at 'U-yug and at Jal-phur. Some say that Pha-dam-pa[82] died during the year.

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79. For his short Biography, see *BA*, II, pp. 474-480.
80. Jo-tshul-śes is identical with gTsaṅ-tsha-jo-tshul (*BA*, II, pp. 408-409).
81. See also *BA*, I, p. 286.
82. The real name of Pha-dam-pa was Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas (*BA*, II, p. 915). 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba holds that fanciful accounts have crept in about Pha-dam-pa in Tibetan literature (BA, I, pp. 35-36).

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Earth-Dog (A. D. 1118) Khro-phu, the desciple of *Mahā Paṇḍita* Sākya-Sri, rÑog-mdo-sde and Phag-gru etc. was born. sNe'u-zur-pa-ye-'bar died.

Earth-Hog (A. D. 1119) dGyer-sgom founded the old monastery of rGya-ma-rin-chhen-sgaṅ. 'Briṅ-ston died. sGam-ye-rgyan of Shi-byed sect was born.

Iron-Mouse (A. D. 1120) Thog-med-grags, the desciple of rÑog-mdo-sde was born. rMa-rṇa-ra-ba became the abbot of the monastery of rGyal. According to Shat-lun, the period of Samadhi began.

Iron-Ox (A. D. 1121) sKyil-Bu-pa Chhos-rgyan, the desciple of 'chhad-ka was born. Dbags-po-lha-rje founded the monastery of sGam-po.[83]

Water-Tiger (A. D. 1122) Jo 'Od, the younger brother of rÑog-Thogs-med was born.[84] Shaṅ-brtson-grags was born. The Indian Ni-ru-pa performed the *Parakāya Praveśa* rite and entered the dead body of sKor-chhung.

Water-Sheep (A. D. 1123) bLa-ma-shaṅ-brtson-grags, the desciple of dbags-po-sgom-chhul was born.[85] Zla-'od, the son of 'Khon-phu-pa was born.[86] gYu-brag-pa was born. gLaṅ-luṅ-ba-gshon-brtson of Lo-bya-yul was born.[87] Master Mid-la-ras-chhen died. gLaṅ-thaṅ-pa-rdo-rje seṅ-ge died.

Wood Dragon (A. D. 1124) rTa-ston-jo-ye and Jo-'bum, the father of Jo-bsod rÑiṅ-ma sect was born. Kun-dga' of later Shi-byed sect died.

Wood-Serpent (A. D. 1125) Karma-dus mKhyen was initiated into monk-hood by mChhog-bla. *Acārya* Abhayākara died.[88]

83. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 45) in his translation places these events in A. D. 1120.
84. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 45) here translates the Text : "Thogs-med-'od of rNog was born", which is incorrect. Cf. *BA*, II, p. 413.
85. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 45) in his translation omits the whole sentence.
86. Cf. *BA*, II, p. 229.
87. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p-45) translates the text incorrectly when he writes : "gson-brtson of Glaṅ-luṅ, the pupil of Bya-yul Lochava was born."
88. For details of his life etc. see *JBRS*, LIV, 179-198.

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Fire-Horse (A. D. 1126) — Mal-Ka-btsan, the desciple of Sa-ma was born. Lche-ston-yon-tan-gsuṅs of Se-brag was born.

Fire-Sheep (A. D. 1127) — *Mahā Paṇḍita* Śākya-Śrī of Kashmir was born. rGyal-ba-rten-nas-'jig-rten-grags, the desciple of Pātshab-sgom of later Shi-byed sect was born. 'Od-'dzo-gshon-nu-yon-tan was born. The 13th *Kulikā viśva rūpa* ascended the throne (of Sambhala).

Earth-Ape (A. D. 1128) — dGe-bśes-glan of rGyal was born. 'Brug-pa-gliṅ-ras-pa-padma-rdo-rje was born. Karma-dus-mkhyen visited Central Tibet. So-chhuṅ-dge 'bar died.

Earth-Bird (A. D. 1129) — sBla-ti-dgra-bchom was born. The younger brother of Jo 'od, named rṄog-jo-bsod was born. rMa-rṇa-ra-ba died.

Earth-Dog (A. D. 1130) — Dbags-po-sgom-chhun-śes-rab-byaṅ-chhub was born. rGyal-tsha-byaṅ-ye became the abbot of rGyal monastery. Did sNubs-chhos-'bar died (during the year).

Iron-Hog (A. D. 1131) — Shaṅ-ka-ma-pa-śer-'Od died. rGyal-'dul-'dzin-pa died. Śa-po-sgaṅ-pa died. Dol-ba śer-rgyam died.

Water-Mouse (A. D. 1132) — Shba-dmar-tshul-Khrims-dpal died.

Water-Ox (A. D. 1133) — Nam-mkha'-'Od, the incarnation of Shba-dmar-tshul died. Dus-mKhyen received final ordination as a monk by Mal-'dul-'dzin.

Wood-Tiger (A. D. 1134) — It is said that sGaṅ-po-'dul-'dzin was born. sGro-phug-pa passed away.

Wood-Hare (A. D. 1135) — Nil

Fire-Dragon (A. D. 1136) — mṄa'-bdag-ñaṅ-ral, the king of Tibet was born.

Fire-Serpent (A. D. 1137) — Khrom-gsher-'od-zer-seṅ-ge founded the monastery of Khrom-Kam-Kam.

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Earth-Horse (A. D. 1138) Sans-rgyas-dpon-Shon-'byuṅ, the younger brother of rGya-ma-dgyer-sgom was born.[89] Rog-bkra-grags, the son of Rog-śes-rab-bla-me was born. gSon-'od of Bya-yul died.

Earth-Sheep (A. D. 1139) Dus-mKhyen met Dbags-po-sgam-po. Khyaṅ-po died. rGyal-tsha-ye died.

Iron-Ape (A. D. 1140) 'Brom-ston of rGyal became the abbot of the rGyal.

Iron-Bird (A. D. 1141) Sa-ra-ba-yon-tan-grags died.

Water-Dog (A. D. 1142) bSod-nams-rtse-me, the son[90] of Sa-sKya-Kun-Sñiṅ-po was born. sTag-luṅ-thaṅ-pa-chen-bkra-śis-dpal was born.

Water-Hog (A. D. 1143) 'Bri-gon-skyob-pa-'jig-rten-gsum-mgon-rin-bsan was born. After the death of 'Brom-ston of rGyal,[91] the abbot-ship remained vaccant for nine years. Ara spent his rainy season. Khu-ser-brtson died. It is said that Lab-sgron died in Earth-Sheep year but it was certain that he died during the year.

Wood-Mouse (A. D. 1144) dGyer-sgom-rtshul-seṅ, the desciple of Mal-Ka-bchan and Phag-gru was born. It is said that sPhyi-bo-Ihas-pa, the mystic teacher of Sa-sKya-*Paṇḍita* was born.[92] 'Khon-phu-ba, the brother of Ma-chig-sha-ma died.

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89. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 46) translates the passage making Saṅs-rgyas-dpon and Shon-'byuṅ as two distinct persons. Actually both the names refer to one person.

90. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 46) here also translates the passage incorrectly. bSod-nams-rtse-mo was second son of Sa-skya-kun-sñin.po (*BA*, I, pp 210-211) and not the spiritual son as stated by S. C. Das.

91. The text does not seem to be clear here. If it refers to 'Brom-ston of rGyal, he was born in A. D. 1005 (*BA*, I, p. 251) and died in A. D. 1064 (*BA*, I, p. 264). Cf. *Supra*, text.

92. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 46) translation of the passage : "Gsaṅ-ston-spyipa-chaspa, one of the pan-chhen of Sa-skya was born." does not seem to be correct. We do not agree with Vostrikov also who translates the Tibetan Word *gsaṅ-ston* into "Secret confessor" (*THL*, 135). Appropriate rendering of Tib. "*gsaṅ-ston*" should be "the mystic teacher" i. e. a teacher of mystic doctrines of Tibetan Buddhism.

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Wood-Ox (A. D. 1145) rṄog-jo-bsod died.

Fire-Tiger (A. D. 1146) rGyal-tshar-mo, the desciple of rṄog-thog-med was born. rṄog-jo-'hod died.

Third Cycle

Fire-Hare (A. D. 1147) rTe-bsun-grags-pa-rGyal-mtshan, the desciple of Sa-chhen was born.

Earth-Dragon (A. D. 1148) Kun-ldan-ras-chhuṅ, the younger brother of Khro-Phu-rgyal-tsha was born. rÑiṅ-ma rgya-nag-pa, the desciple of sGro-Phug of rÑiṅ-ma sect died.

Earth-Serpent (A. D. 1149) Shig-pa-bdud-rtsi, the desciple of Se-brag of rÑiṅ-ma sect was born.[93] It is said that *Mahāpaṇḍita*[94] of Kashmir received his *Pravajayā* ordination during the year water-Horse but it is certain that he was initiated (into monk-hood) during the year.[95] Ma-chig-sha-ma died during the year.

Iron-Horse (A. D. 1150) Rog-śes-rab-bla-ma, the follower of religious teachings and belonging to the lineage of rGyal-ba-rten-nes was born. dPal-chhen-'Od-po-chhe, the son of Sa-chhen was born. Drugs-po-sgom-tshul became abbot of the monastery of Sgam-po.

Iron-Sheep (A. D. 1151) Phag-mo-grub-pa met rJe-sgam-po-pa.

Water-Ape (A. D. 1152) rDor-seṅ, the younger brother of rṄog-chhar-mo was born. Did Sgro-chhos-brtsan die during the year ?[96]

93. For details of his life and activities, See *BA*, I, p.132 etc. seq.
94. Śākya-Śri.
95. The text is a little difficult here. We have made attempts to give literal translation as far as possible. Sum-pa probably wants to convey that *Mahā Paṇḍita* received *Pravrajya* ordination during the year. Cf *BA*, II, p.1063. S. C. Das (*JASB*, 1889, p. 46) omits the whole sentence.
96. In the original text here Sum-pa is not sure of the event taking place in the year but S. C. Das in his translation mentions it as a categorical statement (*JASB*, 1889, p. 47).

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Water-Bird (A. D. 1153) Chhag-lo-dgra-bchom of rTe-'ur, the desciple of sTeṅ-ba-lotsa[97] was born[98]. Gro-bdud-rtsi-grags of Snar-Thaṅ was born. gTum-ston founded the monastery of Snar-Thaṅ. dGe-bśes-tshul-'Phags-ṅan-lam became abbot of rGyal. Dbags-po-sgom-po-pa died.

Wood-Dog (A. D. 1154) rDo-rje-tshul-khrims of 'Bri-guṅ was born. Dbags-po-sgom-tshul founded the monastery of sTod-luṅ at mTshur-lha-lun.

Wood-Hog (A. D. 1155) Dus-mKhyen founded the monastery of gShu-mtshur-lha lun-gi-karma at gShu'i-gru-bohi'-lha-luṅ-gi-par.

Fire-Mouse (A. D. 1156) rNog-thogs-med-grags died.

Fire-Ox (A. D. 1157) Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, the son of rṄog-jo-tshul was born.

Earth-Tiger (A. D. 1158) dBaṅ-Phyug-byaṅ-rin of Luṅ, the desciple of Se-sPyl was born. bZaṅ-mo also known as Ṅam-śoda-pa, the desciple of Saṅs-rgyas-dpon-Ston was born. Phagru founded the monastery of gDan-sa- mthil-pa. Pa-tshab-sgom-pa died. Sa-chhen-Kun sñiṅ died. rṄog-jo-tshul died.

Earth-Hare (A. D. 1159) It is said that Dus-mKhyen[99] went to mtshur-Phu situated in Stod. It is said that bSod-nams-rtse-mo occupied the seat of Sa-sKya monastery. After the death of dGe-bśes-ṅan-lam, the chair of rGyal remained vacant for four years.

Iron-Dragon (A. D. 1160) Sans-rgyas-sgom-pa-rdor-gshon of Bya-yul was born. dGe-bśes-lchan-ri-ba was born. The incarnation yan-dben-pa, the follower of the religious tradition of rMa-lo-tsa and Ma-chig-sha-ma was born.[100]

Iron-Serpent (A. D. 1161) gTsan-pa-rgya-ras-pa-ye-śes-rdo-rje, the desciple of 'Brug-pa-glin-ras-pa was born. gTsan-rin-po-chhe-nam-rdor died.

97. sTen-ba-lotsa-ba-Tshul-Khrims 'byan-gṅas (*BA*, II, p. 1052).
98. Cf. BA, II, 1054.
99. Dus-mkhyen (Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa) was born in A. D. 1100 and died in A. D. 1193 (*BA*, II, 474-480) and founded the monastery of mTshur-phu in A. D. 1187 (*MBGHC*, p. 168).
100. S. C. Das's translation *JASB*, 1889, p. 47) of the passage is not correct.

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It is said that Ras-chhun-pa died during the year Wood-bird but it is certain that he died during the year.[101]

Water-Horse (A. D. 1162) — According to *Deb-sṅon* and others, the mighty emperor Chhin-ge (Chingis Khan) was born in Water-Tiger year but it is certain that he was born during the year.[102] Sgor-Ni-ru-ba-ta-ba-died.

Water-Sheep (A. D. 1163) — sTon-jo-ye-śes, the follower of rÑin-ma sect was born.

Wood-Ape (A. D. 1164) — gÑos-rgyal-ba-lha-nan-ba-sans-rin, the desciple of sKyob-pa was born. Dus-mKhyen founded the monastery of sMad-Kyi-Kham-po-gnas-nan. Se-sKyil-pa founded the monastery of 'Chhad-Ka-gsar-ma. Khyun-tshan-thod-dmar occupied the seat of rGyal. Hab-jo-sras, the desciple of Yu-mo died.

Wood-Bird (A. D. 1165) — Bya-'chhad-Kha-pa'[103] founded the monastery of Mal-gro-bya-'Chhad-Ka.[104] The two sTag-luṅ-gliṅ-ras-pa met Phag-gru.

Fire-Dog (A. D. 1166) — Ser-hod, the son of Rog-bKra-grags was born. gTum-ston died at sTod-luṅ[105] and rDor-sTon-śer-grags, who was born in Fire-Sheep year became the abbot of sNar-thaṅ monastery. rṄog-mdo-ste died.

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101. Cf. *BA*, II, p. 439.

102. The other sources alluded to obviously refer to *Hu-lan-deb-ther* or *Deb-ther-dmar-po*, *gshon-me-dpal* and *gchag-lag-phreṅ-ba*. They all hold that birth year of Chin-gis Khan is Water-Tiger year (A. D. 1182). 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba (*BA*, I, p. 58) also following the said sources mentions Water-Tiger year as the birth year of Chin-gis Khan which is in contradiction with Mongolian sources (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 77-78).

103. Bya-'chhad-Kha-pa was born in A. D. 1101 and died in A. D. 1189 (*BA*, I, p. 276). Also see text *Supra* and *infra*.

104. Cf. *BA*, I, p. 276. It places the date of the founding of the monastery in the year Wood-Ape (A. D. 1164).

105. The text (*PSJZ*, p. 17) has Chhos-luṅ which is apparently not correct. According to Wylie sTod-luṅ (upper valley) is the valley on the right bank of sKyid-Chha to the West of 'Bras-spuṅs monastery (*GT*, p. 149, note 321, 322). For further details about sTod-luṅ, see *GT*, pp. 77-78, 126 and passim.

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Iron-Dragon (A. D. 1160) Sans-rgyas-sgom-pa-rdor-gshon of Bya-yul was born. dGe-bśes-lchan-ri-ba was born. The incarnation yan-dben-pa, the follower of the religious tradition of rMa-lo-tsa and Ma-chig-sha-ma was born.[100]

Iron-Serpent (A. D. 1161) gTsan-pa-rgya-ras-pa-ye-śes-rdo-rje, the desciple of 'Brug-pa-glin-ras-pa was born. gTsan-rin-po-chhe-nam-rdor died.

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102. The other sources alluded to obviously refer to *Hu-lan-deb-ther* or *Deb-ther-dmar-po*, *gshon-me-dpal* and *gchag-lag-phreṅ-ba*. They all hold that birth year of Chin-gis Khan is Water-Tiger year (A. D. 1182). 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba (*BA*, I, p. 58) also following the said sources mentions Water-Tiger year as the birth year of Chin-gis Khan which is in contradiction with Mongolian sources (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 77-78).
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Fire-Hog (A. D. 1167) 'Bri-goṅ-sKyob-pa[106] heard the doctrines from Phag-gru. The Chapter of *Samādhi* began. mÑa' ri-dge-mdzes died. rÑin-ma-shaṅ-ston-bkra-rdor died.

Earth-Mouse (A. D. 1168) dBus-ba-jo-bsod, the younger brother of rTa-ston-jo-ye of rÑiṅ-ma sect was born. 'Djed-*Dharmabodhi* died.

Earth-Ox (A. D. 1169) gYam-bzaṅ-chhos-smon-lam, the desciple of Zur-bskal (who was the Chief desciple of Phag-gru) was born. The *Mahāpaṇḍita* (Śākya-Srī) of Kashmir was fully ordained as a monk. Dus-mKhyen founded monastery of 'Dod-sbaṅ-phug. sBal-ti founded the monastery of sKyor-luṅ. The abbotship remained vacant for two years on the death of Dwags-po-Agom-tshul. Phyā-pa-chhos-seṅ died.

Iron-Tiger (A. D. 1170) sBom-brag-pa-bsod-rdor, the desciple of Karma-saṅs-rgyas-ras-chhen was born. rGyal died at Phag-gru and after his death the seat of the abbot remained vacant for six years. Khrom-gsher died at Kam-kam.[107]

Iron-Hare (A. D. 1171) Shig-po-rin-chhen-śes-rab, the younger brother of Rog-śer-hod was born. Skyo-ston-byaṅ-rin etc in Kam-Kam and Sans-rgyas-dbon-Ston came into prominence in rGya-ma rin. Sha-mi-smon-lam-hbar died.

Water-Dragon (A. D. 1172) Grags-rgyan-pa sat on the throne of Sa-skya and Ser-byan occupied the chair of Sgam-po.

Water-Serpent (A. D. 1173) It is said in *Deb-sṅon* that Khro-phu-lo-tsa-tshul-śes-byams-dpal, the nephew of Khro-phu-rgya-tsha and his brother was born in the Ape year but it is certain that he was born during this year.[108] 'Dul-'dzin occupied the chair of Sgam-po after the death of dGas-Sgom-śer-byan. Rog-śes-rab-bla-ma died.

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106. There are several variants of this name. For example, we find 'Bri-khuṅ in *BA* and 'Bri-gon in *PSJZ*,

107. The monastery was founded by Khrom-bsher in A. D. 1137 (*BA*, I, 305, *Supra*, text).

108. It is mentioned in Deb-Snon also that Khro-phu-lo-tsā-ba was born in Water-Serpent year (BA, II, p. 708). Sum-pa seems to quote *Deb-sṅon* (Blue-Annals) wrongly here.

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Wood-Horse (A. D. 1174) Dar-ma gargs of sTab-Ka died. Jo 'bum-of rÑin-ma sect died.

Wood-Sheep (A. D. 1175) sPyan-sna-grags-'byun of Phagru was born.[109] Phya-pa, the desciple of Dus-mKhyen was born. Rin-'Hod[110] of Gan was born. The monastery of Tshal was founded.[111] Khyun-tshan-thod-dmar died and after his death the chair of rGyal remained vacant for three years.[112] Bya-'chhad-ka-ba died.

Fire-Ape (A. D. 1176) Chhos-rje-sgan-pa, the desciple of dBu-se was born. Se-sKyil-bu looked after the monastery of Se-'chhad-ka and sPyil-bu. Khyun-tshan-ye-śes-bla-ma died.

Fire-Bird (A. D. 1177) Bar-'brug-pa-dpon-ras-dur-sen was born. 'Bri-gon-sKyob-pa was fully ordained as a monk. He ('Bri-gon-skyob-pa) looked after the monastery of Phag-gru for three years.[113] It is said that he ('Bri-gon-sKyob-pa) met Phag-gru in the year Fire-Ox and if it is so Phag-gru died during the year.[114] Shan-lo-tsā-grub-dpal died. Dbags-po-chhos-gyun-died.

Earth-Bird (A. D. 1178) Nil

Earth-Hog (A. D. 1179) Sans-rgyas-sgom-pa of sNar-than was born. Ye-grags-dmar became abbot of rGyal monastery. sKyob-pa came to 'Bri-gon and became its abbot. Since then upto the year Fire-Sheep, the chair of Phag-Gru remained vacant.

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109. For more details about him, see *BA*, pp. 274-81.
110. Rin-chhen-'od of Gaṅs-par (*BA*, II, p. 1087).
111. It was founded by Shaṅ-rin-po-che who was a native of Tshal-pa-gru (identical with Guṅ-thaṅ) which is Khugtang of Survey map (*MBGHC*, p. 105).
112. According to *Deb-ther-Snon-po*, chair remained unoccupied from the year Fire-Ape (A. D. 1176) to the year Earth-Dog i. e. A. D. 1178 (*BA*, I, p. 90).
113. He acted as abbot from Fire-Hare year i. e. A. D. 1177 to the Earth-Hog year i. e. A. D. 1179 (*BA*, II p. 570).
114. The text is not clear here and we are not certain about its meaning.

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Iron-Mouse (R. D. 1180) — mGar-dam-pa-chhos-stin-pa-gshon-rdor, the desciple of sKyob-pa was born. 'Bom-dgon-śes-rab-dpal, the desciple of sTag-lun-than-pa was born, sTag-lun-than-pa[115] founded the monastery of sTag-lun.[116]

Iron-Ox (A. D. 1181) — Nil

Water-Tiger (A. D. 1182) — Sa-Pan the son of dPal-'Od was born. It is said that Ko-Brag-pa-bsod-rgyan was born in the year Iron-Tiger, but he was born during this year.[117] The monastery of rGya-ma-rin-sgan was rebult by Sans-rgyas-dban-ston. Sa-skya-bsod-rtse died. Lha-btsun-zlu-'od of 'Khon-phu died. rÑog-tshar-mo died.

Water-Hare (A. D. 1183) — Nil

Wood-Dragon (A. D. 1184) — Zans-tsha-bsod-rgyan, the younger brother of Sa-skya Panchhen Kun-rgyan was born.

Wood-Serpent (A. D. 1185) — Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa founded the monastery of Karma-lha-sden. rDo-ston-śer-grags died at sNar-Than and was succeeded by Shan-btsun-rdor 'od, who was born in the year Iron Horse.

Fire-Horse (A. D. 1186) — lHa-'gro-mgon-po-dban-phyug-'od, the son of lHa-lun was born. Kha-rag-pa grags-rgyal, who was the desciple of Phu-ri-ba (the desciple of 'Brug-pa-rgod-tshan) was born. Did Ñin-phug-pa die during the year ? Rog-bKra-śis-grags died.

Fire-Sheep (A. D. 1187) — dPon śer 'byun, the desciple of sKyo-ba was born. sMad-'brug-pa-blo-ras-dban-brtson, the desciple of gTsan-rgya-ra was born. Bla-ma shan-brtsen-grags founded the monastery of mTshal-Gun-than. Lha-chhen was erected. rGyal-ba-ye-grags-dmar-ba died.

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115. sTag-luṅ-thaṅ-pa is identical with bKra-śes-dpal (*MBGHC*, p. 82).
116. Taluṅ of Briths Maps (*Ibid*, p–81).
117. For his biography, see *BA*, II, pp-726 ff.
118. The books were concealed by Ras-chhuṅ and related to the six doctrines of Nāropā, the Indian *Siddha* (*BA*, II, p-438).

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Earth-Ape (A. D. 1188) 'Bug-pa glin-ras-pa-padma-rdo-rje was born.

Earth-Bird (A. D. 1189) bSam glin pa, the desciple of Karma-Dus-mKhyen's desciple Gan-pa was born. rGod-tshan-mgon-po-rdo-rje of sTod-'brug, the desciple of rGya-ras was born. dGe-bśes-glan became the abbot of rGyal monastery. rGya-ras discovered (the books containing) the six classes of Ro-sñom of Ras-chhun which were hidden underground. Dus-mKhyen constructed the monastery of mTshur Phu. Hor Chhen[119] became the king of Mangols. Se-skyil-bu-pa died.

Iron-Dog (A. D. 1190) The King of Ma-rtse in Upper Tibet presented Lord Buddha with a golden crown. Sa-sKyil-lha-lun-gi-dban-phyug looked after (the monastery of) 'chhad-ka. Chhin-gis conquered Manchuria. sTen-ba-lo-tsa-ba-Tshul-Khrims-'byun-gnas died.

Iron-Hog (A. D. 1191) Zem-Rin-po-chhe-sans-sTon-grags-sen of Bya-yul was born. sTag-lun-dpon-dkar-rin-mgon-sku-yal-ba was born. dGe-bses-dri-'dul became the abbot of rGyal after the death of Glan.

Water-Mouse (A. D. 1192) Chhin-gis took possession (of the country) of Ma-Solon.[120] Mchhus-dar brtson died.

Water-Ox (A. D. 1193) Kam-Kam-sKyo-ston- byan-chub - Rin-chen - became abbot of rGyal monastery. bLa-ma Shan died at Gun-than. Karma-Dus-gsum-mKhyen-pa died. gShon-Nu-brtson-'grus of Glan-lun died. dBus-pa died.

Wood-Tiger (A. D. 1194) After this mÑam-med-sāk-ye and others sat at the throne of blama-shan at Tshal-Gun-than. It is said that henceforth Se looked after the monastery of Lo-Bya-yul for six years. Shan-btsun died at sNar-than and Gro-mo-Che-ba (who was born in the year water-Bird) became its abbot. Chin-gis (Khan) became the ruler of China.

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119. Chin-gis Khan.
120. Identical with Manchu Solon. For details, See *IA*, X, p.18.

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Wood-Hare (A. D. 1195) Pho-rog-mde-sde-mgon-bya-sKyuns-pa, the desciple of Kho-brag-pa was born. Khro-lo-tsa-ba went to Nepal. Chin-gis Khan conquered Russia. Khro-phu rgyal-tsha died. Yon-tan-gzuns of the rÑin-ma sect died.

Fire-Dragon (A. D. 1196) Jo-'bar, the son of Ñi-ma-'bum of rÑin-ma sect was born. Chin-gis-Khan occupied Don-mag.

Fire-Serpent (A. D. 1197) Later Chhag-Chhoo-rje-dpal was born.

Earth-Horse (A. D. 1198) skyob-pa and sTag-lun-pa constructed a temple at Phaggru. Khro-lo-tsa-ba invited Maitripa who after staying for 18 months (in Tibet) returned to India. Chin-gis Khan occupied Kha-rad-pa. Jo-bsod of the rÑin-ma sect died.

Earth-Sheep (A. D. 1199) Dwags-po-grol-sgom died. shwa-dmar-Nam'od died. Shig-po-bdud-rtsi of rÑin-ma sect died.

Iron-Ape (A. D. 1200) sGam-po-sñi-sgam-chhen-po was born. bKra-grags, the incarnation of dMar-nam'od (the desciple of Dus mKhyen) was born. Bar-'brug-pa-gshom-sen was born. Khro-lo-tsa-ba brought Buddha-Sri to Tibet. Chin-gis Khan took possession of Na'i-man-pa-to-ge.

Iron-Bird (A. D. 1201) dGe-bśes-lchan-ri-pa became the abbot of rGyal monastery. Sans-rgyas-sgom-pa took both (monasteries of) Lo and Bya-yul under his care.[121]

Water-Dog (A. D. 1202) gZi-brjid-grags, the desciple of rÑog-Kun-rdor was born. sPyan-sna-rin-chhen-ldan, the desciple of yan-dgon-pa and ye-brag-pa[122] was born. Chin-gis Khan captured (the country of) Hor.

Water-Hog (A. D. 1203) rGwa-lo-tsa-ba-rNam-rGyal-rdo-rje of Ron was born. Phag-gru-thog-rdug-pa was born. sTag-lun-sans-rgyas-yar-byon-bla-ma was born. Sans rgyas-ras-pa-rin-chhen-smor-lam, the desciple of Rog-shig-po (of shi-byed-pa-sect) was born. Sa-skya-dpal-chhen 'od died.

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121. S. C. Das's (*JASB*, 1889, p. 50) translation of the passage is not correct.
122. Cf. *BA*, II, p. 691 which has Ko-brug-pa.

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Wood-Mouse (A. D. 1204) It is said that Karma-paksi-chhoo 'dzin,[123] the desciple of sBorn-brag-pa (who was desciple of Karma-ras-chhen), was born in the year Fire Tiger but it is certain that he was born during this year. Khro-lo-tsa-ba invited the Pandit (*śākya sri*) of Kashmir. Chin-gis Khan subjugated Hu-ri-lig. dGyer-tshul-sen died.

Wood-Ox (A. D. 1205) rGya-po-dga', the younger brother of rÑog-gzi-brjid, was born. rGya-'chhin-bu-pa, the desciple of gÑal-shan, founded the monastery of sNe-than-bde-bchan and his nephews Sans-rgyas-dpal and others looked after it.

Fire-Tiger (A. D. 1206) gYam-bzan-pa-Chhos-smon-lam founded the monastery of gYam-bzan. Chin-gis Khan visited Tibet and occupied all its territories excepting Mi-ñag.[124]

ABBREVIATIONS

1. *ACB* — *Amdo-Chhos 'byuñ*, New Delhi. The full title of the work is *Yul-mlo-smad-Kyi-ljoñs-su-Thub-bstan-rin-po-chhe-ji-ltar-dar-bai-Tshul-gsar-bar-brajod-pa-deb-ther rgya-mtsho-śes-bya-ba-bshugs-so.*
2. *BA*, I — *The Blue Annals*, Part One (Calcutta : 1949) by G. N. Roerich.
3. *BA*, II — *The Blue Annals*, Part Two (Calcutta : 1953) by G. N. Roerich.
4. *Buston* — *History of Buddhism* (Heidelberg : 1932) by Bu-Ston.
5. *CWSM* — *Collected Works of Sum-pa-mkhan-po*, Vol. 8 (Ña), ed. Dr. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi.
6. *GT* — *The Geography of Tibet* (Rome : 1962), by Turrel V. Wylie.
7. *IA* — *Indian Antiquary*.
8. *JASB* — *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
9. *JBRS* — *The Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
10. *MBGHC* — *mKhyen-brtse's Guide to the Holy places of Tibet* (Rome : 1958) by A. Ferrari and Luciano Petech.
11. *PSJZ* — DPAG-BSAM-LJON-BZAÑ, Part III. (New Delhi : 1958) by Sum-pa-mkhan-po and ed. Dr. Lokesh Chandra.
12. *RT* — *The Religion of Tibet* (London : 1956) by Helmut Hoffman.
13. *TEJ* — *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London : 1968) by H. A. Jaschke.
14. *TED* — *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Delhi : Patna : Varansi, 1970 by S. C. Das.
15. *TPS* — *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* by G. Tucci.

123. Cf. *BA*, II. p-485. Karma-paksi's fame spread far and wide. He was invited by emperor Qubilai and visited Mongolia and China. The emperor became his (Karma-pakṣi) desciple. He died in A. D. 1283. (*Ibid*, II, pp 486-487).

124. One of the petty principalities in Kham, the easternmost district of Tibet *TED*, p. 958. Cf. *GT*, p. 183).

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APPENDIX

THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE IN THE TIBETAN CHRONOLOGY

M. P. PILLIOT

The Chinese Chronology is based on the combination of the denary (dicimal) series of the 'sources' (干 *kan*) with the duodenary (duodicimal) series of twelve "branches" (支 *tche*). By the successive counting of the series of the "sources" and by writing successively on the side the series of twelve "branches", we get sixty combinations, in which each of the twelve 'branches' is associated with five of the "sources". This system, however, utilises only half of the theoretically possible combinations between the two series, but leaving aside all astronomical consideration, it could not be otherwise, because the difference between the two primitive series is on even number. To get combination between even and odd numbers of each of the two series, the regular order of counting would be necessary at a given time. The sixty normal combinations, each attached by one year, constitutes the sexagenary cycle of the Chinese era. The Chinese chronologists have artificially fixed the beginning of their first cycle, some time as 2697 and some times as 2637 prior to our era; thus 1913 is, according to these systems the 50th year of the 76th or 77th cycle.

It is this sexagenary cycle which is commonly used in Tibet and Mangolia, but the systems of nomenclature is apparently different. In Chinese, the cyclic designations are generally made by means of "Cyclic Characters" constituting the "sources", and the "branches", and these characters, deprived today of their semantic value could not be easily borrowed by other people and language. But, in China itself, ever since the beginning of our era, we sometimes find the twelve "branches" in accord with the "cycle of twelve animals" which made such a great fortune in central Asia, at last since the time of Tung. At present Tibetans and modern Mangolians of 12th Century, hardly use anything but the duodenary cycle of twelve animals. When they take recourse to sounder and more precise chronology of the sexagenary cycle, then they use the names of twelve animals, which they call the twelve "branches" of the Chinese system.

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The Tibetan and Mangolian treatments of the ten "sources" are more varied than those of the twelve 'branches'. In China itself, the ten "sources" have been bracketted, two by two, with each of the five planets. But apart from this, with each of the five planets are linked one of the five elements and each of the five colours. The names of elements or those of colours are however the possible substitutes of the names of ten "sources", and the substitutes have prevailed in Mangolia and in Tibet. The resemblances can easily be seen in the table below :—

Cyclical names of sources	Planets	Elements	Colours
Kia } Yi }	Jupter	Wood	Blue
Ping } Ting }	Mars	Fire	Red
Wou } Ki }	Saturn	Earth	Yellow
Keng } Sin }	Venus	Iron	White
Jen } Kouei }	Mercury	Water	Black

We see that each element of each colour thus corresponds to two of ten "sources".[1] This has led the Mangolians and the Tibetans to

1. Besides these constant relations between the "sources" and the "elements" (as for example, Forke, *Lun Heng*, II, 440-441) the branches are also made to correspond with the elements following an order which has lasted till today, and which is found, since the first century of our era, in the Louen heng (cf. P. Hoang, *A Notice of the Chinese Calender*, P. 7, Chavannes, in T'oung Pao, II, VII, 79, 95; Forke, *Lun Heng*, I, 105-106; II 404 and et seg; Giles, Chinese-English Dictionary, Appendix, p. 28); the origin of the division remains obscure and, to many, it ill-agrees with the theory of elements. In short, independently of elements from which each "source" and each "branch" is accounted, every cyclic year marked by the re-union of a "source" and a "branch" is in its turn attributed to an element which has no resemblance with the preceding series. The age of the last equivalents and even their exact lists are not known to me. We see on this subject, a table in P. Hoang, *A*

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divide each of the element or each of the colours in a first degree, which is the male degree, and a second degree which is the female degree. But in fact because the "sources" of even or odd number correspond respectively only to the "branches" equally of even or odd number, no compulsion was possible with the enunciated system of elements or colour.

Also, the distinction of two degrees, perfectly superfluous, is frequently omitted.[2] From the point of views of usual nomenclature, the colours are used more by the Mangolians, and elements by the Tibetans. Sometimes as in Sanang Setsen, the "sources" are indicated by their Chinese names.[3] But always, and even in the later case twelve animals are

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Notice of the Chinese Calender, pp. 8-9; the same list is given in R. Schram, Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln, Lipzig, 1908, in 8^0, p. 265. Thus 1913 in a Kouri-tch'eon year; the Kouci "source" corresponds to water, the tch'eon branch corresponds to earth, but according to the two above mentioned tables, 1913 is an wood year; it is in fact the wood which has been given as the element of 1913 in the Annual Calender 1913 published by the Observatory of Zi-ka-wei (cf. *T'oung Pao*, II, XIV, 143) for 1910 & 1911, thus 1910 and 1911 are given as years of earth, while according to the notice of P. Hoang and the table of M. Schram, these years, marked by the signs Keng-sin and sin-hai, should have been metal years. The notice of P. Hoang, as well as Annual calendar were published Zi-ka-wei. I cannot explain these differences, but researches would be quite long, and the publication of Prolegomines a la concordance dis chronologies neozueouiques of P. Hoang may by and by render their paperflons. As this question has no repercussion whatsoever the use of sexagenary cycle in Mangolia and Tibet, it is enough forme to hint at the difference without insisting on it. But one should remember that the elements affected every year has nothing to do with the indication of the element constituting the first half of the cyclic date; this second indication indicates the "source" not the year.

2. For the ancient use of elements—animals series in a document edited in Turk ouigour, viz. A Grunwedel, *Bericht uber archaologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari and Umgebung*, Munich, 1906, in 4^0, pp. 194-195, corrected in F.W.K. Muller, *Uigurica*, 1, 48.

3. Notation by elements, and transcription of Chinese cyclic character for the expression of "source or root" in a cyclic date are combined in a Turkish inscription of 1326 which I have brought from Kan-sou, in which the *pingyin* Chinese year is expressed in Turkish by *Otcog-dagi oot gutluy bing bars yil*, (italics) "the year of the blessed bing-tiger, which is a year of very bright fire (?=of male fire).

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used to represent the twelve branches.[4]

Thus, not that the principle of the system is the same, in China on one side, and Mangolia and Tibet on the other, but also the nomenclatures are by and large the equivalent. It remains to be seen as to what is the real application of this sexagenary cycle to the chronology. Mangolian texts published so far, even if they deal with Tibetan Chronology, have been always in record with Chinese computation; hence the principle there is no disagreement between them.

On the other hand, the cyclic designations of Tibetan years constantly correspond to the Chinese cyclic years[5]. But, was it otherwise in the past or even in recent past ? Is it possible that two countries narrowly united as the Lamaic Mangolia and the Tibet should have applied differently an identical cyclic system ? Those who were concerned with Tibetan Chronology, during the 19th century, have admitted this expressly or implicitly. I should like to subject (submit) their opinion to a fresh scrutiny (examination).[6]

4. Besides this usual cycle, many European authors speak of a combination of elements in a cycle of 252 years, but one has never come across an actual application of the same; for example the references in Waddel, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* page 451. These computations are inspired exclusively by Chinese cycle. But, apart from this, the Tibetans in the well-founded chronology, make use of a series of names of 60 years also, which will be referred to in the present article, and which are translated from Sanskrit names relating to the Sexagenary cycle or the grand cycle of Jupiter. One will see that the two series should not be confounded.

5. Cf. C. A. Bell, *Mannual of Coloquial Tibetan*, Calcutta, 1905, in-80, p. 108 (1905) = bois-serpent; 1906 = *feu-cheval*.

6. To facilitate readers, even those who are no sinologue, to follow and check opinions which I am expressing. I have added to the present article two tables of Chinese cyclic years before and after our era. The table is based on the same plan as that given at the end of the dictionary of Giles; but where there has been no transcriptions of Chinese Characters, the tables have appeared to me to be useless. The Chronology anterior to our era is calculated on historical and not on astronomical basis, that, there is no zero year at the change of the era. After each element, I have indicated in bracket the colour which can be substituted for element; element and colour are equally valuable for the two corresponding Chinese stock (sources); thus, wood (or blue) is *Kia* as it is also *Yi*, it is the name of the animal joined to the first element which

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In 1762, Augustion Goergi, who without himself having visited Tibet, was writing in Rome on the basis of ancient cards (religious !) of Lhasa, inserted in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* such chronological indications which were quite incoherent, and which had not influenced more recent works. We can, however, leave them out at present. The first author who has published, almost exactly, the findings related to the Lamaic chronology, is in fact the traveller Pallas. In the volume II of his *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten die mangolishchen Voelkerschaften*, published in Saint Petersburg in 1801 (but which was drawn up since 1776), Pallas has devoted a chapter (P. 218 to 227) in the 'Lamaistic Chronology' : We see therein among others, a complete and exact table of sexagenary cycle expressed in elements and animals; it is that which goes from 1774 to 1803. Besides Pallas published in pages 11 to 16, the translation done for him of a Mangolian documents, in which the principal events of the Lamaic Chronology were marked in cyclical dates expressed in elements and animals, with indication of number of years which had passed between each of these events, and the year in which the author of that chronology wrote. In fact, the latter (year) has not been mentioned expressly, but, basing on the indications relating to many of those events, the date of which were known as approximately as possible, Pallas deducted with sufficient reason that the author of the chronology wrote, "about a century ago", counting from about 1676. In 1806, another translation of the same Mangolian document, differing a bit in details, was handed to Klaproth during his sojourn in Irkoutsk, and Klaproth published it in French in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1831 (Vol. VII, P. 161-176). Pallas had stopped in midway because he had not cared to reduce the cyclic years of his list in European dates, Klaproth did this small supplementary work, and did it well.[7] That Chronology is not rigidly exact; sometimes there is difference

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gives to the whole a real cyclical value. Following this plan, I have indicated beside every cyclic year, the European year to which it largely corresponds. But there is no absolute identity, because Chinese year begins only in January-February.

7. However, there is no inadvertance of Klaproth in the first date which he indicates as wood-she-sheep. The Chinese cyclic characters which he gives, the context in short, the earlier version published by Pallas, show that it should be Earth-she-sheep.

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of many years between the indication of the cyclic years and those resulting from the number of years passed between the events concerned and the time when the chronology was established.

Klaproth seemed to suggest that the Chronology was of 1678, but other indications are that the author prepared it in 1680. As it is, from the starting of and after the foundation of the "yellow Church", that the Chronology seems to hold good; thus the dates which it contains about the birth and death of bTson-kha-pa (five-bird and earth-hog or 1357-1479) seem to be better than those given in comparatively more recent European works.

In 1834, the real founder of Tibetan studies in India, Csoma de Koros published in Calcutta his *Grammar of the Tibetan language* which contains at pages 147-154 an appendix on the "Tibetan Modes of Reckoning time". Till today, research-workers are drawing their materials from it.

Csoma de Koros says that the cycle of 60 years exists in South India as well as China and Tibet[8] and that the Tibetans, while translating in that language, the sanskrit names of the great cycle of Jupiter have also preserved them in their primitive order. This example is given : The actual year 1834 called "jaya" in Sanskrit an *rgyal-wa* in Tibetan, that is, victorious, is also found in South India as in Tibet, the 28th year of the cycle. In Tibet it is the 28th year of the 14th cycle, if we count the beginning of the first cycle from 1026 of the Christian era. And he adds : To preserve the resemblance between the Chinese and Indian Cycles, the Tibetans give the designation "first" to the fourth year of the Chinese cycle. If the first year of the first Tibetan cycle is 1026, the third year of the Chinese cycle begins in 1024, and it will be so in all other cycles. How can Csoma speak of the fourth year[9] ?

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8. We shall see by the following that the great cycle of Jupiter in India and the Sexagenary cycle of China are not identical and have not been used as such.
9. It does not seem that the question of current and past year which is for the reckoning of Indian dates a source of great complication should not have arisen for Tibetan years expressed in "cyclical dates". Any way, the question does not arise here.

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Suffice it to take again the elements of his reckoning to get a solution. Jaya is the name of the 28th year of the great cycle of Jupiter[10] and primafacie one need not doubt that Csoma knew exactly the designation the Tibetans gave to the year in which he was writing. But if 1834 is the 28th year of the 14th cycle, the first year is then 1807, and the first cycle will be 780 years earlier i. e. it is to say 1027 and not 1026.[11] Csoma's view explains itself thus : 1027 or 1807, the first year of the Tibetan cycles are the fourth year of the Chinese cycles. It is besides, ting-mao, 4th year of the Chinese cycle and corresponds to 1027 or to 1807. Csoma knew that 1834 was the 28th year of a cycle and believed to have got the first year of that cycle by taking away 28 from 1834, when only 27 should have been deducted,[12] he has thus taken from it the initial date of the first Cycle. All the equivalents between cyclical and occidental dates were thus false by a year.

The date of 1026 is result of a simple error of calculation which has nothing to do with the system of this Tibetan cycle nor with the authority of the Chronology which it expresses, unfortunately, none, since 1834 seems to have verified the indications of Csoma.[13] Then in another part of his grammar (p. 181-188) Csoma has given in European dates

10. Cf. The table given by Csoma himself in his grammar, p. 150, or that of Kielcorn in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 205.

11. The fact that there are 10 sources and that the sexagenary cycle makes allowance for an entire number of decades, each of the 10 sources on one hand, or each initial year of a cycle, on the other correspond to each other in one era, having years ending in the same figure.

12. This kind of error is frequent; it is the cause of inexactitudes raised by M. Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, II, XII, 441. In his *Ladak* (London, 1854, in 4th, p. 396), Cunningham, starting the Tibetan cycles from 1026, 1086, etc., following Csoma, adds : "The present year, 1851, is consequently the 45th year of the 19th cycle". E. Schlagintweit (*Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 279) has noted that 1851 is the 45th Tibetan cycle, which commences in 1807. Accidently Cunningham is right. He has started from the date of Csoma which is wrong and he commits the same error in different direction to obtain a date in the eycle in which he was writing. The two, errors compensate each other, but they are errors (alright ?).

13. However, in 1837, basing himself on Csoma, the Chronologist Ideler (*Ueber die Zeitrechnung der Chinesen*, p. 363) had said incidentally that the first Tibetan cycle began in 1027.

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a Chronological table of Lamaiske whose results has been accepted till now almost without dispute. We shall see that the same error is found here and consequently it invalidates all the results.

Csoma in another part of his grammar has converted a table of Lamaic Chronology in European dates, and they were accepted so far almost without any dispute. Csoma extracted the table from *Baidurya-dkar-po* composed by a regent of Lhasa at the end of the XVIIth century. According to Csoma, its date is 1686. But if we read the final colophon which he has himself reproduced, we see that the book was written at the beginning of 12th cycle, in the year *Prabhava* in Sanskrit and *me-mo yos* in Tibetan. This cycle starts in 1687; *Prabhava* is the first year; as for *me-mo yos* (fire female hare) it is the equivalent of Chinese signs ting-mao, which in effect correspond to 1687. Thus all the dates in the title of Csoma must be reduced by one year.

The Baidurya-dkar-po is posterior to the Chronological list of Mangolia translated by Pallas and Klaproth by a few years, and a bird's eye view of the two would reveal their resemblance. Koeppen has already said (*Die Religion des Buddha*, II, 111) that the difference was not of one but two years.[14] The difference is not so much because of Tibetan and Mangolian Chronologists but because of their European interpreters. Dates of Klaproth, based on precise indications of cyclical years are reckoned with definite exactitude. Csoma who gives to the Colophon the date of 1686, has obtained it by x by x = 1686 –1) –330, that 1335. In other words Csoma does not allow the current year to intervene in his calculations. It is just as saying that an event of 1880 separated by 40 years, has taken place in 1839. Fortunately we have a means to come to conclusion. It is a date which we consider certain, because instead of having any bearing with isolated events it is connected with a system which has last till today it is the date of the first year of the first Tibetan cycle; we have seen earlier that it corresponds to 1027 without any shade of doubt. The author of *Baidurya-dkar-po* tells us (p. 184) that "ever since the first year of the cycle of 60 years has begun" 660 years have elapsed.

14. Koeppen, who does not doubt the error of Csoma says, in fact, that the difference between his list and that of Klaproth is of two to three years. But for all the dates from the middle of XIVth Century (excepting that of 1351, which disagrees with Pallas), the difference in the two tables is regularly of two years.

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Csoma has said x=(1686–1)–660, or 1025.[15] In face of this we have not to hesitate anywhere. The whole Chronology given in the grammar of Csoma has to be reduced by two years. It will thus be in accord not only with the most coherent part of the lists of Pallas & Klaproth, but also with the Cyclical dates which we get from Tibetan and Mangolian works translated, analysed and published for the last fifty years after we have made allowance for the errors comitted by their interpreters (Europeans).

After Csoma de Koros, we see same indications relating to Tibetan Chronology in the well known book of Huc, *Souvenirs d'un voyage daus la Tartarie et le Thibet* (Memoirs of a voyage in the Tartary and Tibet). Huc travelled in Mangolia and Tibet from 1844 to 1846; the first edition of bis memoirs had appeared in 1850. Information regarding Tibeto-Mangolian are grouped in Vol. II, pp. 371-374;[16] and they are mediocre. The theoretical table of Sexagenary cycle is exact but the applied part of it is wrong. He has spoken of the 28th year of Tao-Kouang which is that of Ram of fire (1848), it is also said that in China the Sexagenary Cycle had begun in 1805. Now the 28th year of Tao-Koung (1848) is a *wou chen* year, consequentlv earth ape, and the Chinese cycle has begun in 1804 and not 1805. It is thus clear that from Chronological point of view the cyclical reckoning of Huc is not of any value.

In the Vol. II of his excellent work *Die Religion des Buddha*, published in 1859, Koeppen has dealt with Lamaism in details and also minutely, and has left the problem of Chronology aside. Without giving his views, he has placed side by side the date of Csomo and Klaproth (1355 oder 1357, p. 108 "1407 oder 1409", p. III, etc.). The question was taken up later by E. Schlagintweit whose *Buddhism in Tibet* appeared in 1863. The idea of this author is not an advance on Csoma. The former took the erroneous idea from Csoma that the Tibetan cycle begins in 1026. But he was totally misinformed about the co-existence of the Tibetan Sexagenary cycle of which the names have been translated from Hindu names, and of the Chinese Sexagenary cycle in which dates are marked in elements and animals.

15. Csoma did not seem to have seen that 1025 (for the first year of 60 year cycle) does not agree with his own theory of the cycle beginning in 1026.
16. I cite here from the 4th edition, Paris, 1860.

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Schlagintweit says (p. 278)—The coincidence between two i. e. Tibetan and Chinese cycles was not perfect, a third year of the Chinese cycle coincided with the first year of the Tibetan cycle, and so on. That did not make any difference on Tibetan Chronology so long the Chinese did not exercise political authority over Tibet, but when Chinese, in 1718, "made Tibet a dependency, it soon followed that the inhabitants were obliged to adopt the cyclic order of their years to that of the Chinese, and this could only be effected by advancing the number of years throughout by two. Thus two years are virtually cancelled from the Tibetan calender, so that the cycles commence two years earlier than before the change; e. g. in 1864 instead of 1866. The altered chronology is used at present in all official matters, and is generally adopted for private business". He further wrote that year in the 52nd year of the cycle, which started in 1806 according to the Indo-Tibetan Chronology; we would thus obtain 1857 (1806+51). He gave for the year 1852-1926 a double table in which a cycle accurate to the ancient system began in 1866, whereas the modified cycle started in 1864.

In fact the charge imposed on Tibetans by the victory of China is imaginary and the example given does not prove anything. The difference between the Chinese and Tibetan cycles is, as Csoma has said, of three years and not two. The difference in the two cycles is there but without any repercussion on their use. The names of the Tibetan cycles, translated or sometimes transliterated from Sanskrit, continue to give the equivalent of Chinese cycle *prabhava*=fire-hare, vibhava=Earth-Dragon, that is to say, years of Tibetan cycle I, II etc.=years of Chinese cycle IV, V etc. It is a question of two systems moving and renewing parallel to each other. Schlaginweit was confused by the two cycles; Tibetan Chronology contradicts the example cited by him. The year wood-hare is the 52nd year for the Chinese cycle which begins in 1804 and which was used in Tibet with the same numerical value, much before 1718. The invention of Schlagintweit, based on the double error of the tables of Csoma, has not succeeded in obscuring a system of Chronology, which is neither complecated nor ambiguous.[17]

17. The error of Schlagintweit has even misled Schiefner who in the introduction of his translation of Tāranātha (p. VI) indicates that according to *Kalpasuvrksa*, Tāranātha composed his book in 1608 and that he was born in 1575 (the con-

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In 1881 and 1882, the Hindu, Saratchandra Das published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, a series of *Contributions in Religion, History etc. of Tibet*. As he has himself said, it concerned sometimes the translation and sometimes this adoption of *Grub-mtha'sel-kyi me-lon*, work of the lama Chhos-kyi ni-ma dpal-bzan po. The Lama was born in the year five serpent of the 12th cycle, that is in A. D. 1674, and died in A. D. 1740; the work must have been completed a week before his death. M. B. Laufer, who has severly but justly criticised Sarat Chandra Das, has said that the work was completed in 1740.[18] Chhos-kyi ni-ma dpal-bzan-Po; born really in a year fire serpent, thus saw the light of the day in 1677. Das's date is wrong by 5 years.

What we have examined here does not inspire us to believe the dates given by S. C. Das. Often the dates have been given without indication of the cyclical years, which had us to believe that the dates given by him are doubtful.

Thus we read in the article of 1882 at page 53, "Tson Khapa was born in A. D. 1378" and a note adds, "the 10th lunar month of the year which had the name five-hen in the 6th cycle of the Tibetan Chronology". The date 1378 has since passed into other works too.[19] But it does not correspond to the year fire-hen. The year fire-bird of the 6th Tibetan Cycle is in fact 1357, which corresponds to the Chronology published by Pallas and Klaproth also of Csoma, if we make allowance for the error of two years made by him.

At page 66 of the same volume of 1882, it is said that Sas-Skya pandita went to Mangolia in the year fire-sheep of 4th cycle (it corresponds to A. D. 1248) but according to Cyclical tables fire-sheep is not 1248 but 1247. On page 67, the year iron-hog does not correspond to

text shows that 1573 given in the preface is a printing error). At page 263, Schiefner indicates that the date of the work is 1608 or 1610 as the chronology of Tibet as given by Csoma is late by 2 years compared to Chinese Chronology. He refers here to Schlagintweit whose theory we have seen. The year which he refers is earth-ape (*terre-singe*) which cannot be but 1608.

18. *T'oung Pao*, II, XII, 720-721.

19. Cf. Indications of Schulemann, *Die Geschichte der Dalailamas*, Heidelberg, 1911, in 8°, p. 59 in 8°, p. 59 adding to it, Pander and Grnnwedel, *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu*, p. 55; A. H. Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, p. 75.

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1252 but to 1251. It is further said that Chingis Khan was born according to Tibetan chronology in the year 1182, but other Mangolian and Tibetan works point to the birth of Chingis Khan in 1162. Thus S. C. Das chronology does not deserve any credence.

A more recent work of the author published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1889 (pp. 37–84), and which is a translation of *R'eu-mig*, chronological table of lama Sumpa-mkhan-po. Saratchandra Das says, "Sum-pa mkhan-po was born in 1702 (wood-ape of the 12th cycle). The same date of 1702 is represented by him in the preface of another edition of the same author—the *dpug-bsam-ljori-bzan* published at Calcutta in 1908. This is also wrong; the year wood-ape corresponds to 1704. We are told that R'eu-mig itself is of 1747; for lack of indication of cyclic years, we cannot say anything on this date which has to be reduced by one or two years. Any way R'eu-mig has given to Sarat Chandra Das a very detailed chronology in which year to year mention is made, and it is one of the most complete chronology which we have translated so far. According to Sarat Chandra Das, it begins from 1026 and goes up to 1745. For initial year Sarat Chandra Das seemed to have followed Csoma which is wrong. In fact, it should be 1027 instead of 1026. That is how he gives the birth and death of bTson-kha-pa as 1356 and 1418 instead of of 1357 and 1419; while he places the escape of the emperor of Mangol and hors from Peking in 1367, the Mongolian and Tibetan tradition in accord with historical facts places the escape (of the said emperor) and entry of Hong-Wou to Peking in 1368. So also the date of the completion of the history of Buddhism of Taranatha (wood-ape) is 1608 while Sarat Chandra Das puts it at 1607. Another error of Das is that he puts the birth of Sum-pa-mkhan-po, author of *R'eu-mig* at 1703 while we see that the date (wood-ape) is bound to be 1704. Das mentions this date as 1702 in the preface and elsewhere. He has also in an amazing way bracketted both 1702 and 1703, though really it should be 1704. It is clear that the chronology of *R'eu-mig* relates to 1027-1746 and not 1026-1745. The errors of the translator can be removed by bringing down all the dates by a year. We can say that after doing this, we shall get the exact European equivalents of the Tibetan Chronology by the author of *R'eu-mig*.

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In 1895, appeared a considerable book in London which has become classical. It is the Buddhism of *Tibet or Lamaism* by L. A. Waddel, but the chronology is as bad as in the preceding works. In the chapter devoted to astrology and divinity, Waddel (p. 451-452) has tried to indicate the principle of cycle of 12 animals with the elements in a cycle of 60 years, then he gives the table of cyclical dates for the year 1858-1921. It is borrowed from the reproduction of the Table of Tibetan cycle by Schlagintweit. Waddel has contrary to Schlagintweit (as seen earlier), given the beginning of 15th cycle at 1867. He says that the wise Lama of Darjeeling who knows astrology, confirms that it is 1867, and not 1866, and without caring to know that if it was so, the initial years of all the cycles would have to be reduced by one year. He thus places first Tibetan cycle in 1026 instead of 1027.

Besides, Waddel has given an appendix to his work chronological table (p. 575-578) wherein he gives main facts of Religious History of Tibet. Same facts are in accord with the general history of Buddhism; others having nothing to do with Tibetan Chronology. Waddel says : "Dates of Tibetan events are taken from Csoma (Grammar p. 181 and following) and completed to a smaller degree by those of Sum-pa (translated by Sarat, *JASB*. 1889, 73 etc), excepting those where origin is specified. I have reduced the dates of Sum-pa as given by Sarat as the Lama who compiled his article has included the current year in his reckoning." Speaking of Csoma, I have shown that all his dates should be reduced by two years. This correction should apply to Waddel also who has borrowed from Csoma. We have seen that the Chronology published by Sarat Chandra Das in 1889 was in its original reduction in accord with the Mangolian and Tibetan tradition, but while reducing it in European dates he made an error of a year and he put the starting point at 1026 instead of 1027. If we reduce one more year from the chronology given by S. C. Das which is already up by one year, as Waddel would want us to do, then we would have to conclude that the escape of the last Mangolian emperor and coming of ming are placed in 1366 and not 1368, and that the history of Taranath was composed in 1606 and not in 1608. Waddell could not see that this correction would bring up by one year the beginning of all Tibetan cycles and thus 15th cycle would not begin in 1866 as Schlagintweit said, nor in 1867 as Waddell would have it, but in 1865, and

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that the first Tibetan cycle would not begin in 1027 nor in 1026 as Csoma, Schagintweit, Sarat Chandra Das and Waddell said but in 1025. This is clearly inadmissible. The unfortunate correction by Mr .Waddell to the dates of Mr. Sarat Chandra Das would have at least one good aspect. As Mr. Waddell does not specify as to whether he is using, the date of Csoma or Sarat Chandra Das for the event he refers, one has always to refer to these two authors to correct the date of two years or one year, keeping in mind Csoma or Sarat Chandra Das. By raising the chronology of Sarat Chandra Das by one year, Mr. Waddell has mixed up the errors of his two sources : it is always of two years. Consequently to use the dates of Tibetan origin in the chronological table of Waddell one has always to bring it down by two years.

In 1896, a year after the publication of the book by Waddell, G. Huth published under the tile of "*Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mangolei*" the translation of *Hor Chos byuri* whose Tibetan text he edited in 1893. In the short preface, preceding the 1893 edition of the work the editing of the work is placed in 1818, and the date has been adopted by all who have spoken of the work of Huth. Huth bases on a Colophon wherein it is said, according to his translation, that the work was finished in the year "earth-hare" of the 14th cycle, which is called "*Pramadi*" in Sanskrit, in the cold country (Tibet) myos Idan, in the country of Mahacina (China) gyi mau (1818). But a Sinologist who reads the translation immediately suspects it. As there are ten sources, the dates of each of them, converts in the same era and end always in the same figures. Besides, pramathin, of which *myos-ldan* is the regular translation, is the 13th year of the Tibetan cycle, and as the 14th cycle began in 1807, it corresponds equally to 1819. There is no doubt that Huth has erred in date and that the work he translated was completed in 1819 and not 1818. Apart from Huth, there are hundreds of European works which have converted these dates with European dates, and they are all defective. Open per chance; P. 112, year water dog (1141), it must be 1142. Page 151; year wood hare (1254), it should be 1255. P. 244; year fire-dragon (1615); it must be 1616. P. 303; year earth-horse (1737), it should be 1738. Besides author of the book, a Mangolian authority in Tibetan, tells us that he has used history of Sanang-Setsen, and in a section of his work, he has followed Sanang Setsen, step by step. Now

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Sanang Setsan indicates the sources, not by names of elements or colours, but by simply transcribing the cyclical Chinese characters. Schmidst has not missed, in the edition of Sanang Setsen, to establish correctly the corresponding European dates. Let us take a passage where a Tibetan historian copies the Mangol historian for example, page 121 of Sanang Setsan and page 35-36 of Huth. We see in the list of Schmidt, the correctly established dates : 1281, 1308, 1311, 1285, 1312, 1320, 1303, 1321, 1323 and the translation of Huth adopts same events at the same cyclical indications of the original text 1280, 1307, 1310, 1284, 1311, 1319, 1302, 1320, 1322, the translator never sees the disagoument between his version and that of Schmidt. All the dates of Huth, some of which have passed with other works are incorrect. To get the real dates of the original Tibetan work, we have to bring down the dates by one year.

The more recent works, if we leave apart that of Mr. Tsybikov, has not escaped the long chain of errors.[20] Even the publication of Mr. Lanfer, which have precious qualities, contain inexact reduction of dates. In his article *Die Bru-za sprache* (*T 'oung, Pao*, II, IX. P. 34-35), Mr. Lanfer gives equivalent of fire-hare=786, earth-hare=798, wood-ox = 784 and says that in the chronology of Bu-Ston, the 4th cycle begins in 776[21]; it should be read as 787, 799, 785 and 727. In 1911, Mr. Lanfer has published a remarkable work to which Mr. Grunwedel, in his *Baessler-Archiv* of 1912, has paid just a homage. The book entitled "*Der Roman einer tibetischen Konigin*" is an edition and translation of the third of five works which carry the global title of "*bka' than Sde-lna*" and which constitute, alongwith the known biography, the depth of the legend of Padmasambhava. A colophon is annexed to the first of the five works, and speaks of the year fire-female-hog. In his note, Mr. Lanfer has supposed that the year 21st of that Tibetan cycle corresponds, no doubt to 1226; it should be corrected as 1227. Similarly at page 242, a year of water dragon cannot be 1051, 1111, 1171, 1231, but 1052, 1112, 1172, 1232, at page 224 wood hare is 1675 and 1674, the same corrections have to be

20. Reference *Aam-pum-yen-no* of bTson-kha-pa published in the Mangolian translation with a Russian version. Mr. TSYBIKOV has given all the correct dates, but he has not doubted the inexact Chronology of Huth.

21. Mr. Lanfer says this "fifth", but the context shows that it was a lapse.

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adopted in page 245 and 246. In an other passage of page 244, it is in fact the 19th year of Tao Kouang which is a earth-pig year. If Mr. Lanfer had followed the same principles, he would have indicated 1838. But it is worth known that 19th year of Tao Kouang is 1839, and here, his knowledge of sinology prevailing on his system, he has established lightly 1839 and not 1838. The same principle had to be adopted everywhere.

There are no Chronologists who have not been caught by these inexact interpretations. The best chronological manual which we actually have is the "*Handbuch der mathematischen and technischen* Chronologie" of F. K. Ginzel, appearing in Lipzig in two volumes, 1906 and 1911. Page 403-409 of volume I are devoted to Tibetan Chronology. Mr. Ginzel has rightly seen the difference of three years between the Tibetan and the Chinese cycle, and the rectification of 1867 instead of 1866, proposed by Mr. Waddel has not escaped him. However, he does not reject the date of 1026 given for beginning of first cycle by Csoma, and admit the real existence of the "rectified" Chronology imagined by Schlagintweit. These pages are the weakest in a work which is otherwise excellent.

All these confusions relating to the Tibetan Chronology originate from the error of Csoma. His successors do not seem to have understood the mechanism of the double sexagenarian cycle used in Tibet. A 60 year cycle beginning in 1027 relates to another cycle of 60 years, the initial year of which started in 1024. Never the Tibetans have confounded the two systems as Schlaginwiet would have us believe. We have, however to ask ourselves as to how the coexistence of the two systems can be justified, and why is their initial divergence. The question seems to me to be very simple, if we take into account the two great influences exercised on Tibet, one of China and other of India. China used a sexagenarian cycle which in years of Christian era begins always by years whose last number is 4, or 4, 64, 124, 184 etc. It is from their Chinese cycle that the Tibetan system of elements and animals has been evidently inspired. At whatever time Tibetan might have adopted it, they had not to modify the order or the corresponding dates, and that is why the cycle, in Tibet, in Mangolia as in China continues to express the same years by the same terms. But this cycle is closed, its extremities mutually rejoin, and

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without confusing the order, we may indifferently take for the initial year of the cycle, any of the sixty years. It is thus that the Tibetans while adopting the cycle beginning in 1027, could continue to express their years according to the Chinese cycle, in element or animals and without confusing the order of succession, and by simply considering the first year of the Chinese cycle (which in the eyes of Chinese), which in fact was the fourth.

But why the initial date of 1027 in the other cycle ?

Here we will have to look towards India. The Tibetan names given to the sixty years of the cycle beginning in 1027 are simply translations of names given in India to the sixty years of the great cycle of Jupiter; sometimes as we have seen in the colophon of the work translated by Huth, Sanskrit name is used by the side of the Tibetan translation. In principle the great 60 year cycle of Jupiter, developed from the small cycle of 12 years, constitutes a system of "vague years", because it is calculated on the revoluting of Jupiter, and because its revolutions are a bit inferior to the solar years. But in South India, following the systems name "Telinga" the cycle of Jupiter was in a way stablised, that is, its sixty names have been used only to designate a cycle of sixty solar years.[22] Evidently it is this system which has passed to Tibet.[23] What were the intermediaries I do not know and it is for the Indologist to say. But to resolve the question of fact and to explain the initial date of 1027 adopted in Tibet where the stabilised cycle of Jupiter has been used, a new cycle of Jupiter begins properly on the same date of 1027.

For practical utilisation of various works related to Tibetan Chronology, the conclusion that I have drawn can be summed up as follows :—

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22. On the subject Warren, '*Kala Sankalita, a collection of memoirs on the various modes according to which the nations of southern part of India divide time*', Madras, 1825, in 4⁰, p. 204; Keilhorn. The sixty year cycle of Jupiter, in *Indian Antiquary*, t. XVIII, pp. 193-209.
23. There is in the Tibetan astronomy, another notion, which has come perhaps by the same way and at the same time as the cycle of Jupiter, it is that of planetary week.

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1. All the dates of the Chronology of Csoma should be brought down by two years, after their correction they (dates) seem to be good by and large.
2. The *Contribution* published in 1881 1882 by Mr. Sarat Chandra Das has no Chronological value.
3. The translation of *R'eu mig* published by Sarat Chandra Das in 1889 should be corrected by bringing down all the dates by one year, but one is not sure if a good number of other inexactitudes have not crept in the translations.
4. In the Chronological table of Waddel, the dates of Tibetan origin should be brought down, in principle, by two years; but their authority is doubtful.
5. The translation of *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei* by Mr. Huth, gives a Chronology, which is always erroneous, but perfectly coherent. By bringing down all the dates by one year, we obtain always the date indicated in the original Tibetan text.

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TABLE OF CYCLIC DATES

Elements (and Colour)	Cycle of Animals	Character of Chinese Cycle	Starting dates from Chinese Cycle					Elements (and Colour)	Cycle of Animals	Character of Chinese Cycle
			2637	2577	2517	2457	2397			
			2337	2277	2217	2157	2097			
			2037	1977	1917	1857	1797			
			1737	1677	1617	1557	1497			
			1437	1377	1317	1257	1197			
			1137	1077	1017	957	897			
			837	777	717	657	597			
			537	477	417	357	297			
			237	177	117	57	—			
Wood	Mouse	Kia-tseu	37	77	17	57	97	Wood	Ape	Kia-chen
(Blue)	Ox	Yi-tch'eou	36	76	16	56	96	(Blue)	Bird	Yi-yeou
Fire	Tiger	Ping-yin	35	75	15	55	95	Fire	Dog	Ping-siu
(Red)	Hare	Ting-mao	34	74	14	54	94	(Red)	Hog	Ting-hai
Earth	Dragon	Wou-tch'en	33	73	13	53	93	Earth	Mouse	Wou-tseu
(Yellow)	Serpent	Ki-sseu	32	72	12	52	92	(Yellow)	Ox	Ki-tch'eou
Iron	Horse	Keng-wou	31	71	11	51	91	Iron	Tiger	Keng-yin
(White)	Sheep	Sin-wei	30	70	10	50	90	(White)	Hare	Sino-mao
Water	Ape	Jen-chen	29	69	9	49	89	Water	Dragon	Jen-tch'en
(Black)	Bird	Koui-yeou	28	68	8	48	88	(Black)	Serpent	Kouei-sseu
Wood	Dog	Kia-siu	27	67	7	47	87	Wood	Horse	Kia-wou
(Blue)	Hog	Yi-hai	26	66	6	46	86	(Blue)	Sheep	Yi-wei
Fire	Mouse	Ping-tse	25	65	5	45	85	Fire	Ape	Ping–chen
(Red)	Ox	Ting-tch'eou	24	64	4	44	84	(Red)	Bird	Ting-yeou
Earth	Tiger	Wou-yin	23	63	3	43	83	Earth	Dog	Wou-siu
(Yellow)	Hare	Ki-mao	22	62	2	42	82	(Yellow)	Hog	Ki-hai
Iron	Dragon	Keng-tch'en	21	61	1	41	81	Iron	Mouse	Keng-tseu
(White)	Serpent	Sin-sseu	20	60	00	40	80	(White)	Ox	Sin-tch'eou
Water	Horse	Jen-wou	19	59	99	39	79	Water	Tiger	Jen-yin
(Black)	Sheep	Kouei-wei	18	58	98	38	78	(Black)	Hare	Kouei-mao

(1) From the last cycle, instead of 00, 99, 98, read A.D. 1, 2, 3.

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ANTERIOR TO CHRIST

Starting dates from Chinese Cycle					Elements (and Colour)	Cycle of Animals	Character of Chinese Cycle	Starting dates from Chinese Cycle				
2637	2577	2517	2457	2397				2637	2577	2517	2457	2397
2337	2277	2217	2157	2097				2337	2277	2217	2157	2097
2037	1977	1917	1857	1797				2037	1977	1917	1857	1797
1737	1677	1617	1557	1497				1737	1677	1617	1557	1497
1437	1377	1317	1257	1197				1437	1377	1317	1257	1197
1137	1077	1017	957	897				1137	1077	1017	957	897
837	777	717	657	597				837	777	717	657	597
537	477	417	357	297				537	477	417	357	297
237	177	117	57	—				237	177	117	57	—
17	57	97	37	77	Wood	Dragon	Kia-tch'en	97	37	77	17	57
16	56	96	36	76	(Blue)	Serpent	Yi-sseu	96	36	76	16	56
15	55	95	35	75	Fire	Horse	Ping-wou	95	35	75	15	55
14	54	94	34	74	(Red)	Sheep	Ting-wei	94	34	74	14	54
13	53	93	33	73	Earth	Ape	Wou-chen	93	33	73	13	53
12	52	92	32	72	(Yellow)	Bird	Ki-yeou	92	32	72	12	52
11	51	91	31	71	Iron	Dog	Keng-siu	91	31	71	11	51
10	50	90	30	70	(White)	Hog	Sin-hai	90	30	70	10	50
9	49	89	29	69	Water	Mouse	Jen-tseu	89	29	69	9	49
8	48	88	28	68	(Black)	Ox	Kouei-tch'eou	88	28	68	8	48
7	47	87	27	67	Wood	Tiger	Kia-yin	87	27	67	7	47
6	46	86	26	66	(Blue)	Hare	Yi-mao	86	26	66	6	46
5	45	85	25	65	Fire	Dragon	Ping-tch'en	85	25	65	5	45
4	44	84	24	64	(Red)	Serpent	Ting-sseu	84	24	64	4	44
3	43	83	23	63	Earth	Horse	Wou-wou	83	23	63	3	43
2	42	82	22	62	(Yellow)	Sheep	Ki-wei	82	22	62	2	42
1	41	81	21	61	Iron	Ape	Keng-chen	81	21	61	1	41
00	40	80	20	60	(White)	Bird	Sin-yeou	80	20	60	00(1)	40
99	39	79	19	59	Water	Dog	Jen-siu	79	19	59	99(1)	39
98	38	78	18	58	(Black)	Hog	Kouei-hai	78	18	58	98(1)	38

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TABLE OF CYCLIC DATES FROM THE BEGINING OF

Elements (and Colour)	Cycle of Animals	Character of Chinese Cycle	Starting dates from Chinese Cycle					Elements (and Colour)	Cycle of Animals	Character of Chinese Cycle
			4	64	124	184	244			
			304	364	424	484	544			
			604	664	724	784	844			
			904	964	1024	1084	1144			
			1204	1264	1324	1384	1444			
			1054	1564	1624	1684	1744			
			1804	1864	1924*	1984*	–			
Wood	Mouse	Kia-tseu	04	64	24	84	44	Wood	Ape	Kia-chen
(Blue)	Ox	Yi-tch'eou	05	65	25	85	45	(Blue)	Bird	Yi-yeou
Fire	Tiger	Ping-yin	06	66	26	86	46	Fire	Dog	Ping-siu
(Red)	Hare	Ting-mao	07	67	27	87	47	(Red)	Hog	Ting-hai
Earth	Dragon	Wou-tch'en	08	68	28	88	48	Earth	Mouse	Wou-tseu
(Yellow)	Serpent	Ki-sseu	09	69	29	89	49	(Yellow)	Ox	Ki-tch'eou
Iron	Horse	Keng-wou	10	70	30	90	50	Iron	Tiger	Keng-yin
(White)	Sheep	Sin-wei	11	71	31	91	51	(White)	Hare	Sino-mao
Water	Ape	Jen-chen	12	72	32	92	52	Water	Dragon	Jen-tch'en
(Black)	Bird	Kouei-yeou	13	73	33	93	53	(Black)	Serpent	Kouei-sseu
Wood	Dog	Kia-Siu	14	74	34	94	54	Wood	Horse	Kia-wou
(Blue)	Hog	Yi-hai	15	75	35	95	55	(Blue)	Sheep	Yi-wei
Fire	Mouse	Ping-tse	16	76	36	96	56	Fire	Ape	Ping-chen
(Red)	Ox	Ting-tch'eou	17	77	37	97	57	(Red)	Bird	Ting-yeou
Earth	Tiger	Wou-yin	18	78	38	98	58	Earth	Dog	Wou-siu
(Yellow)	Hare	Ki-mao	19	79	39	99	59	(Yellow)	Hog	Ki-hai
Iron	Dragon	Keng-tch'en	20	80	40	00	60	Iron	Mouse	Keng-tseu
(White)	Serpent	Sin-sseu	21	81	41	01	61	(White)	Ox	Sin-tch'eou
Water	Horse	Jen-wou	22	82	42	02	62	Water	Tiger	Jen-yin
(Black)	Sheep	Kouei-wei	23	83	43	03	63	(Black)	Hare	Kouei-mao

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CHRISTIAN ERA TILL A. D. 2043*

Starting dates from Chinese Cycle					Elements (and Colour)	Cycle of Animals	Character of Chinese Cycle	Starting dates from Chinese Cycle				
4	64	124	184	244				4	64	124	184	244
304	364	424	484	544				304	364	424	484	544
604	664	724	784	844				604	664	724	784	844
904	964	1024	1084	1144				904	964	1024	1084	1144
1204	1264	1324	1384	1444				1204	1264	1324	1384	1444
1504	1564	1624	1684	1744				1504	1564	1624	1684	1744
1804	1864	1924*	1984*	–				1804	1864	1924*	1984*	–
24	84	44	04	64	Wood)	Dragon	Kia-tch'en	44	04	64	24	84
25	85	45	05	65	(Blue))	Serpent	Yi-sseu	45	05	65	25	85
26	86	46	06	66	Fire)	Horse	Ping-wou	46	06	66	26	86
27	87	47	07	67	(Red))	Sheep	Ting-wei	47	07	67	27	87
28	88	48	08	68	Earth)	Ape	Wou-chen	48	08	68	28	88
29	89	49	09	69	(Yellow))	Bird	Ki-yeou	49	09	69	29	89
30	90	50	10	70	Iron)	Dog	Keng-siu	50	10	70	30	90
31	91	51	11	71	(White))	Hog	Sin-hai	51	11	71	31	91
32	92	52	12	72	Water)	Mouse	Jen-tseu	52	12	72	32	92
33	93	53	13	73	(Black))	Ox	Kouei-tch'eou	53	13	73	33	93
34	94	54	14	74	Wood)	Tiger	Kia-yin	54	14	74	34	94
35	95	55	15	75	(Blue))	Hare	Yi-mao	55	15	75	35	95
36	96	56	16	76	Fire)	Dragon	Ping-tch'en	56	16	76	36	96
37	97	57	17	77	(Red))	Serpent	Ting-sseu	57	17	77	37	97
38	98	58	18	78	Earth)	Horse	Wou-wou	58	18	78	38	98
39	99	59	19	79	(Yellow))	Sheep	Ki-wei	59	19	79	39	99
40	00	60	20	80	Iron)	Ape	Keng-chen	60	20	80	40	00
41	01	61	21	81	(White))	Bird	Sin-yeou	61	21	81	41	01
42	02	62	22	82	Water)	Dog	Jen-siu	62	22	82	42	02
43	03	63	23	83	(Black))	Hog	Kouei-hai	63	23	83	43	03

* Added by the present Author

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ASPECTS OF INDO-TIBETAN CONTACTS AND COLLABORATION THROUGH THE AGES

J. C. JHA

In the course of his visit to the Bihar Research Society a couple of months back His Holiness, the Dalai Lama was greatly inpressed by the unique collection of Tibetan manuscripts there. No doubt, some attempts[1] have been made in the past to decipher and print the contents of a part of this treasure of knowledge, but much remains to be done. This paper attempts to focus attention on the main facets of Indo-Tibetan collaboration in certain fields as gleaned from these manuscripts.

Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityana (1893-1963),[2] a great Buddhist scholar of India, after a sojourn of fifteen months in Tibet in the early 1930s, brought from the Sa-mye and other Tibetan monasteries the originals and photo-copies of valuable Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts

1. Roerich, G., *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, K. P. J. R. Institute, Patna 1959. Upasaka Chos rje-dpal was the biographer of Dharmasvāmin. The latter dictated his reminiscences to the former.
   Jha, A. (ed.), *The Catalogue of the Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Ressarch Society*, Patna, vol. I, 1965.
   Jha, A. (ed.), *Sambhala-Lam-Yig* (Journey to Shambhal and the Land of Saints and the History Aryadesa) of Bio-bsam-dpal-Idam-ye-s's, Bihar Research Society, Patna, 1966.
2. Rahuljee was already well-known as a great scholar of Sanskrit, Pali and Hindi. He had studied in Sri Lanka and obtained the title of Tripitakacharya. It was through his vast learning, amiable nature and profession of Buddhism that he could persuade the Tibetan monks to let him examine the vast treasure of manuscripts stored in the monasteries. He was even allowed to copy out and photograph some of them. See his autobiography (*Meree Jeevan-Yatra* as well as his *Tibbat Yatra*, both in Hindi). Also the Journal of Bihar Research Society (henceforth referred to as JBRS), Rahula Memorial Vol., p. 2. Through his researches Rahuljee had pushed back the beginnings of Hindi literature by about four centuries by pinpointing the value of the early *Apabhramsha* works of the Siddha Acharyas (perfected teachers with attainments in tantric or other fields). In Tibet Rahuljee mastered the Tibetan langunge and got initiated as a monk by Mahapandit Dharmananda Kosambi. See J. D. Sahgal, *Rahuljee Ki Jeevan-Yatra Sahitya*, New Delhi, 1973.

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to Patna. The vastness of the collection may be realised from the fact that twenty-two sturdy mules were used for transporting the treasure through the Himalayan regions. Later Rahuljee edited the following texts : (a) Vāda-Nyāya[3] (b) Pramāṇa-Vārttika[4] (c) Adhyardha Shataka[5] (d) Vigraha-Vyāvartini[6] (e) Pramāṇa-Varttika with Manorathanandin commentary[7] and (f) Pramāṇa-Varttika Vritti.[8]

Rahuljee also wrote *teekās* (translations and commentaries) on the following : Abhidharmakosha, Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi, Hetu-bindu, sambandha-pareekshā and Pramāṇavārttika.

At the persuasion of his friend, K. P. Jayaswal, the great Indologist, Rahuljee agreed to hand over the manuscripts and the *Thanka* (Tibetan banner paintings) to the Patna Museum. Later in 1936 the entire collection was put under the custody of the Bihar Research Society.[9]

These manuscripts symbolise the intense Indo-Tibetan intellectual collaboration in the ancient and medieval times. There are the xylographed books printed through the crudely carved wooden blocks on the hand-made tough and rough paper; some hand-written manuscripts on rough paper and Sanskrit photographed texts on palm-leaves in the old Maithili script, and translations of many Sanskrit books into Tibetan.

We learn from the manuscripts that Naresh as thi-chan-po (Nya-Khri-Tsan-Po), the son of an Indian king visited Tibet in the second century B. C. One of this descendants, Emperor Sron-Tson-gam-Po ruled in Tibet in the seventh century a. d. It was a time when the Tibetan langnage had no script. To acquire such a script the Emperor sent one of his ministers with a retinue of Tibetan attendants to India. After studying some Indian languages, Panini's grammar,[10] tantra[11] and

3. *JBCHS*, XXI, part IV and vol. XXII, part I.
4. Ibid. vol. XXIV, part I and II.
5. Ibid. vol. XXIII, part IV.
6. Ibid. vol. XXIII, part II.
7. Ibid. vol. XXIV, parts III. IV and vol. XXVI part III.
8. Issued by the K. P. J. Research Institute, Patna.
9. Jha, A. (ed.), *The Catalogue*, op. cit., p. iii.
10. Panini was a famous grammarian in ancient India whose *Ashtādhyāyi* (Eight chapters) is a masterpiece.
11. The tantra reached its culmination in eastern India. The Manjushri Mulakalpa of the eighth century a. d. is a famous text of Buddhist origin.

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other branches of Indian learning they formulated the Tibetan script and grammar.

Buddhism probably travelled to Tibet in the Fifth century B. C. but it was only when this religion began to decline in India as a result of the onslaughts of Brahmanism and later Islam that it came in a big way to the land of the snow. From a. d. 600 to 1300 there was a good intercourse between Northern India and Tibet. Hundreds of Indian monks went to Tibet and translated Sanskrit Buddhist works in Tibetan. A new class of *guru*, the *Lama* (the superior one) was now created. The Tibetan monks who visited India studied at Nalanda, Vikramshila and other centres of learning in Bihar.[12]

It was in the early ninth century a. d. that Acharya Padmasambhava (called Lo-Pon or guru in Tibet) arrived in Tibet and a golden period of Indo-Tibetan scholarly collaboration began. Some of the marvellous fruits of this contact and cooperation can be found in the Patna collection.

The Sanskrit works translated into the Tibetan language can be grouped into (a) the Kang gyur (canon) or the sayings of Gautama, the Buddha and (b) the Teng-gyur (commentaries), a collection of the writings of Indian scholars on philosophy, religion, grammar and history. These two sections are divided, into Vinay[13] (Dulva), Sutra (Do) and Abhidharma (chhos-non-pa).

The Kong gyur has the following sub sections : Vinay–7 books; Prajnāpāramita[14] 36; Javadesak–1; Ratnakuta–40; Suttanta–266,

12. Altekar, A. S., *Biography of Dharmasvāmin.* op. cit., introduction.

13. The Pali canonical works are of three parts collectively known as the *tripitaka* (*tipitaka*)-*Vinay*, Sutra (sutta) and *Abhidharma* (Abhidharma). The first free from *raga* (lust), the second from *dhyasha* (ill-will) and the third from *moha* (stupidity). Generally the Hinayanists follow the *tripitaka*, hold no theory of God, worship no deity and revere but do not worship the Buddha. The *Mahayana* doctrine regarded the Buddha as eternal, giving his teachings an esoteric interpretation. Its main exponents were Nagarjuna, Ashvaghosha, Asang and Vasubandhu. This was taken to Tibet and other parts of Asia.

14. Of the hundreds of sutra works *Prajna-paramita*, a class name for some sutras deals especially with the notion of *shunya* (nothingness) : "Hall composite things are like a dream, a dewdrop, a bubble, a shadow, phantasm or a flash of lightning." Beyond this illusory and impermanent world there is a new world

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tantra[15] (r Gyud)–468; Older Tantra–17; Kalachakra Tantra–1; Mantra–sangrah–263.

Under the Tang gyur there are again many sub-sections : Sutra 71; Tantra 2, 606; Prajnāpārmita[16] 34; Madhyamikā[17] 157; sutra teekā 36; Yogāchāra 66; Abhidharma 18; Vinay 46; Jātaka 8; Lekh (patra) 45; Pramāṇa shāstra 66; Shabda sutra (grammar) 37; medicine 7; Shilpa Vidyā 15; sāmanya shastra 18; Vishwa shastra 119; Atisha kritagrantha 103.

Both the Kang-gyur and the Tang-gyur sections in the Patna collections are of the Lhasa edition known for its accuracy and fine printing.

The works of Acharya Padmasambhava, Upadhyay Shanti Rakshit and Mahapandit Vimalamitra in the eighth-ninth century a. d. and the new school of Buddhism started on the basis of their ideas are collectively called Ing-ma-pa. Shantirakshit was the son of a king in Eastern India. He worked in Tibet for about four decades and died in the Samya Vihar. Since he was a pioneer of Indian teaching in Tibet, the Tibetans called him Bodhisattva. Padmasambhava is said to have controlled all the

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of freedom which could be attained with the help of *prajna* (intuitive and transcendental wisdom). See B. Walker, *Hindu World*, Allen & Unwin, London, Vol. I, pp. 187-194.

15. By the seventh century a new branch of Buddhism, *Vajrayāna* (the Vehicle of the Thunderbolt) arose. This new magical Buddhism, like its counterpart in Hinduism, is sometimes called tantricism, from the tantras describing the prescribed spells and rites. It had two branches—*Bāma marg* and *Dakshina marga* (the left hand path and right hand path). The former known chiefly as Vajrayāna postulated faminine counterparts or conserts to the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other divines, later known as Tāra (Saviouress). Among the main features of the syllables and phrases such as *Aum Mani Padme Hum* (Ah : the Jewal is indeed in the lotus). Initially influenced by the Yogāchār school of Mahāyāna, the Vajrayāna developed its own system of philosophy by adapting the doctrines of the Vijnānavādins and Mādhyamikas to its own world view. See W.I. de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Columbia Univ. Press, New York, London, 1958, vol. I, pp. 189-191.

16. It means the perfection of wisdom. Later it became a goddess worshipped in the form of an icon, specially cultivated in the Vajrayāna : Ibid., p. 180.

17. Nagarjuna was the founder of this school of the Middle way which dissolved every problem into thesis and anti-thesis. He based his teachings on Prajnāpāramitā.

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devils, ghosts and spirits of Tibet through his tantric powers. He wrote about one hundred books on tantra, built the Samya (Sam Yas) monastery in a. d. 749 and through his erudition and high morals impressed the Tibetan king and his subjects alike. Since he preached Vajrayāna his followers were called Vajrāchāryas. The mystic insights in the Tibetan texts is classified as the *Chir-dub* (external); the *non-dub* (internal) and the *son-dub* (esoteric) corresponding to the body, speech and thought. The Patna collection has texts on Kritya tantra, Yoga-tantra as well as charyā-tantra. There are tantrik diagrams and yantras[18] and texts on charms, magic-spells, etc.

It was in the Samye monastery that Yogāchārya and Shantigarbha, two leading Indian scholars, worshippad in the ninth century a. d. Kamalsheel defeated a Tibetan *guru* (teacher), Hans Mahayan, in a *shāstrārtha* (public debate) and wrote several books on the Mādhyamika school. Altogether nine Indian scholars of this century were rated as *Āchāryas* (Professors).

In the tenth century a. d. Dharmakeerti who had studied at Nalanda, translated many Sanskrit works into Tibetan.[19] Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Leelendrabodhi, Dansheel, Bodhimitra, Munevarma, Sarwajnadeva, Vidyaprabha, Shreekarma and many others went over from India to Tibet and taught, preached and wrote there. Acharya Budhajnana preached in the time of two Tibetan kings, Bala-pa-chan and Ta-shi-chug. Yet another Indian scholar Smritijnanakeerti lost his Tibetan interpreter on his way to Tibet and had to tend cattle at Te-nap for some time. Eventually he went to Dan-loka-thame and studied *Abhidharmakosha*. He translated Arya Satya Manjushree, Guhya tantra, etc., into the Tibetan language. The fifth Dalai Lama says that Ri-Sam, a great translator, met Shraddhakarvarma at Tamal-santar (?) in India, learnt tantra at his feet and translated some tantric treatises.

It was during this period that the monasteries of Radeng, Sa-sakya and Koncho yalp were built for the initiation of groups of Tibetans into

18. Walkar, op. cit., II, p. 21. *The mandala* (circle) is a symbolical diagram bounded by a circle within which squares, triangles and other designs are engraved. But in tantricism it is a more specialised figure referred to as yantra (instrument or engine) widely used in worship.

19. Ibid, vol. I, p. 190.

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monkhood. The text Rnam-Par-Httg-Pa-Bstus-Pa by Stg-Zlog-Pa-discusses the religious discussions between the old and the new sects of Tibetan Buddhism. The Tshot-Mchod-Bcah-Sqrit by Sde-Srit mentions the rules for holding religious discussions and processions, and the Dkyans-yig gives the methods of singing religious songs.

The pace of the wodus of Indian Buddhist scholars taking refuge in Tibet and other Himalayan regions got accelerated with the continned Muslim invasions of North eastern India. In the eleventh century a. d. Dharmashreebhadra and others came to Tibet and translated with the help of a couple of Tibetan interpreters a number of books and commentaries.

Between a. d. 982 and 1054 Deepankar-Shreejnān (Atisha) of the Vikramashila University established a sect in Tibet called Kadam pa. He wrote many books and translated many Buddhist texts into Tibetan. His biographer Hbron-Ston (a. d. 1000-1064) was his chief disciple.

Acharya Krishna of India was the teachar of Gose and Nega-cho. Krishna preached on Prajnāpārmitā. Manjushreevarma and six other *acharyas* like Diwakarchandra translated the books on tantra in collaboration with certain Tibetan Scholars. Jnanashreejnan, Upayashreemitra, Buddhakarbhadra, Parmeshwar and Amoghavajra taught Pārmitā and other sutras to the Tibetans and translated the relavant books on the subject. In the field of tantra they translated Guhya, Hevajra and Guhya samaj.[19a]

Pandit Alamkar, in collaboration with a Tibetan scholar, translated the three parts of Nahavyuktipatikoah. Pandit Deepankar Rakshit taught Yoga-tantra to some Tibetan scholars and translated the book Yoga-Mahavritti into the Tibetan language. Vidyasumati translated Mula-prasasti with the help of a Tibetan interpreter. In the same way Vasudhar-rakshit translated Nyaya Samuchchaya. We also hear of Indian Upasakas living in Tibet-Paropad, Gayadhar, Maitripad and other great scholars. These Upasakas changed their names and surnames frequently. Thus Gayadhar was also known as Acharya Lal.

19a. One of the oldest Buddhist tantras, presumably composed by Asanga in the seventh century a. d. See Walker, op. cit. vol. II, p. 483.

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One Kambajra Pandit came to Tibet towards the end of the eleventh century at the invitation of some Tibetan scholars and taught and preached there for some time. Virochan went to China for a while but remained busy in teaching and research in Tibet most of the time.

Ratnakarshanti was an expert in the art of *Rupantara* (change of form) : he could assume any form at his sweet will. He acquired fame both in Tibet and China. But Shantighosh, Suryakeerti, Gangadhar and some others worked in Tibet alone. Suryashree preached the religious tenets of Jnanapada and translated some old works. Kashmir Jnanashree translated several Indian books into Tibetan. It is noteworthy that most of these Indian scholars were invited by the Tibetan rulers and were aided by the local interpreters.

Thus Chandra Rahul translated the works on Guhyayatantra, Shambhar Vajra, Charanye-Satya, Hebajra, etc. Other Indians who were active in this field were Sthirapal, Sumatikeerti, Amarchandra Tilokolash, Kanakavarma, Sumanta-shree, Niskalankadeva, Darpanacharya, Jayananda, Jagawalitrananle, Buddhashreejnana,[20] Shakyashree-bhadra, Vibhuti-chandra and others.

Sugatemashree had specialised in Madhyamika and Abhidharm alankar in the twelfth century, while Jayadatta was a scholar of tantra and Vinaya. A few like Dansheel Nyayalankar came, stayed and died in Tibet. Sanghashree had specialised in grammar and Abhidharmakosh, Sumatisagar was an expert in pre and post Abhidharma, and Jinagupta had mastered Maitriyadharma. Each of them contributed to the religious and philosophical development of Tibet through discourses, preaching and translations.

Mahacharya Ratnarakshit went to work in Tibet in the thirteenth century a. d. followed by Ratnashree, Kumar and others.

In the field of literature Lna-pa's commentaries on Dandin's Kavyadarsha may be rated high and the Tibetan versions of the Kalpalata and Panini's Dhatu-patha are commendable.

Buddhism brought to Tibet Indian art, architecture, sculpture and paintings as well, bringing about a revolution in the Tibetan way of life.

20. Also known as Suma-Ragyas-ye-ses, he had studied at Takshashila, Nalanda. Udantapuri and Vikramshila and had mastered kriya as well as yoga.

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Also, Indian astrology (Tasi-pa) inspired some Tibetan works on calculations, forecasts, etc. There is a text in the Patna collection on the Kailash mountain as well.

The photostat copy of the manuscript of Dharmasvamin's biography[21] of the early thirteenth century a. d. refers to the unsettled state of Bihar following the Muslim invasions during which the Buddhists were the special targets of attack. At times this pilgrim had to hide himself to save his life from the Muslim soldier and highway robbers. Moreover, he fell a prey to occasional sickness. Even so, he studied at Rajagriha and Nalanda for a couple of years. With the help of his teacher Rahula Shreebhadra he translated the Kalachakravartika into Tibetan. In spite of a few factual errors his biography is a fairly reliable account of contemporary Bihar, Nepal and Tibet and there are interesting accounts of Tirhut (Mithila). Altekar says about Tibetan Buddhism of this time, "The practice of Tantric processes and mystic mandalas, the worship of deities like Aparajita, Khasarpana Avalokitesvara, Remata and Blue Achala and the study of Paramita works like Ashtasahasrikas and Panchavimsatisahasrikas had become very popular."[22]

The Bdag-chen-Blo-Gros-Rgyal-Mtshan-Gyi-Rnam-Thar, a biography of Klon-Chon pa (a. d. 1308-1363) who had studied Nyaya (Logic) from Maitreya, proves beyond doubt that the Indo-Tibetan intellectual collaboration continued even after the pressure of Muslim invasion on India subsided. The *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* by Buston (Rin-Chen-Grub, a. d. 1290-1364) is known the world over. The life-story of Tson-Kha-pa who reorganised the Kadam-pa sect and re-named it Ge-lug-pa (the virtuous order)[23] built a new monastery at Gab-dan in a. d, 1409.

There are also texts on the life and works of other Tibetan scholars, Dalai-Lamas and Lamas who visited India and wrote on Buddhism. The first memoir of Klon-rdol-Lama provides the names and activities of some Indian scholars who came to Tibet to propagate Buddhism, while his second memoir mentions the names of many Tibetan

21. Roerich, op. cit.,
22. Ibid., p. iii.
23. Jha, *Catalogue*, op. cit., p. ix.

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scholars who were closely associated with some Indian scholars. His third one describes some important religious names and place-names in Tibet and India.

The Deb-Thel-Rjot-Ldan-Gshon-Nuhi-Dgah-Ston by Lna-pa discusses the clash of Jayamitra with the Nalanda monks, shedding side-lights on Buddhist philosophers like Nagarjuna and Dignaga.

A si-tu Pandit of India was helped much by some Maithil pandits like Bachchu Ojha (Vishnupati) during his first journey to Tibet in 1722-23.[24] One can imagine that streams of Maithil pandits from North Bihar and the Nepal Tarai took refuge in Tibet in the unsettled condition of the eighteenth century. Since the original name, home, etc., of these residents are not mentioned, it becomes difficult to locate their ancestry or geneology. All the same, their work in the spiritual upliftment of the Tibetans cannot be minimised.

The Patna collection has got 1,619 volumes of the miscellaneous works of many scholars dealing with matters of varied interests, for example, the contemporary political and cultural milieu, the events and problems connected with religion and philosophy, the theory and practice of tantra, art, architecture, literature, medicine, astrology, etc.

The texts may be divided in five sections. The one on history, biography and memoirs has such texts as the works of Lama Taranatha, Buston and others.[25] Some of the texts of this section throw some light on the geographical position of some important kingdoms of ancient India. They describe the events connected with the Muslim invasion of Magadha like the destruction of Udantpuri and Vikramshila, and other ancient seats of learning of Bihar. The author of *Shambhala Lama yig* happened to be the grand Lama of the Tashi-lhunpo monastery, called the third Panchen Lama.[26] He performed his pilgrimage to Kashi, Prayag,

24. Singh, B. P., 'Mathilak Ek Ajnat Vidwan; Shree Vishnupati';
Jha, J. C. (ed.), *Mithila Bharati* (in Maithili), vol. 4, parts I-IV, Jan-Dec. 1977, Maithili Sahitya Samsthan, Patna, pp. 101-104.

25. Tāranatha, *Tāranathahi-Chos-Hbyunby*: Buston *History of Buddhism in India.*

26. *Shambhala-Lama-Yig*, op. cit., P. V. He learnt Hindi from his mother who hailed from Ladakh. The Patna collection contains many texts on tantra, philosophy, history, etc., written by him.

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Gangasagar and Jagannathapuri in India by proxy.[27] The Raja of Banaras, Chet Singh, extended all courtesy to the pilgrims and at Bodh Gaya (Dorje-dan) where they performed divine services to the Maha Bodhisattva, the local people showed them great warmth and hospitality.

The *Sambhala* refers to the chaotic condition of Bengal in the later part of the eighteenth century when struggle for supremacy was going on in India. It also throws some light on the relations of Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet and Nepal with the newly created British dominion in India. Even though Bodh Gaya continued to attract pilgrims Buddhism in India was almost submerged by Hinduism.

Perhaps with a deeper study of the Tibetan manusripts of Patna as well as those which might have survived in the monasteries of Tibet a clearer picture of the Indo-Tibetan scholarly collaboration through the ages may emerge. However, the present article tries to highlight some of the strands of this Indo-Tibetan relationship which may eventually help further studies in this direction.

University Professor & Head,
Department of History, Patna University,
Patna 800 005.

27. *Ibid.*, p. vi.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND CONDITION OF THE MOMINS UNDER BRITISH RULE

HASAN NISHAT ANSARI

I

Social Status and Condition

To a considerable extent the decline and fall of Muslim power in India was due to indifference of the high caste Muslims to social equality. Reckoning it as one of the major causes of the collapse of Muslim political influence on the eve of the advent of the British, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Ansari, President, Bihar Province Jamiat-ul-Momineen and Vice-president, All India Momin Conference, in his presidential address delivered on 28 May 1939 at 24 Parganas Ansar Conference held at Kagnarah (West Bengal) rightly observed : "The Indian Muslims had to suffer the misery and indignity of slavery under the hands of the Britishers because of inequality and discrimination projected among themselves. Soon after their advent in India the Muslims forgot the tenets of Islamic equality and in India dynasties grew on the basis of race and tribe as evident from the names like Khalji, Tughluq, Lodi, Saiyed, Pathan and Moghal. As reins of administration were controlled by the wazirs, secretaries, and hierarchy of nobles belonging to high ups of the Muslim society they became advocates and protectors of the interests of the upper caste Muslims. And crores of professional Muslims, who rendered services to the nobles and engaged themselves in different vocations and trades of life, remained detached from the fruits of education, and they were exploited by the nobles and dignitaries of the time for fulfilment of their self-interest. Apart from this exploitation they also excluded the professional Muslims for an appellative 'razil' (ignoble). Gradually different vocations and trade emerged as different castes of the Muslims, and those poor castes were forced to lead a life of indignity and misery and were deprived of the rights of Islamic equality and brotherhood. These exploited groups lost their inherent power and strength and were careless of education and learning and were dissociated from power politics of the country. The nobles and dignitaries who held administrative

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power revelled in luxury and comforts of life and ignored their primary duties. They not only spoiled themselves but also made crores of professional Muslims helpless and backward. And the total result was that Muslim rule in India became utterly weak. Because of this inequality and self-interest of the nobles, and civil wars, the Mughal dynasty miserably declined and the Britishers took advantage of the situation and established their rule and subjugated the subcontinent. The discrimination of high and low, of caste and sect acted like a canker in the Muslim society. The English people were aware of the inherent weakness of the Muslims because of the split of the Muslim society between the upper and the lower strata, and they realised that they had no longer the strength to fight against them. With this realisation they succeeded in the achievement of their objective. Some of the nobles and nawabs gave a fight to them but the bulk of the backward Muslims made oppressed and helpless could not rise against the foreign power".[1]

The social position of the Momin community during the Muslim rule was already deplorable, but worsened during the British days socially and economically. Their weaving industry was gradually wiped out in order to help the textile industries in England. So the social condition and status of the Muslims of weaver descent further deteriorated during the British rule. First, this was due to the apathy of the Britishers since the weavers and other depressed Muslim classes took a leading part in the first great anti-British struggle of 1857 and other anti-British movements waged for national and socio-economic reasons. According to Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) "the profession of manufactures was completely absent because of the prevalence and use of the English goods. Things had so worsened that none would care for the needle and match manufacturers. The weavers were completely ruined...[2]" Secondly this phenomenon was the result of the unchanged feudal attitude of the upper classes of Muslims who still aimed at keeping the down-trodden and backward Muslims in perpetual social and political bondage from

1. Refer, Presidential Address in Urdu delivered by Abdul Qaiyum Ansari, President, Bihar Provincial Jamiat-ul-Momineen and Vice-President, All India Momin Conference at Twenty-four Parganas Ansar Conference held at Kagnarah from 26-28 May, 1939.
2. Cf. Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan : *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (Aligarh, 1958), p. 60.

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generation to generation. The upper Muslim classes did not realise in the least the wrong and injustice done to the depressed and backward Muslim masses. They did not try to find out the ways and means to ameliorate their condition, raise their social status and remove the various obstacles in the way of their advancement. Not content with all this, they encouraged the British rulers to follow an apathetic social and economic policy in relation to the backward and down-trodden Muslim masses.

Even a Muslim thinker and reformer of the status and calibre of Sir Saiyed expresses his indignation in his book "Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind" over the active participation of the Muslim weavers in the anti-British revolt of 1857 as he failed to appreciate their patriotic zeal owing to his conservative outlook and pro-British inclinations. In this book completed in 1859 he thus writes : "The thread of the weavers (julahas) was absolutely broken and those people of bad caste (badzat) were most active in this revolt".[3] It is significant that this book was translated into English by Sir Auckland Colvin and G. F. I. Graham and published under the title 'The Causes of the Indian Revolt' in 1873 in order to enlighten the British rulers about the unflinching loyalty of the high ups of the Muslim society and to derogate the Momins as rebels. The fact was this that Sir Saiyed who belonged to the feudal elite of Delhi wanted to maintain the discrimination between the high and the low. Due to his die-hard feudal outlook and excessive political loyalty to the British he upheld the social distinctions between the noble-born and the working class people of India. He was not interested in the well-being of the common Muslims and the general Indian mass. In the quarterly journal "The Loyal Muhammadans of India" published both in Urdu and English Sir Saiyed advocated that the high born Muslims did not rise against the English.[4] The higher Muslim groups were thus helpful in shaping the apathetic attitude of the British imperialists in India towards weaver and

3. "Julahon ka tar to bilkul tut gaya tha jo badzat sab se ziyadah is hangama men garmjosh the". Refer, Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan : *Asbad-i-Baghawat-i-Hind* (Aligarh, 1958), p. 60.

4. *The Loyal Muhammadans of India*, 1860-61 quoted in Wilfred Cantwell Smith : *Modern Islam in India* (*A Social Anaylsis*) Lahore, May 1943, p. 8 that the Muslim upper classes largely remained inactive while the backward sections of the Muslims were active during the great anti-British uprising of 1857.

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other backward Muslim communities which was responsible for socio-economic persecution of the weavers in the country. Sir Saiyed was able to woo the British and convince them that the upper classes among the Muslims supported the Government. Strachey officially stated that by 1894 the Muslim gentry of North India were a source of strength to the British administration.[5] Sir Saiyed was not the leader of the whole Indian Muslim Community. He was essentially the leader and spokesman of the upper classes of Indian Muslims. He stood for a bourgeois culture based on political bondage and social backwardness of the depressed sections of the people. Thus he opposed the demand of the Indian National Congress for an increase in the number of elected members in the Provincial Legislative Council and simultaneous examination for Civil Service in India and England ignoring that these were equally advantageous to all classes, sections and groups of Indian people. In his address delivered at the Mohammedan Educational Conference held at Lucknow in 1887 Sir Saiyed spoke against the system of election of the members in Legislative Councils because members elected might be men from the common ranks who were, according to him, unfit to be addressed as 'my colleague' or 'my honourable colleague' by the Viceroy or to sit at the same table at social dinners or in assemblies with noblemen though they may be capable in every respect. In his opinion only high lineaged individuals were worthy of a seat in the Viceroy's council and they were to be chosen on account of high caste-status instead of ability. On this point his arguments ran like this :". It is very essential for a person seeking his seat with the Viceroy in the Council that he should be a man of good breeding. Would the noble men of our country tolerate that a man of low caste or of insignificant origin though he be a B. A. or M. A. and have the requisite ability should be in a position of authority above them and have power in making the laws that affect their honour and properties ? Never. The chair of Government's Council is highly dignified. The government is bound to offer this seat to none but a man of good breeding and the Viceroy cannot address him as 'My colleague' or 'My honourable colleague', treat him as his brother or as a Gentleman, nor can he be invited to royal dinner or imperial entertainments as the

5. Vide K. M. Pannikar : *A Survey of Indian History* (Bombay, 3rd ed., March 1956), p. 230.

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Dukes and Earls and other great nobles attend. Therefore, the government cannot be accused for the act of selecting men of aristocratic castes".[6] He opposed simultaneous Civil Service Examination in India and England becausc men of humble Indian origin might enter the Service and be appointed as collectors and commissioners. But he had no objection to the rule of men of lower class Englishmen. In England, anyone, whether nobleman or the son of a tailor can appear at the examination and enter the Service. He held the view that as the fact relative to their origin was not known in India, the people of aristocratic castes submit to their rule. He further maintained that the noblemen of India will never like to be ruled by men of lower classes among their own people whose origin was known to them. Sir Saiyed said : "Think what is the result of the principle of competitive examination practised in England. It is obvious to you that in England all men high and low whether they are sons of Dukes, Earls or Gentlemen or the sons of tailors or members of any family can appear at the examination without any discrimination. Europeans who come out successful in competitive examinations held in England belong both to high and low families, but since they come from England, a distant country we do not know whether they are sons of Lords, Dukes or a tailor, and so the fact that a man of low family rules over us is hidden from our eyes. But we cannot relish this idea in India. The noble castes of India will never tolerate the rule of persons belonging to low breed of India over their lives and property as they are well acquainted with their origin and antecedent".[7]

In his 'Autobiography' Jawaharlal Nehru expresses his great surprise and concern over the attitude of Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan who as a follower of the democratic creed of Islam in India ventured to speak in a strange and undemocratic vein.[8] In the same work Nehru maintains that owing to his feudal and narrow outlook Sir Saiyed criticised and condemned the very moderate demands of the Indian National Congress.[9] Nehru

6. Quoted in Saiyed Tufail Ahmad : *Musalmanau Ka Roshan Mustaqbil* (Badaun 1943), p. 258.
7. Ibid., pp. 258-259.
8. Quoted in 'Nehru on Muslim Politics' in *Secular Democracy* (New Delhi) 1970, p. 15.
9. Ibid.

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in his 'Autobiography' while writing of current developments in Muslim politics and the rise of separatist organisations says that Sri Saiyed and other "communal leaders were in reality opposed to political, and even more so to social advance. All their demands had no relation whatever to the masses. They were meant only to bring some advancement to the small groups at the top[10]". The claim of Sir Saiyed as a Muslim social reformer is self-contradictory in as much as he advocated social discriminations amongst Muslims. Inspired by his inherent political conservatism and by the ideas of the diplomatic English teacher Theodore Book, who was the principal of the Aligarh Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College from 1885 to 1899, Sir Saiyed blundered and failed to evolve a broad, enlightened and liberal social philosophy affecting matters concerning the Muslim and Hindu masses of India[11].

In the British period the special educational institutions for the Muslims were established and planned with the prime aim to fulfil the requirements of the top layers of the Muslim society. These were not intended to serve the educational needs of the Muslim community as a whole. In the matter of acquiring education the generality of Muslims was unable to proceed beyond the limit set by the 'superior' social classes. They had to acquire the type of education as recommended by their 'social superiors'. The upper class Muslims were actually unmindful about providing education to their humbler coreligionists. Maulvi Abdul Karim, an appointee of the British government to inquire into the educational problems of the Muslims of Bengal, typified this attitude and recommended that the education of the poorer or lower class Muslims should 'end in the

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10. Ibid., p. 14.
11. In May 1875 the Mohamedan Anglo-Oriental College was started at Aligarh through the efforts of Sir Saiyed Ahmad Khan to educate Muslim youths in the English language and the western sciences. But mostly the students of this college came of aristocratic classes whose descent and ancestral status were calculated to spread English education "among the higher classes of the Mohamedan Community". Cf. Letter of Sir Saiyed dated March 1879 to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department quoted in V. C. P. Chaudhary : *The Government of India and its Educational Policy* (1876-80), *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLVI (1960), p. 195.

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highest class of the primary school[11a]. The upper class Muslims laid stress on separate systems of education for themselves and the generality of Muslims. Nawab Abdul Latif proposed the setting up of separate primary schools in large numbers for the lower class Muslims. According to him they were to be instructed by Muslim teachers through the medium of a separate islamised language (i. e. Hindustani or Muslim Vernacular or any other language i. e. Persian or Arabic as desired by the Muslim community of a locality) and use a set of exclusive text book[11b] Saiyed Amir Ali, who was a barrister from London, in equal terms disfavoured and opposed establishment of any mixed schools for the 'superior' and 'inferior' grades of Muslims. Suggesting a segregated education he stated that the maktabs (primary schools) and petty madarsas (higher schools) attached to the mosques would be their centres[11c]. The upper classes were really concerned with higher education in their own interest and not with removal of the social and educational backwardness of the humbler Muslims although the census figures and educational reports supported their claims for special or preferential treatment. The government's identification of the demands of the upper class Muslims for separate educational institutions, special teachers and inspecting officers with the requirements of Muslim masses tended to strengthen the separatist trend in educational matters. Although the Education Commission (1882) depreciated the special treatment, concessions and facilities as 'an evil' still it favourably looked into the basic educational problems of Muslims as suggested by the witnesses belonging to the upper (ashraf) class 'not merely with a regard to justice but with a leaning towards generosity[11d]'. The Commission's recommendations touched the different aspects of educational problems pertaining to the Muslims but the main or greatest

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11a. Rafiuddin Ahmed : *The Bengal Muslims* 1871-1906 *A Quest for Identity* (Delhi 1981), pp. 144-146. Also see, Abdul Karim, *Muhammadan Education in Bengal*, p. 40; Bogra, *The Bengal Musalmans*, p. 24 and *the Muslim Chronicle*, 19 May 1900, p. 1017.

11b. R. Ahmed, op. cit., ibid. Also, *Education Commission Report* : *Bengal Volume* (1884), pp. 213-217.

11c. R. Ahmed, op. cit., ibid. Also, *Education Commission Report*, op. cit., p. 220.

11d. R. Ahmed, op. cit., ibid. Also, *Education Commission* (1882), p. 505 and Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, pp. 121-122.

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stress related to provision of special concessions to the demands put forward by the 'noble born' (ashraf) witnesses.[11e] The Indian Education Commission thus formally approved a separete system of Education for Muslims and recommended recognition of Hindustani as the Muslim Vernacular with reservations as to the Muslim community's yearning for adopting another language in a locality; provision of teaching in Hindustani and Persian languages in middle and high schools run by public funds in localities where Muslims comprised a good or large part of the entire population; creation of scholarships to be granted upon completion of a course of study and free studentships in public schools : extensive appointment of Muslim inspecting officers and teachers and inclusion of special section in the annual reports on public instruction dealing exclusively with the state of Muslim education. The Commission's advice was called in question by Barbour who was among its members. In his dissenting note Barbour recorded, "No attempt to improve their position by protecting them against the competition of other classes can have any permanently beneficial effect". But the British government did not care about the admonition and in effect it acceded to the Commission's recommendations in consideration of the exceptional conditions[11f]. The educational policy of the British government was amenable to the needs of the upper class Muslims who acted as props of the British empire. The attitude of the upper class Muslims toward higher educational needs of their humbler coreligionists resembled the mediaeval outlook regarding prohibition of higher education to the Muslim working class or humble born Muslims expounded as a theory in Ziauddin Baran's Fatawa-i-Jahandari (circa A. D. 1358-9) as they feared that advanced learning or education beyond primary or secondary level will render them efficient and capable and open the closed doors of equal opportunities for them in various fields of human activity. The Muslim theologians and scholars belonging to the upper classes claiming to be "the worthy trustees of Muslim interest[12]" did not protest against the inhuman, feudal and unislamic attitude of the aristocratic Muslims towards the millions of down-trodden and backward Muslim masses. On the contrary, they openly issued such religious injunc-

11e. R. Ahmed, op. cit., ibid.

11f. R. Ahmed, op. cit., ibid.

12. Cf. Reazul Karim : *For India and Islam* (Calcutta 1937) p. 49.

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tions that helped to disestablish the position and rank of occupational and depressed Muslims of weaver (julaha), tailor (darzi) and other like castes held inferior to the Muslims of the Saiyed, Mughal and Pathan castes.

In 1925 Khwaja Saiyed Hasan Nizami of Delhi who was a prominent Muslim divine held that although Islam preaches equality God has created the julahas and other working class Muslims for the services of upper caste Muslims. He expressed his opinion thus : And amongst the Muslims those who have low professional trades like barbers (hajjam), weavers (julaha), water-carriers (saqqa) and washermen (dhobi) should not be treated with hatred rather they should be considered equal religiously and allowed to dine and sit with the higher Muslim groups, but such Muslims of the lower functional groups should never think of equality with those Muslims who are rich and in high post or position, for they are religiously equal to them but from the worldly point of view their status is different, and separate. God has bestowed his special favour on particular individual and their superiority over others is divine. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all Muslims of the low professional groups to practise their obedience and fidelity to those who hold power, position or status".[13]

Qazi Muhammad Sanaullah of Panipat writes in his well known book Malabudda Minhu that one who claims to be a julaha under the impression that weaving was practised by Adam is an infidel meaning that he ceases to be a Muslim[14]. The tradition goes that Adam practised agriculture and weaving and is the originator of the human race on earth. So the noble born Muslims do not want that Adam should be classed as a julaha or weaver as they fear that a creditable position would also go to the Muslim weavers of India[15].

The Bahishti Zewar of Haji Maulavi Shah Ashraf Ali Thanavi, the Majmua-i-Fatawa of Ahmad Reza Khan Bareilvi and the Nihayat-al-

13. Cf. Risala Darwesh (Delhi) of 1 July, 1925. Also, Hafiz Din Muhammad : *Khun-i-Musawat*, p. 7.
14. Malabbuda Minhu quoted in Khun-i-Masawat, p. 9. In subsequent and recent editions of the book the tradition is mentioned but happily without the writer's unfortunate commentation incompatible with the Islamic doctrine of equality.
15. Ibid.

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Arab Fi Ghayat-an-Nasab or Musawat-i-Islami Ki Haqiqat of Mufti Muhammad Shafi Deobandi are full of similar fatwas or religious decrees discriminating between the Muslim of upper castes and those of the lower grades.

Mufti Maulana Muhammad Shafi Deobandi suggests that some professions or trade are considered ignoble or base and those who practise such base and ignoble professions are lacking in character and good habits for such mean and ignoble activities create bad qualities in them[16]. He adds that on the the day of judgement such persons engaged in ignoble professions like making of metal pots (khasin), money changing or banking (siyarafah) and weaving (hakah) would be called to explain their bad conduct that they displayed in their lives[17].

Relying on the motivated and forged unislamic doctrine of kinship (al Kafat or Kufu) emphasising equality between husband and wife in respect of lineage, profession and means on the basis of prejudiced interpretation of the rules of islamic jurisprudence[18] Ashraf Ali Thanavi and others had gone so far as to declare invalid the marital contracts between the rich and the poor Muslims or between the higher Muslim social order consisting, according to them, of the superior Saiyed and Shaikh castes together with the relatively inferior Mughal and Pathan ranks and the lower ranks of the Muslim community comprising the weavers (julaha), tailors (darzi), barbers (nai), washermen (dhobi) and other professional groups.[19] Maulana Shafi Deobandi strongly pleads,

16. Maulvi Muhammad Shafi Deobandi : *Nihayat-al-Arab Fi Ghayat-an-Nasab or Musawat-i-Islami Ki Haqiqat*, pp. 11-15.

17. Ibid. For his views Maulana Shafi has taken the support of Prophet Muhammad's words as quoted in *Kanz-ul-Ummal Kitab-ul-Biyu* of Dailmi which appear to be spurious. It is an inauthentic work and unsupported by standard works by Bukhari and Muslim on Traditions of the Prophet.

18. This doctrine also asks for equality of character for a valid marriage among free Muslims. Profession on the girl's side would be the trade or business of her father or nearest male relative. In practice equality in respect of means is confined to the man and is taken to mean the capacity to pay the dowery and maintain a wife. Refer, M. A. A. Thanavi : *Bahishti Zevar*, Pt. IV, pp. 8-9; E. A. H. Blunt : *The Caste System of Northern India*, p. 193.

19. M. A. A. Thanavi : *Bahishti Zevar*, Pt. IV, pp. 8-9; ibid (1924), pp. 12-14; Maulana Shafi Deobandi : *Nihayat-al-Arab Fi Ghuyat-an-Nasab* or Musawat-i-

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on the basis of unreliable works on islamic theology like the Sarah ba Fidr-al-Mukhtar and the Kamil for maintaining the cleavage between different Muslim groups in India by advocating the unislamic principle of Kafat according to which marriage between the two groups of rich and poor or high and low caste Muslims cannot be desirable.[20]

In his Fatawa-i-Rizvia or Majmua-i-Fatawa, Maulavi Ahmed Reza Khan Bareilvi writes : A julaha even if he be a scholar cannot be worth of a Saiyed girl (for marriage)...."[21] In another fatawa or religious injunction he held that weavers, butchers, tanners, cobblers and barbers even if they receive good education and attain the rank of a scholar they cannot be equal to individuals of superior castes.[22] Similarly Maulana Saiyed Hashmat Ali in his religious injunction says : "A member of the julaha community even if is a scholar and pious and rich he is not entitled to marry a Saiyed girl. If any member of that community resorts to such marriage he should revoke the marital contract (nikah) otherwise the progeny would be illegitimate".[23]

The poor Muslims of weaver descent were regarded as the lowest of Muslim groups and in many rural areas of India begār or forced labour was taken from them more freely than any other caste.[24] The zamindars used to employ the Muslim weavers as customary porters.[25] It is well known that illegal taxation in the form of "Kathiari" or taxes exacted from poor Momins on handlooms by the zamindars was rampant in the villages. Then out of the net profit of a loom per month the

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Islami ki Haqiqat, pp. 17-19; Maulavi Ahmad Reza Khan Bareilvi : *Fatwa-i-Rizvia or Majmura-i-Fatawa* quoted in the Momin Gazettee Weekly (Lucknow) Vol. No. 23, September 1, 1968; Fatwa of Saiyed Maulana Hashmat Ali quoted in Hafiz Din Muhammad : Khan-i-Musawat, p. 7.

20. *Nihayat-al-Arab Fi Ghayat-an-Nasab*, 17-19.
21. Refer, *Majmua-i-Fatawa* quoted in the Momin Gazettee Weekly (Lucknow) Vol. I, No. 23, September 1, 1968.
22. Fatawa-i-Rizvia quoted in Momin (Badaun) October-December 1972, p. 5.
23. *Khun-i-Musawat*, p. 7.
24. Narmadeshwar Prasad : *The Myth of the Caste System* (1957), p. 212; C. Latimer : Census of India, 1911, XIII (North West Frontier Province), p. 237.
25. *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (District of Gaya and Shahabad), XII, p. 201.

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landowner demanded from the weaver a royalty called "masarfa".[26] In many villages the poor and backward Momins were subjected to an illegal house tax known as "ghar dwari" by the zamindars.[27] Besides, they could not even sit themselves on cots with or in presence of the upper caste Muslims.[28]

It was due to the social discriminative attitude and practices of the higher order of Muslims that every trade of the lower section Muslims came to form a separate caste as among the Hindus and every section of Muslim community formed an endogamous group governed in social matters after the manner of the regular Hindu castes.[29] Social distinctions of high and low were also a bar to marriages.[30] Among the Muslims the profession of weaving was held in low esteem. This sufficed to cut off those adopting it from inter-marriage with their high caste co-religionists.[31]

The Momins or Muslims of weaver descent before the rise of the Momin Movement were generally backward socially and educationally. But instead of adopting ameliorative measures for the socio-educational uplift of the depressed Momin Muslims the higher caste Muslims of both urban and rural areas always manoeuvred to keep them in socio-political bondage and contrived many stories and proverbs from time to time in Urdu and colloquial dialects at the expense of the Muslim weaver, dubbed him as a proverbial fool, and thus mercilessly jeered at his lack of education or knowledge. These tales and sayings quoted by Grierson in the "Bihar Peasant Life"[32] and by Crooke in the "Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh"[33] and some others have very wide currency, and are not confined to Bihar, Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

26. Ibid., pp. 259-260.
27. Cf. Momin Gazettee Weekly (Cawnpore May, 8, 16, 1940, Vol. 7, No. 27-28 pp. 14-17.
28. N. Prasad; *The Myth of the Caste System* (1957), p. 212.
29. J. C. Oman : *The Brahmanas, Theists and Muslims of India* (London, 1907), p. 62.
30. Martin : *Eastern India*, III, p. 150.
31. H. H. Risley : *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891), I, p. 348.
32. G. A. Grierson : *Bihar Peasant Life* (1926), pp. 69-70.
33. Ibid. Also Cf. W. Crooke : *Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, III, p. 71.

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They show how low a place the Muslim weaver occupied in the social order and how in the villages he was looked on as an ignorant fellow, and a butt especially of the higher Muslim agricultural classes who always jeered at his ignorance.

Despite the attempts of the Momin movement to bring about social awakening among the Muslim masses on the basis of social equality the high ups of the Muslim society still continued to maintain their hostile attitude and refused to rehabilitate their mental make-up and tried to obtain a judicial pronouncement in support of their superiority. As a result of the increasingly callous social attitude of the aristocratic Muslims towards the Muslim weavers matters came to such a pass that an individual of the upper class filed a suit, famously known to the Momins as the Gorkhpur Case of High and Low Lineage, to ascertain whether the Muslim weavers are of low origin. Obviously, the aim of the upper classes of Muslims was to seek a legal justification to their exploitative and unsocial behaviour towards them. The details of the case are as follows : Qazi Tassaduq Husain, a Saiyed Zamindar of Mohalla Ismailpur, Gorakhpur (United Provinces) filed a suit on 28 March 1938 in the court of Munsif of Gorakhpur claiming rupees ten and annas eight as house levy (ghar dwari) for two years from the weaver Shaikh Nematullah Ansari, a resident of the same locality, and tried to prove to the court and legally establish that since the julahas (weavers) were low class people (razil) it was "customarily" and "contractually" or legally justified on the part of the zamindar to collect the "customary" and "contractual" house levy or ghar dwari from them[34].

But the learned additional munsif and civil judges rejecting the ingenious plea of the appellant dismissed the case on October 17, 1938 with costs to be borne by the suitor. It was a false case based on fabrications and artificial evidences. There was no proof suggesting that the plaintiff was a lowly person (razil). Then no evidence of any contract was found to prove the customariness of the house levy payable by people of low origin[35]. Following is a summary of the verdict given by the

34. Refer details of case No. : 318 of 1938 in the Court of Munsif, Gorakhpur in the Momin Gazettee Weekly (Cawnpore), May 8, 16, 1940 (Gorakhpur Muqaddama Number) Vol. 7, No. 27-28, pp. 14-17.

35. Ibid., pp. 17, 19-20.

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Additional Munsif : The suitor has submitted a written agreement between his father, Qazi Saadat Husain Khan, a zamindar of Mohalla Ismailpur, Gorakhpur city and the respondent's father, Shaikh Rahmatullah of the same Mohalla. The suitor has claimed the right to collect house levy from the respondent on its basis. The section (10) of this agreement of 1860 pertaining to Mohalla Ismailpur Gorakhpur city reads : In this Mohalla the custom and practice affecting the privileges of the ward (haquq-i-Mohalladari) is so fixed by a written agreement and award of a decree (hasab-i-qabuliyat wa degree) that house levy is received by the zamindar from castes of low origin (aqwam-i-razil) at different rates per house. Thus the demand of house assessment should be made on a person of low origin[36]. The plaintiff had to say : The respondent belongs to the julaha caste and although some individuals belong to his caste they regularly pay house levy or assessment[37]. The Additional Munsif Mr. L. P. Nigam thus opined : This claim of the plaintiff losts all meaning especially when some of the claimant's witnesses themselves have stated details of a few residents of the Mohalla who belong to the respondent's caste and do not pay any house assessment[38]. The Additional Munsif in his verdict further pointed that the Persian Lexicon Ghiyas-ul-Lughat gives the meaning of the word 'razil' as 'faromaya' implying that the expression 'razil' signifies a person devoid of any means of livelihood or one whose financial condition is extremely unsound. But contrary to this the respondent happened to be an individual of means. His father Shaikh Rahmatullah had a large business and he paid income tax. Then he was the son-in-law of Shaikh Murtaza, a respectable person who held membership of local boards[39]. Following this decision Qazi Tassaduq Husain filed an appeal suit before Mr. Baijpal Singh, judge, Small Cause Court, Gorakhpur city against the judgement of the Munsif's court. On this appeal the judge of the Gorakhpur city Small Cause Court asked the Additional Munsif to review his judgement in the light of the points that the present appeal fully establishes the case in favour of the appellant; that the subordinate court has erred regarding the meaning of the word "razil";

36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

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that the lower court did not correctly decide the issues involving the right of the complainant to receive house assessment; that the lower court did not consider thoughtfully the papers containing the records of the case; that the lower court did not properly consider the proposition that mean people customarily pay house taxes; that as the respondent is of low caste he is bound to pay the house levy; that the settlement of 1860 relative th Mohalla Ismailpur, Gorakhpur city was not given due consideration and et cetera[40].

Reviewing his verdict on May 26, 1939 the Additional Munsif said : The origin and antecedents of julahas was not traced to base and mean genealogy. A man only by being a julaha could not be regarded as razil or of base origin. The question at issue is whether the respondent is a julaha and whether or not he belongs to a race of low origin. In accordance with the article (10) pertaining to the Agreement of 1860 the complainant has only to prove that the respondent comes of a race of low origin. It is acceptable to the complainant that the respondent is a julaha (weaver) by caste. The complainant's claim amounts to this : The julahas are a race of low origin and since the respondent is a julaha by caste so he is of low origin. It was pointed on the basis of H. Risley's "People of India" (1908), pp, 118-119 that in actual practice the Muslim society like the Hindu social order was divided into sharif (upper or noble) and razil (lower or base) classes. This was in spite of the Islamic stress on social equality. The Muslims connected with Arab, Persian, Afghan and Mughal people are considered of noble origin than the converted Muslims of India, who constitute the various functional groups. To quote Risley, "In India...Caste is in the air, its contagion has spread even to the muhammadan, and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines. In both communities foreign descent forms the highest claims to social distinction.....As the twice born Aryan is to the mass of Hindus, so is the Muhammadan of alleged Arab, Persian, Afghan or Moghal to the rank and file of his co-religionists."

The julahas are neither connected with any particular sect or race. They are a group of working class people comprising of different

40. Refer details of Civil Appeal No. 483 of 1938 before the Judge, Small Cause Court, Gorakhpur, in Momin Gazettee (Cawnpore) May 8, 16, 1940 (Gorakhpur Muqaddma Number), Vol. 7, No. 27-28, pp. 18-20.

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human elements. The job of weaving was adopted even by Mughals, Pathans and Shiahs as is apparent, from W. Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of North Western Provinces and Oudh, (1886), iii, p. 69. E. A. H. Blunt in the Caste System of Northern India (Madras 1931) p. 177 says, "The descendants of the original invaders are now grouped into four 'castes' Moghul' Pathan, Saiyid, and Shaikh".. The Muslim population of India consists of both extraneous and indigenous racial elements. Those claiming alien descent are taken to belong to high lineage. But the julahas cannot be said to belong to low caste since they have connexions also with Mughals, Siddiqis, Pathans and Shiahs. Thus the Additional Munsif arrived at the conclusion that although the respondent is a julaha, he is not proved of low origin under article (10) of the Agreement of 1860.[41] The judge of the Small Cause Court supporting the decision of the lower court in his judgement said this : It was agreed to before me that the word 'razil' denotes one who is of low origin. But it was said without any evidence from the side of the appellant that since the respondent is a weaver by caste so he is of low origin. Religiously all Muslims are equal. But in India the problem of caste among the Hindus has become greater and it has affected the Muslim social order. Presently the factor of casteism affecting the Hindu society is discernible among the Muslims. All this is described in the "People of India" by Herbet Risley. The Muslims analogous to the Hindus have between themselves social distinctions dividing them into groups like 'sharif' comprising people of high caste and 'razil' consisting of people of low caste. It is mentioned by W. Crooke in his Tribes and Castes of North Western Province and Oudh, iii, p. 69 that julahas are Muslim weavers. Further it is said in the same source that the profession of weaving was even adopted by Mughal, Siddiqi, Pathan, and Shiah and other people who are described as people of noble origin.[42]

The appeal was rejected by the Judge of the Small Cause Court, Gorakhpur city, on January 29, 1940 because there was no authentic document to prove the right of the complainant to receive house levy

41. See, Review of Case No. 318 of 1938 decided in the Court of Munsif, Gorakhpur, by the Additional Munsif in ibid, pp. 20-21.

42. Refer, decision on appeal No. 483 of 1938 by the Judge Small Cause Court, Gorakhpur city, in ibid, pp. 21-22.

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from the respondent. The judgement of the lower court was upheld pointing therein that being weavers could not be tantamount to mean a class of base people. The appeal was dismissed by the judge with costs to be borne by the appellant. The judge of the appellate court wrote : It has been proved that many inhabitants of Mohalla Ismailpur do not pay house levy. Therefore in my opinion the claimant is not entitled to demand house tax from the respondent only because the respondent has got a few house constructed over lands in his zamindari. To prove his claim he should have produced some agreement entitling him to receive house levy from the respondent. The appellant plaintiff simply on the basis of the agreement between his and the respondent's father has tried to indicate that he possesses the right to receive house levy from the respondent. Therefore the judge gave this verdict : Therefore in my opinion the appellant suitor could not prove that the complainant used to receive house levy from the respondent for the use of his land.

Thus it was finally adjudicated that since the weavers were not a class of mean people extortion of house tax was legally unjustified.[43] Neither the filing of this case did evoke condemnatory remarks from the "high ups" of the Muslim society against the suitor nor the decision relative to this case legally establishing that Muslim weavers cannot be described as people of base origin did bring a change in the attitude of the higher caste Muslims towards the Muslim commoners.

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43. Ibid., In support of his contentions the appellant has also produced before the Judge's court a book entitled "*Julaha Nama*" written by Qazi Talammuz Husain, a Muslim of "aristocratic birth". This was full of concocted proverbs and stories depicting the Muslim weavers in bad light. While the appeal suit was under judicial consideration Hakim Bashiruddin Ahmad, editor Momin Gazette published articles questioning the authenticity of the contents of the "*Julaha Nama*". Thereupon the plaintiff Qazi Tasadduq Husain submitted a petition in the court praying that Hakim Bashiruddin Ahmad should be sued for contempt of court because he had published articles concerning matters which are sub judice. To this a statement in reply was filed from the side of Bashir Ahmad, and the appeal suit and the case for contempt of court were taken and argued together. With the rejection of the appeal the claimants petition against Bashir Ahmad was also rejected. For details, Momin Gazette (Cawnpore) of May 8, 16 (1940), pp. 5-13, 24.

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In view of some centuries of social distinction kept alive since medieval days by the high caste Muslims, it is not surprising that the Muslim community during the British period[44] was and even today[45] is found broadly divided into two main social groups : the Ashrāf (noble) or shurafa (honourable) and the Ajlaf, Kamin or Arzal (base or mean). The social classification of the Muslims had definite racial and historical basis and like the caste-ridden Hindus the Muslim society too comprised of different sections. The first divison of Muslims of high extraction consisted of the descendants of early four classes of Saiyed, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan Muslim immigrants.[46] The term Saiyed or Mir signified a Muslim of Quraishi Arab descent and is used to this day exclusively for descendants of the Prophet's family through his daughter Fatima. The Quraish was the Arab tribe to which the Prophet Muhammad belonged. In the Quranic verses and Traditions of the Prophet the word Saiyed is used to denote a chief. The word further implies an honourable title and not a caste.[47] It is significant that the Prophet always addressed his companion Abu Ayub Ansari of weaver descent as Saiyed-ul-Ansar since he was a distinguished person being the head of his tribe.[48] In Arab countries today the word "Saiyed" implying an honourable title, like its English equivalent 'mister' (written Mr.), is used for every respectable gentleman or distinguished person whether Muslim or non-Muslim, Arab or non-Arab.[49] But in India since medieval days those claiming descent from Prophet Muhammad and his son-in-law Ali appropriated the use of this title and detested its employment by all other Muslims[50] The name

44. Cf. John Campbell Oman : *The Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India* (London 1907), pp. 61-62.
45. Cf. Kingsley Davis : *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton, New Jersey : 1951), p. 164. Also cf. Census of India, 1901, Report, pp. 543, 544; Ghaus Ansari : Muslim Castes in Uttar Pradesh, pp. 35-51.
46. Cf. M. T. Titus : *Islam in India and Pakistan*, pp. 176-177, 277-278; also W.W. Hunter : *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, V, p. 408.
47. For details, B. M. Khan : *Saiyed Koi Qaum Nahin*, pp. 39-44, 45-53.
48. Refer, *Tazkirat-ul-Ansar*, p. 213.
49. B. M. Khan : *Saiyed Koi Qaum Nahin*, pp. 93-94. For example Al Saiyed Winston Churchill, Al Saiyed Baldeo Singh, Al Saiyed Baldeo Singh, Al Saiyed Bu Raqiba, and Al Saiyed Muhammad Yazid Aljazairi.
50. Ibid., p. 94.

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Shaikh was used to designate any other of Arab origin, that is, of direct Arab descent, but not of the tribe of the Prophet.[51] The Shaikhs claimed descent from the caliphs Abu Bakr, Umar and Usman.[52] The designation Mughal meant a Muslim of Turkish descent. This was because of the use of this term for the Mughal rulers of India. The Mughals of Delhi were really not Mughals or Mongols, but Turks. The term was used to differentiate the Delhi monarchs from the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey.[53] The title Pathan and Khan was used for the Muslims of Afghan descent who had their origin in Afghanistan.[54]

The second division of working class Muslims comprised of various professional groups like the julahas (weavers) and others. They were overwhelmingly of native origin often called Nau Muslim (new Muslims). These Nau Muslims or newly converted Muslims were converts from the lower caste Hindus and outcastes.[55].

Like the Hindus of higher groups the Muslims of higher ranks could marry women of the lower castes but "the converse process was vigorously condemned". As for instance "a Saiyed will marry a Shaikh's daughter but will not give his daughter in return"....[56] Then inter-marriage between the upper circle of descendants of immigrants from foreign lands and the converted Indian Muslims" is generally reprobated".[57] A member of the Ashraf or honourable class will give his daughter to one of the Ajlaf or low class only on account of abject poverty.[58] J. C. Oman writes : "Except in very exceptional circumstances, no member of the "Ashraf" class will give his daughter in marriage to a man of inferior grade".[59] To the Ashraf Muslims of foreign birth all the professional Muslims of native origin are low and dishonourable people. This distinction somewhat corresponds "to the Hindu division of the

51. M. T. Titus : *Islam in India and Pakistan*, pp. 176-177, 277-278.
52. Cf. W. W. Hunter : *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, IV, p. 54.
53. Titus : *Islam in India and Pakistan*, pp. 176-177, 277-278.
54. Ibid.
55. H. Risley : *People of India*, pp. 118-119.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. J. C. Oman : *The Brahmans, Theists and Muslims of India*, p. 62.

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community into Dwijas or castes of twice-born rank, comprising the various classes of the Aryan invaders, and the Sudras or aborigins whom they subdued".[60] The ashraf Muslims like the higher Hindu castes regarded menial service or the work of a cultivator as degrading.[61]

According to the Soviet indologist Gordon-Polonskaya, as a result of the impact of the institution of castes firmly rooted in the life of Hindu India "the Muslim community itself became a kind of caste or group of castes."[62] The existence of division of Indian Muslim community into castes and classes in British India is essentially a legacy of the immigrant ruling and aristocratic Muslims. Before their arrival in India they were imbued with the notion of class distinctions of high and low in feudal central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan.[63] It was due to this predetermined feudal social attitude of the governing aristocratic Muslims that finally the social dynamism of Islam failed against the Hindu institution of castes and classes.

II

Economic Status and Condition

India was famous in the days of the Mughals for large scale export trade in handloom fabrics. In medieval days the Indian handloom textile industry not only fulfilled the entire cloth need of the nation but also exported abroad huge quantities of cloth. It earned wealth and fame to the country and provided employment to a considerable people especially in rural areas next only to agriculture. But the flourishing Indian handloom textile industry and trade received a severe setback during the British rule. Under British rule this flourishing industry and trade was destroyed due to lack of protection and patronage especially in the face of progress of machine production in England. As a result the economi-

60. Risley : *People of India*, p. 119.
61. Ibid.
62. Refer, Y. V. Gankovsky and L. R. Gordon-Polonskaya : *A History of Pakistan*, p. 6.
63. Refer, Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlavi : *Bustan-ul-Muhaddesin*, p. 113; M. Habib & Afsar Khan : *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 99-100; Jamaluddin Hasan Anju : Farhang-i-Jehangiri (Manuscript, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna), f. 263b and Hitti : *History of the Arabs*, pp. 461-462.

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cally sustained and prosperous condition of the community of Indian weaver including a very large number of Muslims of weaver descent whose economic mainstay was weaving became extremely bad. By the opening of the nineteenth century England had begun exporting machine made cloth to India. The native weaving industry was destroyed and reduced its production to homespuns for village use[64]. In the early decades of the eighteenth century in order to harm the Indian handloom industry the British manufacturers tried to put an end to the export of the popular cotton and silk goods to England from India by the East India Company. For this the British manufacturers got interested in discriminative legislations. In 1700 and 1720 the British Parliament passed two laws to the effect that cotton and silk goods imported from India "could not be worn or otherwise used in England"[65].

The Indian weavers suffered first at the hand of the servants of the East India Company and then by the inimical policies of the directors of the Company. During the eighteenth century the East India Company had procured a firman by the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar exempting its export and import trade from the payment of inland transit duties in India[66]. The merchandise imported from Europe and exported to Europe by the company passed through India duty free. For this a certificate or permit called "dastak" carrying the signature and seal of the English President or of chiefs of English factories was produced at customs-houses.[67] But following the defeat of Sirajuddaulah in the battle of Plassey fought in 1757 British political influence considerably shot up in Bengal. Within a decade of the battle of Plassey the handloom weavers of Bengal were destroyed and the inland trade passed into the hands of the English. As a result, the servants of the Company assumed the role of private traders claiming similar protection from all duties as was granted for the Company's import and export trade. Although the Bengal nawabs only recognised the right permitted to the Company, its servants plied on their private inland trade in Bengal without payment of duties. In the imple-

64. Cf. Michael Edwardes : *A History of India*, pp. 252-253.
65. K. K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 808.
66. Bolts : *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 190. Also, R. C. Dutt : *Indian Trade Manufactures & Finance* (Calcutta, 1905), pp. 1-2.
67. Bolts : *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, pp. 63-64.

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mentation of this trade policy limitless oppressions were committed by the English agents or gomashtas. The gomashtas exercised their power in a manner that they became a terror to the weavers and manufacturers. They injured the people, and by-passed the governmental authority. The officers of the nawab were forbidden to interfere with the gomashtas of the English and obstruct their business. The English agents punished the nawabs officers whenever they tried to interfere. But the indigenous merchants being heavily taxed were ruined. The revenue of the nawab fell down. The Company's servants monopolised the trade and acquired great financial gains[68].

William Bolts, a contemporary English merchant who gives a detailed eye-witness account of the oppressions perpetrated on the weavers and manufacturers, the disorganisation of the inland trade of Bengal by the Company's servants and their agents and the oppresive methods adopted by them to secure the manufactures to themselves writes : "The preference granted to the English gave them great advantages when they came to deal with the weavers in the inland country, where the factors and gomastahs employed by the Company, on this change in the mode of providing their investment, were in general treated with great respect. This influence increased with the power of the English Company; so that after the defeat of Serajah al Dowlah, in 1756. that Nabob was made to engage," that he or his officers should, on no account interfere with the gomastahs of the English; but that care "should be taken that their business might not be obstructed in any "way". And these gomastahs so well availed themselves of this new acquired power, that after the Company, by their substitutes, had made their first Nabob, Jaffier Ally Khawn, in the year 1757, their black gomastahs in every district assumed a jurisdiction which even the authority of the Rajahs and Zemindars in the country durst not withstand[69].....

"...It may with truth be now said, that the whole inland trade of the country, as at present conducted, and that of the Company's investment for Europe in a more peculiar degree, has been one continued scene of oppression; the baneful effects of which are severely felt by every

68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p. 191.

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weaver and manufacturer in the country, every article produced being made a monopoly; in which the English, with their Banyans (business agents) and black gomastahs, arbitrarily decide what quantities of goods each manufacturer shall deliver, and the prices he shall receive for them[70].

"....Upon the gomastahs' arrival at the aurung, or manufacturing town, he fixes upon a habitation which he calls his *cutcherry*; to which, by his peons and hircarahs, he summons the brokers, called Dallals, and Pykaas, together with the weavers; whom, after receipt of the money dispatched by his master, he makes to sign a bond for the delivery of a certain quantity of goods, at a certain time and price, and pays them a part of the money in advance. The assent of the poor weaver is in general not deemed necessary, for the gomastahs, when employed on the company's investment, frequently make them sign what they please; and upon the weavers refusing to take the money offered, it has been known they have had it tied in their girdles, and they have been sent away with a flogging..... A number of these weavers are generally also registered in the books of the Company's gomastahs, and not permitted to work for any others; being transfered from one to another as so many slaves, subject to the tyranny and roguery of every succeeding gomastah..... The roguery practised in this department is beyond imagination, but all terminates in the defrauding of the poor weaver; for the prices which the Company's gomastahs, and in confederacy with them, the *Jachendars* [examiners of fabrics], fix upon the goods, are in all places at least fifteen percent and in some even forty per cent less than the goods so manufactured would sell for in the public Bazar, or market, upon a free sale[71].

"In the time of the Mogul government, and even in that of the Nabob Allaverdy Khawn, the weavers manufactured their goods freely, and without oppression; and though there is no such thing at present, it was then a common practice for reputable families of the Tanty, or weaver caste, to employ their own capitals in manufacturing goods, which they sold freely on their own accounts. There is a gentleman, now in England, who in the time of that Nabob, has purchased in the Dacca province in one morning eight hundred pieces of muslin at his

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., pp. 192-193.

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own door, as brought to him by the weavers of their own accord. It was not till the time of Serajah al Dowlah that oppressions, of the natures now described, from the employing of gomastahs, commenced with the increasing power of the English Company, upon their changing the mode of providing their investment; and the same gentleman was also, in Serajah al Dowlah's time, witness to the fact of above seven hundred families of weavers, in the districts round Jungulbarry, at once abandoning their country and their professions on account of oppressions of this nature, which were then only commencing. Since those days the natives have had no Nabob to apply to in cases of oppression, but such as were the dependent creatures of the English Company, against whom they could hope for no redress.[72]

..."Weavers...upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced from them by the Company's agents, universally known in Bengal by the name of *Mutchulcahs*, have had their goods seized, and sold on the spot, to make good the deficiency..."[73] Bolts further states : "the winders of raw silk, called Nagaads, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk. This last kind of workmen were pursued with such rigour during Lord Clive's late government in Bengal, from a zeal for increasing the Company's investment of raw silk, that the most sacred laws of society were atrociously violated, for it was, a common thing for the Company's Seapoys to be sent by force of arms to break open the houses...and forcibly take the Nagaads from their work, and carry them away to the English factory."[73a] Besides, the account is widely current in Bengal and Bihar that the thumbs of the handloom weavers were cruelly cut asunder by the English Company's men on their refusal to perform weaving work for the Company under miserable and unprofitable circumstance. It may be that the indigent handloom weavers also occasionally, as Bolts says, cut off their own thumbs to escape the greatly unjust hardships and tyranny inflicted on them by the Company's servants.

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72. Ibid., p. 194.
73. Ibid.
73*a*. Ibid. pp. 194-195.

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In preventing their servants the directors of the East India Company did no better, for their commercial policy operated destructively to the manufacturers of Bengal even to greater degree. Weaving the national industry of the people declined under a system of monopoly and coercion fostered by the Directors of the East India Company whose policy it was to discourage Indian cotton and silk trade and manufactures. The Company made use of its political power to promote the manufactures of England at the expense of manufactures of Bengal. The directors in their letter to Bengal dated, 17 March 1769, asked for the encouragement of manufacture of raw silk and the discouragement of silk fabrics in Bengal.[74] This mandate allowed the use of force to make the silk-winders work in the Company's factories. The weavers were even to be stopped from working in their own homes and outside "under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government."[75] Thus coercive measure led to the decline of manufacture of silk and cotton goods in India.[76]

In the second half of the eighteenth century there was an unusual scarcity of weavers. Henry Verelst, the Governor of Bengal, during 1767-69 stated in 1767 that a very large number of weavers left their profession and took to other occupations[77] In the late eighteenth century muslin from Dacca, silks from Murshidabad, brocades from Ahmadabad and Shawls from Kashmir suffered decline due to a policy of commercial discouragement. These handicrafts were rarely revived and died for want of a customer.[78] Towards the end of eighteenth century a series of regulations were passed between 1775 and 1793 to legalise the practice of keeping the weaving population in subjection to the Company's factories through the exercise of coercive measures. The Governor General and Council agreed to these Regulations proposed by the Board of trade and directed the Provincial Council to implement them immediately. The Regulations vested discretional authority in the Company's agent to save the Company's Investment from fall in balance and maintain the standard qualities of

74. R. C. Dutt : *Indian Trade, Manufactures & Finance*, pp. 27, 37-38.
75. General Letter dated 17 March 1769 quoted in Ibid., p. 37.
76. Ibid., pp. 27, 37-38.
77. Quoted in Radhakamal Mukerjee : *The Economic History of India* : 1600-1800, p. 146. Also quoted in An Advanced History of India, III, p. 808.
78. Michael Edwardes : *A History of India*, pp. 252-253.

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cloths.[79] The weavers who worked in the Company's factories and were subject to these regulations were bound by indenture. Such weavers were described in the language of the law Courts as Khatbandi. The engagement entered into by the weavers employed under the Company's factories expected of them to maintain the standard qualities of cloths, their breadths, lengths and quality of threads and to work servilely under special regulations.[80] For instance, some of the various regulations for weavers stipulated that any weaver who had taken advances from the Company "if, notwithstanding...shall by himself or any other persons, sell cloths to private merchants, Europeans or natives, dealers or agents of whatever kind, whilst he is deficient in his stipulated deliveries to the Company such offender may be prosecuted in the (Dewani Adalat) and upon conviction shall be adjudged to forfeit to the Company all the produce of the cloths so sold with costs of suit besides, and moreover be still obliged to complete his engagements";[81] that on his failing to deliver the cloths at the stipulated periods "the Company's agent or representative shall be at liberty to place peons upon him, in order to quicken his deliveries";[82] that "weavers possessed of more than one loom and entertaining one or more workmen, shall be subject to...penalties on failing to deliver cloth at the stipulated period expressed in a written agreement: To the Company for every piece of cloth not delivered according to the agreement, 35 per cent on the stipulated price of such cloth besides the repayment of money advanced for the same"[83] and "To individuals, in the like cases and circumstances, twenty per cent besides the repayment of the advance"; that landlords and tenants "are enjoined not to hinder the Commercial Residents or their officers from access to weavers,"[84] and

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79. N. K. Sinha : *Economic History of Bengal*, i, p. 163; R. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, i., pp. 81-82.
80. N. K. Sinha : *Economic History of Bengal*, I, pp. 166-167.
81. Regulation IV of 1787 quoted in N. K. Sinha : *Economic History of Bengal*, I, p. 164. Also cf. similar Regulation 4 of 1775, quoted in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, VLVI, (1960), p. 185.
82. Regulation III of 1787, ibid, p. 165. Also cf. similar Regulation 3 of 1775 quoted in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLVI, (1960), p. 185.
83. Regulation XV of 1789, ibid, pp. 165-166.
84. Regulation XXXI of 1793 vide R. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, I, p. 182.

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that they "are strictly prohibited from behaving with disrespect to the Commercial Residents" of the Company.[85]

As a result of the unjust and ruinous commercial policy of England Indian silk and cotton goods instead of being exported in vast quantities from India to the markets of Europe and Asia as in former centuries began to be increasingly imported into India. The figures submitted as Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated 4th My 1813, indicate the value of cotton goods exported by England to ports east of the Cape of Good Hope, mainly to India, from 1794 to 1813[86]. From £ 156 in 1794 the value rose in 1813 to £ 108, 824. In 1804 the value of cotton goods fell to £ 5,936 from £ 27,876 in 1803. But in 1804 it again shot up to £ 31,943 and went on increasing.[87] Unjust and enormous duties were imposed on a percentage of the value on the import of Indian manufactures like muslins, calicols, other cotton manufactures, wool-shawls, raw silk, silk manufactures, taffatees or other plain or figured silks and cotton wool into England between 1812 and 1832.[88]

Towards the end of 1864 the native cloth manufacture decreased under the existing pressure to a much greater extent. This was primarily owing to the increased price of raw material, which not only prevented the poor weavers from buying the same quantity of material, as before, but also ultimately restricted the demand for and therefore the manufacture of other clothing, under the incraesed price.[89] The number of weavers had enormously decreased in some parts of the Saran district. The Collector was told that more than half of the "Jolhas" (Muslim Weavers) had abandoned their trade and taken to other employment and at Revelgunge the great cotton mart of Saran, they had, in large numbers given up weaving.[90] The local imports from the north west had largely

85. Regulation XXXI of 1793 vide ibid.
86. R. C. Dutt : *Indian Trade, Manufactures, & Finance*, pp. 27, 37-38.
87. Ibid, p. 38.
88. Ibid, pp. 69-70.
89. Letter No. 128 of 1864-65 dated the 27th October, 1864 from the Collector of Sarkar Saran to the Commissioner giving a report on the present state of the native cloth manufacture and on the present and probably future demand for English cotton goods in Saran district, quoted in P. C. Roy Choudhary : *Sarkar Saran*, pp. 24-25(Appendix One).
90. Ibid.

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decreased the cotton then finding its way to Calcutta and England and in many parts of the district, the manufacture was only of the locally grown cotton.[91]

There was a special decrease in the demand for goods of local manufacture, in as much as under the ruling increased rates those who could then afford to buy cotton clothing at all preferred to buy English imported goods only, even at the higher price as they were far more durable.[92] Men who formerly brought locally made goods at the cheaper rates under the changed circumstances purchased English goods, and this class was quite distinct from those who in consequence of the increased prices hardly bought cotton goods at all.[93]

As regards the then demand for English cotton goods, the supply for the district was almost exclusively through Chapra town and its suburbs and that the returns were acknowledged by the principal merchants and were derived from different sources. These showed that some twentyone lacs of rupees worth of cotton goods were imported into this district for sale during the year 1863 and that inasmuchas the goods did not remain at their prevalent high price.[94] The supply for the year 1865 may be put at the same figure.[95]

In the Shahabad district of Bihar among the manufactures the Muslim weaver (Julaha) who lived entirely by their looms and held no land was the poorest whose profits seldom exceeded 6 d. or 7 d. a day.[96] The condition of the weavers of Shahabad deteriorated as the home-made cloth was pushed out of the market by English piece-goods. To quote Hunter,

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91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (*Districts of Gaya and Shahabad*), XII, p. 224. According to Eyre, weavers in Shahabad were of "three classes : Those who trade but do not weave; those who weave daris, and are known as Kolinhof (Qalinbaf or cotton carpet weaver); and those who weave the common country cloth, and are called Noarhofs (Nurbafs or weavers in white) the Julahas proper". Ibid, pp. 200-201.
96. Ibid, p. 260.

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"Country cloth cnanot be made for less than 3¼ d. to 4½ d. per yard, but imported sells for 3¼ d. a yard, and consequently the home manufacture has fallen off".[97] At the close of the nineteenth century the trade of the Muslim weaving community of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh "sadly decreased in consequence of the introduction of foreign cloth.[98]" Numerous Muslim weavers took to "cultivation and various forms of labour."[99] In Bengal Silk-weaving was formerly a flourishing trade in the district of Bogra and Maldah. By the end of the nineteenth century there were only a few families of weavers, who worked to order.[100] The Maldehi fabrics or cloths were very numerous both in colour and pattern. Some being made of silk alone, and others of silk and cotton mixed. The principal sorts were called by characteristic names like *mazchhar,* or riplets of the river; *bulbulchashm,* or nightingale's eyes; *kalintarakshi,* or pigeon's eyes and *chand tara,* or moon and stars.[101] The industry or the manufacture of silk fabrics in Maldah district was in a very languishing state and the annual value of the manufacture was estimated at not more than Rs. 5000 to Rs. 6000, or £500 to £600.[102] The Collector reported in 1871, that there was then a large body of weavers in the Pabna district of Bengal, comprising both Muslims and Hindus. Some of them were prosperous, and employed a considerable number of workmen on monthly wages; while others gave advances to working weavers, on condition that they should find their own materials and manufacture a given quality of cloth.[103] During the closing years of the nineteenth century the condition of the weavers had much declined; and many of them, as the Collector reported in 1875, had abandoned their hereditary occupation and become cultivators and boatmen.[104] In the Tipperah district a very fine description of muslin was manufactured. It was called tanzib, which was said to be nearly as good in texture and quality as the shabnam (evening dew) muslins of

97. W. Crooke : *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh,* III, p. 70.
98. Ibid.
99. Hunter : *Statistical Accounts of Bengnl,* VIII, p. 271.
100. Ibid, VII, pp. 95-96.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid, (Districts of Murshidabad and Pabna), IX, pp. 332-333.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid., (Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong, Noakhali, Tipperah, Hill Tipperah), VI, p. 418.

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Dacca. Besides other varieties of cloth were also made from cotton. The pattern of a kind of cotton cloth in common use consisted principally of checks and stripes and was of bright and gaudy colours. This cloth was used both for wearing apparel and for bed sheets. But during the close of the nineteenth century there was not much employment for weavers in Tipperah.[105] In the towns, country cloth had been "almost entirely driven out of the market by English piece goods".[106] In the interior, weavers only manufactured clothes for themselves and their neighbours, for which they were paid at the rate of "from three farthings to a penny per cubit, the thread being supplied by the purchasers".[107] The once flourishing trade in Dacca muslins suffered total annihilation and consequently the weaving and embroidery manufactures of the town became insignificant. By 1840 the muslin trade was estimated to be less than a fourth of what it used to be in former days.[108] Many different kinds of cloth were manufactured in the district. The bulk of this cloth manufacture was made of English twist, and country thread was used for the very finest muslins only. The fabrics of the most delicate texture were known by the names of ab-rawan or 'running water', and *shabnam* or 'evening dew', because when wet they were almost undistinguishable from these liquids.[109] It is reported that in the time of Emperor Jahangir, a piece of *ab-rawan* muslin measuring fifteen feet by three and weighing only five *sikkas* or nine hundred grains could be manufactured at the price of £40.[110] The finest muslin made in about 1840, of a similar dimension, weighed about nine sikkas, or one thousand six hundred grains, and is sold for £10.[111] Since 1840 the manufacture greatly fell off and these finer species were only made to order.[112] The finest kinds of muslins were made without any pattern. Both white and coloured spotted muslins were extensively made. The patterns were embroidered afterwards by hand. Some of the stars and springs of flowers

105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Taylor's account in the *History and Statistics of the Dacca Division*, quoted in W. W. Hunter : A Statistical Account of Bengal, V, pp. 109-111.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.

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were very pretty. The embroidered muslin was chiefly made by the Muslim weavers.[113] The art of embroidery had reached a high pitch of excellence. The Muslim weavers displayed a dexterity in the use of the needle.[114] The trade by 1840 was in the hands of a few people and the work was mostly done to order. The demand for fine flowered muslins had almost died away. The embroiders were supplied with silk for the purpose and at times with an advance of money.[115] From Dacca the principal exports consisted of these embroidered cloths or *kashidas* and muslins These articles were sent to Bassarah and Jedda, from where the Arab merchants re-exported them to Persia, Egypt, and Turkey, where they were chiefly used as turbans.[116] About twenty thousand pieces of this cloth were annually worked in Dacca.[117] Embroidered table cloths with flower scrolls were most beautifully worked. The branches of embroidery gone out of use were the flowering of muslin dresses performed by a set of embroiders called *chakandas* and the embroidering of muslins, scarfs, shawls with silk by workmen called *zardars.*[118] The embroidered fabrics were highly esteemed in Europe. The scarfs and shawls were imported from Calcutta, and were worked to order, chiefly for transmission to England. In the year 1839 about a thousand were manufactured. The principal embroiderers were Muslim women of the Lower classes. By 1875 this industry had also declined.[119] At the close of nineteenth century unlike former days there were very few weavers who worked in their own houses and on their own account. Unlike former days there were a very great number belonging to the weaving community in the city who although worked in their own houses, manufactured the cloth on account of merchants and traders (mahajans).[120] The embroidery trade was almost entirely carried on by means of hired labour, and by a system of advances. The motive of the merchants and the traders was to keep the worker continually in the merchants debt, and thus ensure the work being done cheaply. This was

113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid., pp. 109-111, 113.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid. pp. 109-111.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid, p. 113.

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more particularly the case in the *kashida* trade, in which advances were made very extensively.[121] The muslin and cotton trade had nearly become extinct. The figures showing the value of cotton goods which passed as exports through the Dacca custom-house in different years between 1817 and 1835 clearly explains this. In 1817-18 they amounted to £152,497; in 1825-26 they had fallen to £62,918; in 1829-30 to £50,488; and in 1834-35 to £38,712.[122] The cotton goods export had dwindled almost to nothing by 1875.[123]

The assaults of capitalism greatly increased the poverty of the Indian weavers and weaving lost its commanding position as a national industry of India. Even after the Crown assumed the administration of India in 1858 the Indian handloom industry and the weavers were in a state of poverty and decline. Between 1878 and 1900 millions of poor weavers, Muslims and Hindus who had "sunk to the lowest depths of poverty", were "the earliest victims of famines[124]". During the early twentieth century the once flourishing handloom weaving industry lay in total ruin. Innumerable Muslim weavers had to abandon their old occupation and trade and find new avenues of life for survival. In the early decades of the twentieth century the Muslim weavers (julahas) of Bengal to a great extent gave up their traditional functions and joined the big mass of the cultivating classes[125]. J. C. Jack writing of the Faridpur district during 1906-10 observes : "Weaving, which used to be a vigorous industry, has been killed by the importation of foreign or factory-made cotton goods.... A very large number of weavers have bought land and become ordinary cultivators. Of those who still continue to weave the most prosperous are Muhammadans, who show more enterprise than Hindus. The total number of families who mainly depend upon the industry is now only 4, 200, whose total income was reported at 721, 765 rupees, providing in the average for each family considerably less than the amount necessary to maintain a standard of comfort"[126].

121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. R. C. Dutt : *Indian Trade, Manufacture & Finance*, p. 182.
125. W. H. Thompson : *Census of India* 1921, V, (Bengal Pt. I. Report), p. 349.
126. J. C. Jack : *Economic Life of a Bengal District (A Study)* Oxford, 1916, pp. 92-93.

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The Purnea district Gazetter published in 1911 states thus : "The Jolahas are Muhammadan weavers, but since the decline of the trade in country cloth they have given up their hereditary occupation, and are now nearly all cultivators or day-labourers"[127].

Similar was the condition of the weavers in Gaya district. The Gaya district Gazetter brought out in 1919 records : Cotton weaving was formerly a large and prosperous industry.... This extensive industry is now a thing of the past, and as in other parts of the Province, the hand-made article has been driven out of the market by imported price-goods"[128].

"Though the product of the local looms lasts longer, the advantage thus gained is counter-balanced by its higher cost. The preference for markin, as the Manchester article is called, can be readily understood, as a piece of country cloth costs Re. 1-4 and will last 8 or 9 months, whereas a piece of markin of the same size will last 6 months, but will be only half the price"[129].

"Many of them have now forsaken their hereditary calling for more profitable occupations, and others who still work their looms eke out their slender earnings by agriculture and labour of various kinds. Every year large numbers of them seek service in the jute mills on the Hooghly or work as menials in Calcutta, and those that still ply the trade have seldom more than one loom at work at a time, whereas formerly the number was only limited by that of the members of the family who could work"[130]. During the period the extremely poor Julahas of Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Ballia emigrated freely to the mills in Calcutta, Cawnpore, and elsewhere[131]. In Kashmir the functional class of the Muslim Jolahas (Momins) largely cultivated the land[132]. About the Julahas the 1921 Census of N. W. Frontier Province records : "The Jolahas have been

127. L. S. S. O. Malley : Purnea (1911), p. 66.
128. L. S. S. O. Malley : Gaya (1919), pp. 181-182.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. E. A. H. Blunt : *Census of India*, 1911, (United Provinces, Agra & Oudh) Pt. I, XV, p. 111.
132. Census of India, 1911, XX, Kashmir, Report, p. 237.

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steadily decreasing since 1901. They are the traditional weavers and socially they occupy a very low position. Machine-made cloth is gradually driving hand-made cloth out of the market and there is an increasing tendency among Jolahas to leave their hereditary occupation and take to other pursuits"[133]. The unjust commercial policy of England discouraged and ruined the raw silk and cotton and silk piece-goods manufactures and trade of India. Consequently India was deprived of her manufacturing industry and she commenced importing British and other foreign piece-goods. Ultimately India fell from the position of a manufacturing nation to that of an agricultural country[134].

The social condition of Muslim weavers was pitiable under Muslim rule. But in British days both their social and economic condition went from bad to worse. Their handloom textile industry was ruined. In the first half of the eighteenth century India "was a great manufacturing.... country, and the products of the Indian looms supplied the markets of Asia and Europe."[135] In the mid-eighteenth century the monopoly of trade of the country by the East India Company resulted in artifically fixing of selling prices, and forward purchase, especially in the cloth industry. The English traders evaded customs duty on the inland transit of goods through forced concession. These goods were sold for considerable profit to Indian merchants who in turn evaded the payments of dues. English commercial oppression forced many weavers to abandon their craft. There was a scarcity of weavers and the industry collapsed. The innovations of advanced techniques of production in England led to under-selling of Indian products. Then the manipulated restrictions of cloth imports into England ruined the industry beyond recovery. The Indian home market was transformed into a dumping ground of cheap machine-made fabrics from England.

Besides, the Muslim weavers had to bear the brunt of administrative disfavour as regards employment opportunities and other matters.

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133. Census of India, 1921, XIV, (North-West Frontier Province), p. 239.
134. R. C. Dutt : *Indian Trade, Manufactures & Finance*, p. 43.
135. R. C. Dutt : *Economic History of India Under Early British Rule*, (1963), p. XXV.

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The caste attitude of the Muslim aristocracy and its excessive loyalty to the British fostered by condemning the patriotism of the proletariat Muslims more adversely affected the interests of backward and depressed professional muslim masses including muslim weavers, in social, educational and various other matters.

Department of History
S. M. D. College
(Magadh University)
Pun Pun (Patna).

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THE VARISHASTRA OF GARGA

LALLANJI GOPAL

In the Durbar Library, Kathmandu there are two manuscripts of a text entitled *Vāriśāstra*. No other manuscript of the text is reported from any other library or collection.

Manuscript A is among the oldest dated manuscripts of Nepal. It has eight pages. The script is Bhujavatākṣara used in Kathmandu valley along with Ranjana script from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Manuscript B has only six pages in the Devanagri script. It was copied from Manuscript A for the library of Rajaguru Pt. Hemaraja Sharma in the year 1985 of Vikrama era (=A. D. 1928).[1]

The manuscripts are not divided into chapters or sections. The verses are not numbered, but they can be counted as being 166. Likewise, there are 96 lines in the Manuscript A and 77 in Manuscript B, though they do not number them.

The title of the text creates high hopes about its subject matter and its importance. The science of water (*vāriśāstra*) can have two possible themes. It may relate to the study of rains, the formation of clouds, the prediction of future rainfall, and the measurement of the amount of rainfall. It can also relate to the attempts for providing water facility by constructing wells, ponds, tanks and reservoirs for drinking and watering the fields. The subject matter of the present text does not relate to the first possibility. It covers the second possibility of the construction of water-reservoirs.

The name *vāriśāstra* occurs elsewhere in the text. Verse 2, which purports to give the introduction to the composition of the text, refers to

1. Sri Mukund Raj Aryal of the Tribhuwan University very kindly arranged to send photostat copies and Devanagari transliterations of the two manuscripts. The Devanagari transliteration of Manuscript A has been done by Śukrarāja Vajrācārya in Vikrama 2039. Earlier Dr. Uttara Kumari Pandey had procured for me a Devanagari transliteration of this manuscript prepared by Śukrarāja Vajrācārya in Vikrama 2022.

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it as *vāriśāstra*.[2] Verses 165-66, which describe the completion of the work, also state that sage Garga has recited the *vāriśāstra (vāriśāstram-udāhṛtam)*. The colophon refers to the text as *vāriśāstra*.[3]

But the text itself at some places gives a clear indication that it is not the entire range of science of water that has been covered in it. It is a specific aspect of the subject, connected with the discipline of architecture, the that has been treated in the text. The closing verse 166 clearly says that it is the *vāriśāstra* of the *vāstuvidyā* that is described.[4] This is supported by the fact that in verses 51-52 the author advises that the construction of *vārivāstu* (a structure on or around water or reservoir) is to be done strictly according to the *śāstras* and a person following the procedure laid down about *vārivāstu* attains the highest place.[5] An analysis of the contents of the text does not leave any doubt about its scope and subject matter. The text deals with the construction of a water-reservoir, its superstructure and the conduits in it.

There are good reasons to believe that the text was composed in Nepal. The fact that the only available manuscript of the text and its copy are reported from Nepal makes a case for this suggestion. The geographical names mentioned in the text[6] are Nepāls (v. 58), Sumeru (v. 160) Himavāna (v. 161) and Gaṅgā (v. 160). From these references it seems that the geographical horizon of the text was confined to the Himalyan region.

The type of architecture connected with water reservoirs described in the text are clearly stated in verse 58 to be meant for Nepala and royal palaces.[7] Later in verse 160 the text advises that these constructions are

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2. *Sāramuddhṛtya Sarveṣāṃ vārīśāstrampravakṣyate.*
3. *Gargabhaṣita-vāriśāstrasārā* (*sic. a*)*-śataka*(*ṃ*) *samāpta*(*m*).
4. *Uttarāva* (sic-*ravā*) *stuvidyāyā vāriśāstramudāhṛtam.*
5. *Yathāvat śastradṛṣṭena vārivastuṣu* (*sic-vāstu*) *kārayet. Gacchate paramaṃ sthānaṃ vārivastu* (*sic. vāstu*) *yathākramam.*
6. In verse 138 of the manuscript we find the name *Vaṅga-miśrake vaṅgalokesmiṃstryaśca bālavṛddhayaḥ.* Here *vaṅga* is a copyist's mistake for *paṅka*. An identical mistake is to be found in verse 48 (*Vaṅgamiśritapānīyaṃ nīcājātisu jātiṣu*),where *vaṅga* is to be replaced by *paṅka*.
7. *Rājagrhe ca Nepāla praṇālīya tadeśajā* (sic).

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to be made in temples.[8] In verses 163-64 it is said that a man possessing piety and intelligence should construct a beautiful *gṛhadroṇī* in a part of the house. In south India in many temples we find tanks associated with them. On account of the importance of bath for ritual purity and the use of water in religious rites, temples in other parts of India also have tanks in their neighbourhood. This feature is to be prominently noticed in Varanasi, though the need for more space for constructing houses and the decreasing use and social relevance of the tanks have led to their decay and, in some cases, their being used by the city-fathers as the dumping place for the rubbish and garbage. But of all the places it is in Nepal that the tanks correspond most closely to the description in the text. The tanks at other places are simple. The type of superstructure, ornamentation and sprouts shaped like animal mouths, as elaborately described in the text, are evidenced in Nepal. Such reservoirs are locally known as *ḍhokā*. Some of them are decaying due to neglect and disuse, but still one can find many, some being exquisite examples and serving the purpose for which they were originally made. What is still more significant is the fact that some old residential buildings in Nepal have in their courtyards reservoirs resembling the *gṛhadroṇī* mentioned in the text. Similar close examples in other parts of the Indian sub-continent are very few.

Thus, it is clear that the text intends to record the technical details for constructing water-reservoirs of the type of *droṇī* and *gṛhadroṇī*, which are characteristic of Nepal and seem to have had an early origin being mentioned in the inscriptions of the Licchavis.

The colophon of the manuscript describes the text as *uttarāvastu-vidyāyā vāriśāstram*. The first expression has to be corrected as *uttara-vāstu-vidyāyāḥ*. The word *uttara* in this expession can have many possible meanings, of which three important ones are 'northern', 'upper' and 'superior'. If *uttara* is taken to mean 'upper', we will have to translate the expression to signify the discipline concerning the construction of the upper part of structure on the water reservoir. In the case of the third alternative the expression will refer to the excellent discipline of archite-

8. *Devālayeṣu sarveṣu evaṃ kuryāpar (sic kuryātprā) yatnataḥ.*

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cture. It is difficult to choose any one of the three as the most appropriate meaning. But, clearly the first alternative gives a happy meaning. The type of water-reservoir and the structure described in the text are a speciality of the Himalayan region, for which the term *uttara* is quite appropriate. Thus, we can infer that the author in the colophon makes a pointed reference to his desire to describe the construction of the structure associated with the water-reservoir or *ḍhokā* of Nepal.

It will be a rewarding study to compare the existing *ḍhokās* with the description given in the text. We fervently hope some Nepali scholar will make a full length study of the *ḍhokās*, their measurement and shapes, tiers, water-conduits, figures and upper structures. In the light of the actual specimens the readings in the text can be corrected and also interpreted. We further feel that a proper analysis of the information about *praṇālīs* in the inscriptions of the Licchavis promises to be of great relevance.

It is stated in verses 165-66 that having learnt from Bhagavān (Vyāsa), the son of Sarasvatī, sage Garga properly recited the *Vāriśātra* of the Uttaravāstuvidyā for the welfare of the world[9]. The colophon also describes the text as uttered by Garga (*Gargabhāṣita*). But the introductory portions of the text do not contain any reference to or indication of its author.

The colophon gives the date of the composition of the text as *Saṃvat A+2 Vaiśākhaśukla dvādaśyāṃ Budhadine*. The figures A + 2 signify 192 of the Nepali era which will be equivalent to AD 1072. Thus the text was composed in A. D. 1072. This will be one of the earliest dates known from Nepali manuscripts. The scribe, who wrote Manuscript B, could not understand the real meaning of the figure A + 2, and took it to signify 182, which he gives within brackets. But this is a clear mistake. One familiar with the paleography of the old manuscripts in Nepal will have no doubt about the significance of the figures. Sukrarāja Vajrācarya, who prepared two Devanagari transcripts of Manuscript A, does not seem to have any such doubt.

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9. *Evaṃ viditvā bhagavān Sarasvatisutena tu.*
Garggena muninā samyak jagacchreyorthakalpanāt.
Uttaravāstuvidyāyā vāriśāstramudāhṛtam.

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This date admirably suits the period in which the *ḍhokās* in Nepal seem to have been made. The Licchavi inscriptions refer to the arrangements made for the proper maintenance of the water aqueducts (*praṇālīs*) and for the distribution and use of their water. Besides the inscriptional testimony, the sculpture and architecture associated with many surviving *ḍhokās* also refer to a period near the eleventh century.

The concluding verses 165-66 of the manuscript say that having learnt from *Vyāsa* (the son of Sarasvatī), sage Garga, properly recited the *Vāriśāstra* of the Uttaravāstuvidyā, contemplating the welfare of the world, so that (people) easily acquire wealth, happiness, longevity and heaven.[10] The colophon says 'Here ends the Vārisastrasarastaka uttered (*bhāṣita*) by Garga'.[11] From this it will follow that the authorship of the text was attributed to Garga. It would appear that the text was intended to be a summary in hundred verses of the *Vāriśāstra* composed by Garga.

No text with the name *vāriśāstra* written by Garga is available now. We do not have any other independent reference to confirm the existence of the text in ancient times. Garga is, no doubt, an ancient sage. He was one of the five sons of Vitatha.[12] There are reference to indicate that Garga, Gargya, Vṛddha-Gargya and Bṛhad-Gargya were recognised as authors of *dharmaśāstra* texts.[13] Garga (along with the variants Gargya, Vṛddha-Garga and Gārgī) appears as an authority on astronomy.[14] Traditionally Brahmā is said to have created Vedāṅgajyotiṣa; from him Garga received this science, and other sages obtained it from Garga.[15] Varāhamihira mentions Garga as one of the ancient authorities on astronomy and refers to some of his views. It seems that in the early medieval period Garga's work on astronomy was available and was quoted with respect. Bhaṭṭotpala quotes more than three hundred verses of Garga. The *Gurusaṃhitā*, which seems to have been composed towards

10. Supra f.n. 9.
11. The Manuscript reads *sārāśataka* which is obviously a mistake for *sāraśataka*.
12. *Harivaṃśa*, XXXII. 15-20.
13. See L. Gopal, *The Gurusaṃhitā*, Introduction, pp. 17-18.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-20.
15. Bhaṭṭotpala on *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, I. 5.

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the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century,[16] quotes Garga the largest number of times.[17] Possibly, on account of the reputation of Garga as an authority on astronomy,[18] some texts on this and allied topics came under circulation with the name of Garga as their author. Thus, the *Smṛticandrikā*[19] quotes a Jyotir-Gārgya. Bhaṭṭotpala[20] quotes verses from the *Mayūracitraka* of Garga. It is in this background that we can explain the reference to a *Vāriśāstra* attributed to Garga.

Whether there actually was a *vāriśāstra* composed by Garga, we have no means to confirm. The reference in the manuscripts under study would suggest that the original *vāriśāstra* was a big text and the present work is its abridgement in hundred verses. At present, the manuscript contains 166 verses. At many places the verses the interpolated abruptly and the contexts expose such efforts. It is also to be noted that 9 verses (28-36) are repeated in verses 86-93. It is, therefore, not unlikely that this abridgement originally had only a hundred verses. But it is very difficult to determine precisely the verses which were added to the original number of hundred.

A close scrutiny reveals that originally the name of Garga could not have appeared as the author of this text. Verses 94 to 108 are verses 26 to 40 in Chapter 53 (*dakargatādhyāya*) of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. Verse 165 of our manuscripts,[21] which says that having learnt from the son of Sarasvatī sage Garga recited the text, seems to be based on verse 99 in chapter 53 of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.[22] Varāhamihira makes it clear that for his account upto verse 98 in the Chapter (53) he was indebted to the treatment of *dakargalā* by sage Sārasvata. He says that he has presented the account in the *Āryā* verse and that in the following verses (100

16. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 16-17.
18. This was possibly the reason for the cataloguer mentioning astronomy (*Jyautiṣa*) as the subject of the present manuscript ascribed to Garga. Moreover, some points treated in it are also to be found in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.
19. p. 547.
20. On *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, XXXV. 3.
21. Supra f. n. 9.
22. *Sārasvatena muninā dakargalaṃ yat kṛtaṃ tadavalokya.*
Āryabhiḥ kṛtametad vṛttairapi Mānavaṃ vakṣya.

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onward) he is presenting in the *Vṛtta* verse, the account given by Manu. Sārasvata, no doubt, means the son of Sarasvatī and is used for Vyāsa. But it seems that, though we cannot identify the real author of the text on *dakargala*, consulted by Varāhamihira, it was current under the name of Sārasvata and not Vyāsa. This is corroborated by Bhaṭṭotpala, who, in his commentary on the chapter, quotes original verses and invariably ascribes them to Sārasvata and not to any variant or synonym of his name. The author of the *Vāriśāstra*, to camouflage his borrowing from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and to create the impression that he drew directly from Sārasvata, paraphrases his name into Sarasvatīsutena and thus exposes himself.

It appears from the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* that the work composed by Sārasvata was known as the *Dakargala*. Varāhamihira does not refer to Sārasvata's views in any other context. Bhaṭṭotpala also quotes Sārasvata only in the chapter on *dakargala*. Possibly Sārasvata had written only on *dakargala* and not on any other topic. The author of the *vāriśāstra*, who possibly did not have a direct access to Sārasvata's book, says that Garga wrote his book on the basis of the information he received from Sarasvatī's son. In the absence of any evidence to show that Sārasvata's original work included an account of the construction of structures associated with a water reservoir, which is the main theme of the present *vāriśāstra*, we will be compelled to infer that the author of the *Vāriśāstra* did not directly consult Sārasvata's book, but, relying on the reference in the *dakargala* chapter of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, claimed Sārasvata to be his original inspiration, and, to bridge the gap, imagined the composition of a *vāriśāstra* by Garga. However, it must be admitted that we cannot be dogmatically sure in challenging the existence of Garga's *Vāriśāstra*.

The manuscript is not well recorded. It is full of faulty spellings and mistakes of grammar. We can attribute some of these to the scribe's carelessness or ignorance. Thus, the mistakes in the spellings, for example, use of *va* for *ba*, sa for *śa* and *ṣa* and *pa* for *ya* are to be explained in this manner. Likewise, in some cases the scribe has used wrong words on account of the similarity with the form of the original word. One such example is the word *vaṅga* occurring in place of *paṅka*[23].

23. Verses 48, 138.

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The scribe has not cared to number the lines or verses. On account of his carelessness it is difficult to group the lines into verses. He has used one stroke or two at the end of the lines indiscriminately. The verses have not been carefully split into lines with the result that a line contains more than one *caraṇa* of a verse.

But there are mistakes which cannot be explained as emanating from the scribe's pen. They seem to have been part of the original text and are to be attributed to the author of the text. Some of the recurring types of mistake are as follows :

(1) Faulty combination of vowels or *sandhis*. Thus, in verse 1 *viṣṇu* and *iśvara* are joined but the expression is spelt as *viṣṇīśvaram*.

(2) Faulty formation of compounds, for example, in verse 1 the expression *Brahmā-viṣṇīśvaram*.

(3) Use of two words together though they have identical meaning. Evidently one of these is redundant. Thus, in verse 1 *īśvara* and *rudra* are used together[24]. Likewise in verse 4 we have the expression *dinavāreṣu*, though both the words *dina* and *vāra* mean the same.

(4) In delineating a word the author does not consider its gender (*liṅga*) or ending letter (*anta*) with the result that we have funny forms. For example, in verse 159 we have the form *tryaścāgnau* (sic.-*agnayaḥ*).

(5) In delineating a word the author is not careful about its case (*Kāraka*). Thus, in verse 1 in association with the word *namaḥ* he places the governed nouns in the accusative (*dvitīya*), possessive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and oblative (*saptami*) cases, but the correct case ablative (*pañcamī*) is not used in any one of them.[25]

Thus, it is clear that the author did not have a proper knowledge of Sanskrit. He commits mistakes which show that he did not have a knowledge of some of the elementary rules of Sanskrit grammar. He possibly had only a working knowledge of the language.

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24. *Brahmāviṣṇīśvaraṃ rudrañcandrasūryagrahādiṣu.*
25. *Brahmāviṣṇīśvaraṃ rudrañcandrasūryagrahādiṣu.*
Devatānāñca sarveṣānnamaḥ Śakrapurogamān.

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The text was possibly written in a period when Sanskrit had not totally ceased to be relevant to a practising craftsman or artisan. Earlier Sanskrit was the language for recording and preserving all sorts of knowledge. In those times even the knowledge of technical sciences was preserved and transmitted through books in Sanskrit. The artisans and craftsmen were expected to have a working knowledge of Sanskrit language to follow the guidelines laid down in the texts. Apparently the practising artisans were not expected to acquire a high level of knowledge of or mastery over Sanskrit language and grammar.

Verse 2 makes it clear that the author of the text did not intend the text to be a mere compilation. He claims that having called the essence of the *Ṛk*, *Yaju*, *Sāma* and *Atharva Vedas* and their six *Aṅgas* (*Vedāṅgas*), he is narrating the *Vāriśāstra*[26]. This is not to be taken too literally to mean that the narrative in the text actually occurs in the Vedic literature. It is to be interpreted in line with the traditional belief that the *Vedas* are the source of all knowledge. The author evidently wanted to add to the respectability of his text by such a claim.

Though the text abundantly proves the author's poor knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, he makes effort to show off. Thus, verse 157 refers to three types of *praṇālīs*. The author uses this opportunity to point out that number three holds good for some other important subjects. There are three pursuits of life (*dharma*, *artha* and *Kāma*), three *Vedas* (*Ṛg*, *Yaju* and *Sāma*), three *varṇas* (Brahma, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya), three worlds (*lokas*), three *devas*, three fires (*agnis*) and three *guṇas*[27].

The text gives some indication about the contemporary society in its reference to the caste groups. It is to be noted that the four Varṇas, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, are mentioned invariably as *jātis*[28].

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26. *Ṛgyajuḥsāmātharvāṇāṃ ṣaḍaṅga-sapadakramāt*
Sāramuddhṛtya sarveṣāṃ Vāriśāstrampravakṣyate.

27. Verses 158-59.
Trividhā dharmārtha trividhā lokayātrāsu.
Ṛgyajusāmavedaiśca Brahmakṣatriyavaiśyasu.
Trailokyaśca trayo devā trayaścāgnau trayo guṇā.

28. Verses 127, 130, 131, 132, 133.

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The division of society into these four castes is taken for granted[29]. In verse 131 the text says that people are classified into many *jātis*[30]. It is well known that even in the later Vedic period there were many social groups which fell outside the four-fold division. Their number increased in course of centuries. The authors of the *dharmasūtras* and *smṛtis* tried to accommodate them in the traditional frame work. The proliferation of castes in the early medieval period is evidenced by the later *smṛtis* and the texts and inscriptions of the period. In verse 137 our text mentions *mlecchajātis* along with Brahma, Kṣatra, Vaiśya and Śūdra[31]. Verse 114, though extremely faulty, seems to refer to six main castes (*jātis*), which include mixed castes (*miśrakas*) and *mlecchas*, besides the Brahma, Kṣatra, Vaiśya and Śūdra[32]. In place of the *caṇḍālas* or *antyajas* as the fifth *varṇa*, we find the name of Mlecchas. The term *mleccha* has a long and varying history. It signifies people outside the Vedic fold and has been applied to many foreign races settling in India. The term gained more currency from the early medieval period.

The text was preserved in the circle of architects and masons. They seem to have zealously guarded their monopoly over it. They tried to check the knowledge of their technique from going to others beyond their close circle. This suits the faulty and ungrammatical construction of words and sentences. The technical details about construction, some of which are not properly explained in the text, were possibly to be learnt through the tradition of master and apprentices. The repetition of certain verses in the text, the appearance of some verses of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* in our text, and the manner in which the main thread in the plan of the text is disturbed by the recurrence of another point are to be expected in a manuscript under the monopolistic control of ill-letered artisans and architects.

Our contention is confirmed by verse 85, which, in its utterly

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29. In verse 158 Brahma, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya alone are mentioned because the reference is to the three *dvijātis*.
30. *Nānājatiṣu lokāni.*
31. *Brahmakṣatrā ca Vaiśyaśca śūdraśca mlecchajātayaḥ.*
32. *Vede ve Brahme tathā kṣatre vaiśyacāpi ca miśrakā.*
Sudramlecchāśca jātīni ṣaṭaṅkāraścāpi kathyate.

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faulty language, says that it is not to be shown to the wicked people and its secrecy is to be carefully preserved.[33] Further, the text attaches great importance to proper respect being paid to the architects[34] and to the need for engaging the services of competent architects.[35]

The concluding portions of the manuscript has a queer sentence *tatpuruṣagaṇena likhitamiti*. It is not clear as to what the author wanted to indicate by the expression *tatpuruṣagaṇa*. Among the meanings of *tatpuruṣa*, which suits the present context, two mentioned by Monier-Williams are "the original or supreme spirit (one of the 5 forms of Īśvara" and "the servant of him." Considering the reference to Garga as the author of the *Vāriśāstra* in verse 165 and the colophon one may be tempted to take the expression as meaning people who belonged to the school or tradition associated with the name of Garga. A second possibility is that it refers to certain people in the service of a king (whose name was dropped in course of its copying over the centuries). Yet another possibility is that the term *tatpuruṣa* refers to Brahmā as creator. His group or *gaṇa* will be the class of architects or masons. This last seems to yield a happy meaning. It suits our evidence in other contexts. It may be suggested that the text was actually prepared by masons or artisans who ascribed its origin or the first formulation of the technique of constructing superstructures on tanks and reservoirs to Garga.

Professor of Ancient Indian History,
Culture & Archaeology
Banaras Hindu University,
Varanasi—5.

33. *Duṣṭalokā na dasīte guhyaṃ kartavyayatnataḥ.*
The intended reading may be corrected as being *Duṣṭalokebhyo na darśayat guhyaṃ kāryaṃ yatnataḥ.*
34. Verse 8.
35. Verses 37, 68-70.

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CONGRESS AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT, 1920-22 AN ASSESSMENT

Dr. S. R. BAKSHI

The commencement of any movement at any moment of our history poses a number of debatable questions for a student involved in historical researches. A few fundamental issues are : who is the initiator of the movement; who are his supporters, the category of persons who are active participants; is the movement regional or all-India in character; duration of the movement; policy of the government towards the movement; its success or failure and ultimate reaction of the leadership.

Talking of the first great movement against the *Raj* which was the culmination of a reaction engendered after a slavery of about two centuries, one could enumerate reaction and opposition to the alien domination shown during 19th century. The great revolt of 1857, though a failure in its overall results, regenerated a spirit of agitation deeply mingled with a sense of patriotism which showed its eruption both in the second half of 19th. century and first decade of the 20th century. India governed by a number of Viceroys like Ripon, Curzon, Minto, Hardinge and Chelmsford witnessed numerous historic events which showed way to a larger movement in 1920s. In fact, the foundation of the Indian National Congress, its initial manifesto and subsequent changes in it; the bureaucratic measures of Curzon, Swadeshi movement, the foundation of Muslim League, Minto-Morley Reforms, and last but not the least, the beginning of the global war in 1914—all had greatly effected the working of minds of those Indians who were to play a major role in the near future.

The Non-Cooperation Movement has deep linkage with the fundamental political problems of the time. Left with no hope of the grant of constitutional concessions at the end of the First World War, the Indian National Congress had also to encounter the serious implications of the Rowlatt Bills, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the Khilafat issue. The programme of boycott of various government's institutions was placed before the nation with the promise of 'Swaraj in one year'. Serious

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efforts were made by the Congress leadership to mobilise the human resources at all-India level against the *Raj*. The participation in the movement was from professionals and non-professionals, men and women, businessmen, intellectuals, peasants and workers.

The movement, however, did not last for a long time, rather it was suspended after one-and-half-a-year, in February 1922 on account of a massacre of policemen at Chauri Chaura, near Gorakhpur. The plea was taken that the creed of non-violence had been seriously violated by the satyagrahis. Views expressed in this regard have been given in the paper. How far the movement proved effective at that time and in the years to come, have also been analysed in the paper.

'The masses—the peasants and workers—came into the national movement primarily in the Gandhian era. This is perhaps the most important aspect of the growth of the national movement. But it is no less important—and this is often ignored—that the capitalists as a class also came into the movement, and came to support it actively, though primarily financially, only during this era. Neither the Moderates nor the Extremists had been able to get the active support of this class since both the class and its contradiction with imperialism matured fully only during and after the First World War. Moreover, the Moderate and Extremist movements were not socially or politically significant enough for the capitalist class to make a determined attempt to dominate them. But once the national movement became a powerful mass movement, the bourgeoisie could not afford to have it turn against itself by continuing to pursue the earlier policy of apathy and neglect towards it. Thus, to repeat, the extension of the social base of the movement to the capitalist class was as important and a new feature of the movement in its Gandhian phase as its extension to the workers and peasants'.[1]

In fact, during 1920-21, the Government of India viewed the movement with all seriousness as it expected disturbances in some regions when it gained momentum after the Nagpur Congress. The Congress volunteers showed so much enthusiasm and patriotic fervour, that their respect for the authority manned by the *Raj* had vanished. In some areas

1. Bipan Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, Delhi, 1979, p. 134.

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where the situation became unmanageable and indiscipline had led to violent action, the authorities were put into numerous hazards. The movement posed serious political problems for the Viceroy and other functionaries. Reading wrote to Secretary of State for India on 9 February 1922 : 'The Government of India do not seek to minimise in any way the fact that great anxiety is caused by the situation.'[2] Lloyd George, the then Governor of Bombay, expressed much worry about the Congress and its movement. About Gandhi he wrote in a note mingled with concern and anxiety : 'He (Gandhi) gave us a scare. Gandhi's was the most colossal experiment in world history and it came within an inch of success.'[3] Lord Templewood expressed his anxiety thus : 'It looked as if the Government of India would break down for want of the political support to direct it and man-power to work it.'[4]

Undoubtedly, Gandhi enkindled the spirit of sacrifice and selfless service, amongst his associates and followers, without resorting to any kind of violent means. This was done consistently through the media of his meetings with people and personal contacts, speeches and writings in *Young India.* He made it clear at a time when the movement was at its peak : 'Men must fill the jails. Men must prove to the Government that the awakening is not confined to a few men but it has permeated the masses, that the spirit of non-violence possesses not merely a select number but that it possesses the best part of India.'[5]

For about two years, the masses of India, representing some of the prominent categories of society, had been enthusiastically astir with all manner of manifestations of unrest, disaffection, anger and defiance. Pledges taken earlier, at the time of the inauguration of the Non-Cooperation Movement, were repeatedly inculcated in the minds of the volunteers who were advised to function under discipline laid down for one and all. The new spirit of nationalism engendered after the First World War was no more seriously concerned with the constitutional reforms, a demand made by the Indian National Congress during the first two decades of

2. *Reading Papers* : Viceroy to Secretary of State, 9 February 1922.
3. *The Bombay Chronicle,* 19 November 1921.
4. Templewood : *Nine Troubled Years, London,* 9. 42.
5. *Young India,* 15 December 1921.

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the twentieth century. It was now well prepared for repudiation of the *Raj*, considered as 'unwanted' foreign government. The example of this kind of model was glaringly visible when the Duke of Connaught paid a visit to India in 1921. The visit of the symbol of British Imperialism at a time when the pitch of resentment, and feelings of *anti-Raj* had greatly provoked the people who showed him black flags and cried themselves hoarse with anti-British slogans. The observance of *hartals* in the prominent commercial centres of the major cities and towns was a glaring phenomenon[6].

The leadership of the Congress was quite confident of its strength, mobilisation of cooperation and unity of the people of India. It sought the support of teachers, lawyers, doctors, traders, women, students, various types of functionaries in the villages, priests, ulemas and cultivators. It could thus have much impact and appeal for the lowliest in the Indian society. In August 1920, Gandhi explained thus : 'I believe and everybody must grant that no Government can exist for a single moment without the cooperation of the people, willing or forced, and if people suddenly withdrew their cooperation in every detail, the Government will come to a standstill'.

The Indian National Congress was of the firm conviction that its movement was not at all unconstitutional as it was planned as well as executed, at various levels, in a non-violent way, without an element of secrecy involved in it. The British government, on the other hand, felt much obstruction in the smooth functioning of the administrative machinery and Lord Chelmsford, therefore, was highly critical at its very inauguration. He called it 'the most foolish scheme' which, according to him, would bring ruin to those who had any stake in the government. He also lost no time in arousing the fears of the propertied class, which, he explained would be badly effected by this movement.

The persistent propaganda on a large scale tinged with the severe criticism of the functioning of the government and the bureaucracy led to the formation of rival national institutions. The Congress leadership won favour with the masses of India by launching popular measures like the

6. S. R. Bakshi, Gandhi and Non-Cooperation Movement, 1920-22, Delhi, 1983, pp. 256-57.

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no-tax and no-rent campaigns. The people were greatly encouraged to refuse to pay municipal, *chaukidari* and local board taxes. Considerable success was achieved in some areas of Bihar, Bengal and Madras in this regard, but the breach of forest regulations was a glaring phenomenon in the Madras Presidency. In all these models, *satyagrahis* built up their strength and vitality through sacrifice, abstinence, suffering and self-deprivations.

The organization, operation and effectiveness of the Non-Cooperation Movement have met with critical assessment by no less important, prominent public men and political leaders than Rabindranath Tagore, Annie Besant, Surendranath Banerjea, Narayan Chandavarkar and some liberal leaders. Tagore called the movement as negative and destructive in its nature; Banerjea and liberal leaders opined that it was subversive and engendered hatred towards the *Raj*; Chandavarkar stated that it was against the traditions of Indian culture, and Annie Besant criticised it by saying that the movement aimed at paralysing the administrative machinery of the government.

While giving his assessment about the excitement, sympathy and participation of the people of Bihar in this movement, Dr. Rajendra Prasad stated in his *Autobiography* thus : 'Public meetings were the order of the day in Bihar. There was not one little corner of the province where the Congress did not penetrate. Congress workers were active every day and explaining the Congress programme the whole province was agog. I toured the entire length and breadth of Bihar in 1920 and for the first time I saw the whole province and made innumerable contacts. Meetings of 5,000 to 10,000 were quite common'.

The Non-Cooperation Movement generated a sense of new kind of reaction in the minds of the British bureacracy in India and the Home Government in London. The movement though not for a long time shook their self-confidence as well as their belief in the rightness of their imperial mission, doubts of varied nature began to trouble them and one serious item in such doubts was the justification of the British rule on the foreign soil. The results of their economic, cultural, educational as well as administrative policies began to be assailed. The Congress and its line of action were highly complex problems which provoked debates at various

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levels. The political consciousness enkindled in the minds of the masses had nightmarish effect on the minds of the successive Viceroys in India. Old members of the Civil Service began resolving not to send their sons into what was once regarded as the 'heaven-born service'. The steel frame did not after all seem capable of sustaining for long the losing structure of the *Raj*. The Secretary of State, Peel wrote a dismal note to Reading explaining the fact that, '....But of course it is exceedingly difficult here to persuade youngmen of the best quality to enter these (Indian) services and I feel more that this reluctance to enter the service would only increase unless we are able to make very material improvement in the position and prospects of the services...But evidence that is continually coming before us of the position of the services in India (mainly the Civil Service) is very serious.'

Spoor, a prominent member of the House of Commons pleaded for the Non-Cooperation Movement thus :[7] '....There was no attempt made, at all events in all that we have heard so far, to meet what some of us regard as the legitimate demands of the Indian people....It is extremely difficult for those of us who have been reared amid the purely materialistic philosophies of the West, to understand, even dimly, the reasoning of the Eastern mind....So it is that this non-cooperation movement is very largely misunderstood, by its Western critics, but we do not get over it by calling it fanatical. We certainly shall not suppress it by imprisoning a few thousands of its leaders. The prison has not yet been built that will enclose an idea for very long; the gun is not forged yet that can destroy a will, however it may manifest itself, that is really making for freedom. I know that some people imagine that it may be possible to raise a dam that will hold the current in check; but the higher you raise your dam the greater becomes the pressure that is behind it. The great danger is that some day the dam will burst, as certainly some day in India the gaol doors will have to be opened.

'You are dealing in India with a terrible force and almost superhuman. The policy of blood and iron can no more bring peace in India that it brought peace in Ireland. It has never brought peace in any country in the world yet. You cannot defeat non-cooperation by it.

7. *Debates, House of Commons*, June, 1922, Vol. 155, pp. 598 ff.

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Personally, I should like to see it defeated, but not by the methods that are being employed by the Government of India, backed by the British Government in this country. You can defeat non-cooperation by practising cooperation. When I say that, I mean the willing, ungrudging cooperation of British and Indians on absolutely equal terms in the maintenance of a commonwealth jointly enjoyed.

'I do ask the Government really to make an attempt to face the real issue. Instead of trying to understand Gandhi we put him in jail... Gandhi rightly understood is far less an isolated leader than the incarnation of what is undoubtedly the popular will. Whether we agree with him or not does not concern my argument, but through Gandhi the hopes of millions of Indians are finding utterance. We may disagree with his ideas entirely, but it is a profound mistake to imagine that they are merely personal.

'Unless there is a rapid change in the whole temper of the relations of Britain and India, India will be lost to Britain and Britain will be lost to India, and no one can possibly imagine the magnitude of such a disaster as that....I submit, further, that the practical solution of this difficulty is not so terribly hard after all. India simply wants to be master in her own house, and until she is master in her own house there will be no peace.'

The practicability of romantic Gandhian slogan promising 'Swaraj in one year' to the millions of people was not a glaring phenomenon in the early years of 1920s, when British imperialism could easily belie Indian political aspirations sponsored and supported by any leader of the time. The slogan, no doubt, was an effective Gandhian weapon to organize and mobilize people of different walks of life in cities, towns and villages, and hepled him to seek their support under the flag of the Congress which considered that a great change was at the anvil in India in the near future. But when Gandhi very shrewdly put forward two preconditions before the people of India for the realization of this aim, it became fairly difficult to achieve the desired goal.

In an article entitled 'The Crime of Chauri Chaura', in *Young India*, Gandhi explained cogent reasons for the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement. He stated, 'God has been abundantly kind to

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me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violent atmosphere which and which alone can justify mass disobedience which can be at all described as civil, which means gentle, truthful, humble, knowing, wilful yet loving, never criminal and hateful.

'He warned me in 1919 when the Rowlatt Act agitation was started. Ahmedabad, Viramgam, and Kheda erred; Amritsar and Kasur erred. I retraced my steps, called it a Himalayan miscalculation, humbled myself before God and man, and stepped not merely mass civil disobedience but even my own which I knew was intended to be civil and non-violent.

'The next time it was through the events of Bombay that God gave a terrific warning. He made me eye witness of the deeds of the Bombay mob on the 17th November. The mob acted in the interest of non-co-operation. I announced my intention to stop the mass civil disobedience which was to be immediately started in Bardoli. The humiliation was greater than in 1919. But it did me good. I am sure that the nation gained by the stopping. India stood for truth and non-violence by the suspension.

'But the bitterest humiliation was still to come. Madras did give the warning, but I heeded it not. But God spoke clearly through Chauri Chaura. I understand that the constables who were so brutally hacked to death had given much provocation. They had even gone back upon the word just given by the Inspector that they would not be molested, but when the procession had passed the stragglers were interfered with and abused by the constables. The former cried out for help. The mob returned The constables opened fire. The little ammunition they had was exhausted and they retired to the Thana for safety. The mob, my informant tells me, therefore set fire to the Thana. The self-imprisoned constables had to come out for dear life and as they did so, they were hacked to pieces and the mangled remains were thrown into the raging flames.

'The only virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-violence. I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow beings wears and am

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therefore as liable to err as any. My service have many limitations, but God has upto now blessed them in spite of the imperfections.

'For, confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before, I feel stronger for my confession. And the cause must prosper for the retracing. Never has man reached his destination by persistence in deviation from the straight path.

'Chauri Chaura is after all an aggravated symptom. I have never imagined that there has been no violence, mental or physical, in the places where repression is going on. Only I have believed, I still believe and the pages of *Young India* amply prove that the repression is out of all proportion to be insignificant popular violence in the areas of repression. The determined holding of meetings in prohibited areas I do not call violence. The violence I am referring to is the throwing of brickbats or intimidation and coercion practised in stray cases. As a matter of fact, in civil disobedience there should be no excitement. Civil disobedience is a preparation for mute suffering. Its effect is marvellous though unperceived and gentle. But I regarded a certain amount of excitement as inevitable, certain amount of unintended violence even pardonable, i.e., I did not consider civil disobedience impossible in somewhat imperfect conditions. Under perfect conditions disobedience when civil is hardly felt. But the present movement is admittedly a dangerous experiment under fairly adverse conditions.

'The tragedy of Chauri Chaura is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precautions be not taken. If we are not to evolve violence out of non-violence, it is quite clear that we must hastily retrace our steps and re-establish an atmosphere of peace, re-arrange our programme and not think of starting mass civil disobedience until we are sure of peace being retained in spite of mass civil disodedience being started and in spite of Government provocation. He must be sure of unauthorized portions not starting mass civil disobedience.

'As it is, the Congress organization is still imperfect and its instructions are still perfunctorily carried out. We have not established Congress Committees in every one of the villages. Where we have, they are not perfectly amenable to our instructions. We have not probably

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more than one crore of members on the roll. We are in the middle of February, yet not many have paid the annual four anna subscription for the current year. Volunteers are indifferently enrolled. They do not confirm to all the conditions of their pledge. They do not even wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar. All the Hindu volunteers have not yet purged themselves of the sin of untouchability. All are not free from the taint of violence. Not by their imprisonment are we going to win swaraj or serve the holy cause of the Khilafat or attain the ability to stop payment to faithless servants. Some of us err in spite of ourselves. But some others among us sin sinfully. They join Volunteer Crops well knowing that they are not and do not intend to remain non-violent. We are thus untruthful even as we hold the Government to be untruthful. We dare not enter the kingdom of Liberty with mere lip homage to Truth and Non-violence.

'Suspension of mass civil disobedience and subsidence of excitement are necessary for further progress, indeed indispensable to prevent further retrogression. I hope, therefore, that by suspension every Congressman or woman will not only not feel disappointed but he or she will feel relieved of the burden of unreality and of national sin'[8].

The observance of strict discipline and non-violent behaviour from the millions of people of India-in Northern, Southern, Western, Eastern and Central regions of the country,-were the pre-conditions of the typical Gandhian style of launching an anti-Raj movement. This kind of model placed before the nation was like something demanding a very high price on the political plane for achieving the highest political aim for a nation of about thirty crores of people. As it is evident, with the passage of time, this kind of model could not be maintained by the participants in the movement. The reasons were obvious. A huge country with its teeming millions professing different religions and creeds, engulfed with regional and local issues raised with the bureaucratic repression could not give what Gandhi wanted. Probably this kind of response from the masses was expected and a matured politician of Gandhi's stature knew it well that the Non-Cooperation Movement—the first of its kind in the history of India against the *Raj*, was not to bring forth results spectacular

8. *Young India*, 16 February 1922.

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in nature—a hope and promise given to the people during the movement. Instead he expected that this kind of agitation, a model which he had built up with the cooperation of the masses of India, would definitely be an eyeopener for the *Raj* which would not fail to recognize the great force, strength and power which Gandhi had gained with the mobilization of a huge number of followers in various regions of the country. The Congress leadership, was not unaware of the hard fact that the British rulers very firmly entrenched in the body politic of our country would not come to an agreement of any kind which would make them to leave the shores of India. It, therefore, built up a scope for more and more non-violent agitational approach which he made use of in larger movements launched in 1930s and 1940s.

The movement sprouted new hopes and infused fire and zeal into the inert, passive and demoralised people, and roused and galvanised them to put up a unique and epic struggle for their political emancipation. It breathed a new life into Indian nationalism and engendered a new spirit of fearlessness and freedom in the people. It evoked a sense of self-sacrifice and suffering in the people who were hitherto largely 'poltically apathetic'.

The aftermath of the movement brought about a regular programme of social reforms in the society by the efforts of prominent leaders in various regions. The promotion of village industry with the introduction of *charkha* and *khadi*, the anti-untouchability measures, anti-drink propaganda, opening of *vidyapiths* and numerous such measures under the scheme of constructive programme, greatly benefited the impoverished Indian masses.

The movement greatly intensified the spirit of awakening amongst the people of India, earlier engendered in their hearts by prominent leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mahta, Bepin Chandra Pal, Lajpat Rai and others. The national consciousness was thus permeated in various sections of Indian society which unified them in order to prove themselves as an integrated force for political action on a larger scale in a few years. Evidently, the Non-Cooperation Movement shifted politics from the drawing rooms of the educated and in the businessmen to the huts in the countryside to the tillers of the soil'.

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It was the growing mass unrest among the peasants and industrial workers which brought about a change in the Congress attitude of cooperation in 1919 to non-cooperation in 1920. But once the non-cooperation began, it galvanised further the agrarian movement which received an impetus from the spirit of general defiance unleashed by the non-cooperation campaign of 1920-22. The peasants discovered in the non co-operation resolution of the Calcutta and Nagpur sessions of the Congress something useful for their own struggle. They began to take great interest in the programme of non-payment of taxes and boycott of law courts. The establishment of *panchayats* to settle their disputes was a point common to both the *Kisan Sabha* and the non-cooperation programmes. Jawaharlal Nehru saw behind the great national upheavl of 1921 the shadow of the 'agrarian trouble' and a rising 'working class movement'. For the time being, they overlapped and all pulled together under the banner of an 'Indian nationalism'.

The idea of jail-going as a volunteer without any kind of second thought in mind amongst thousands of Congressmen at the call of the Congress was a glaring phenomenon in this movement. Indeed, the hardships in jails were of no consequence to them and they made it a way of life to bear them with an expression tinged with spontaneous smile on their faces. Besides their release at a later stage afforded them love and respect by the members of Indian society.

Indian Council of Historical Research.
35 Ferozshah Road
New Delhi.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COSMOBIOLOGICAL HYMNS OF VEDIC LITERATURE

P. GUPTA

Indology presents a spectacle of many histuses that has defied solution so far. Cosmobiological hymns of the vedic literature constitute one of the gaps of this chain of ignorance.

But, what do we mean by cosmobiological hymns ? Let us, first, start with an example. Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka Upanished (1.5.4) say. The same are the three worlds. This (Terrestrial) world is speech. The middle (atmospheric) world is mind that (celestial) world is Breath.

(The thirteen principal upanishads. Translated by R. E. Hume, Oxford University, London (1968, p. 88).

Here we find a peculiar corelation between the various components of the macrocosm, the bigger world i. e., the universe and the microcosm, the little world i. e., man, the biological being regarded as an epitome of the bigger world. Such divine songs denoting cosmic links with biological or physiological components or phenomena are termed by Dr. Filliozat* as cosmobiological or cosmophysiololgical hymns. In this particular case we notice the equation of speech, mind breath with the terrestrial, atmospheric and celestial world respectively.

But the cosmic correspondence is not limited to biological entities only. Some of them were composed in relation to other entities like meteriology, various terrestrial directions (quarters), craft, ethical category, Soul, Brahma, etc. All the 15 hymns of 2:5 of Dr. Ar. Up.** reflect a peculiar conceptual blending of various cosmic ingredients with Atma and Brahma. Here, the later two i. e. Brahma and Atma are corelated with various phenomena like terrestrial, biological, ethical etc. in the following way :—

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* The classical doctrine of Indian Medicine.

** Hume, *op. cit.* p. 102-104.

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Sl. No.	Hymns	Terrestrial or Meteriological	Biological	Ethical
1.	2.5.1	Earth	Body	
2.	2.5.2	Water	Semen	
3.	2.5.3	Fire	Speech	
4.	2.5.4	Wind	Breath	
5.	2.5.5	Sun	Eye	
6.	2.5.6	Quarters of Heaven	Ear/Echo	
7.	2.5.7	Moon	Mind	
8.	2.5.8	Lightening	Heat	
9.	2.5.9	Thunder	Sound/Tone	
10.	2.5.10	Space	Heart	
11.	2.5.11	×	×	Law/Virtuousness
12.	2.5.12	×	×	Truth
13.	2.5.13	Mankind/human being		
14.	2.5.14	Atma & Brahma-Mutually corelated.		

And let us quote the last hymn for its specific dissimilarity from the above way of cognition :—

"Verily, this soul is the ever lord of all things. As all *the spokes are held together in the hub and felly of a* wheel, just so in this soul all things, all gods, all worlds, all breathing things, all these selves are held together".

(2:5:15 Emphasis given)

This hymn is based on craft analogy about which we shall discuss briefly in the subsequent pages. Before we undertake the analysis of the biological hymns exclusively, we cannot resist the temptation of quoting a hymn denoting terristo-biological correspondence with a mythological being :—

"(Sakalys said :) what divinity have you in this western quarter ?

'Varuna'

'That Varuna-on what is he based ?'

'On Water'

'On what is water based ?'

'On Semen'

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'On what is semen based ?'
'On the heart, therefore they say of a son who is just like his father'
"He has slipped out from his heart, as it were. He is built out of his heart" or on the heart alone semen is based". (3.9.22)

(Ibid, p. 124).

Here varuna, a mythical personality has a cosmic corelation with western quarter, water, semen, heart and finally progeny.

By studying the multiple chain of cosmic linkages, one can trace out the path of cognitive evolution of speculative philosophy from the mythological gibberish. But we do not propose to do the same in this present communication. Nevertheless, we are inclined to believe that all these hymns are emanations of early cosmogonies which the ancient Indians are said to have spelt out at the various stages of their intellectual evolution. For our purpose, these cosmogonies can be classified according to the analogies they have used to explain the various phenomena of the universe :—

1. Mythology
2. Terrestrio-meteriology
3. Biology and physiology
4. Craft
5. Non-phenomenal entities
6. Combination of more than one analogy as we find in the hymn of Br. Ar. Up quoted in the begining.

For a glimpse of the cosmological ideas of India, one can refer to Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya's book entitled "History of Indian cosmogonical ideas". All these postulates to explain world phenomena in terms of aforementioned categories can be considered as the earliest examples of proto-philosophical and subsequently, philosophical concepts in India.

Naturally, the question arises whether the similar phenomena did take place in any where outside India. One is tempted to find a parallel in the ancient world; infact, one will be amazed to find a similar trend in case of Greeks also. Cosmogony based on mythology is prevalent in almost all the countries of early civilizations like Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, Greece, Rome, India etc. But the impact of other categories like

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craft, biology, meteriology etc. are strikingly evident mainly in Greece and India. For example, the earliest evidence of the interconnection of biology and speculative activities of the Greeks, is the concept of "life breath" as propounded by Anaxemenes. Roger noted this example was an illustration of what was to be growing tendency of philosophy to turn from meteriology to physiology as a source of scientific explanation a natural tendency in view of the strides that are being made in the art of medicine".* Similarly, Burnet observes on Greek philosphy that 'the development of mathematical and biological science determines the character of its philosophy. We shall see how the mathematical influence culminates in Plato and *biological* in Aristotle".** (emphasis given)

On the persual of the vedic literature one well find the preponderence of biological concepts over the speculative activities in ancient India. In fact, in Greece and India, Science and philosophy developed along two different tracks. In case of the former, science and philosophy arose by detaching themselves from mythology and in course of time, science got separated from philosophy, medicine being the first branch to do so. But similar process did not take place in India. Here every thing get fused and blended presenting an amazing spectacle of the co-existence of philosophical speculations, scientific empiricism and mythological phantasies.

So, we are faced with the three following problems (a) What is the mechanism of the co-relation of macro and microcosm ?

(b) Why there is the preponderence of biological concepts ?

(c) Why science, philosophy and mythology get fused into a loose amalgam ?

To the early men, the essential difference between universe (macrocosm) and man (microcosm) is only quantitative. Both are same because both are endowed with souls; various components of the microcosm have sympathetic linking with the corresponding entity of the microcosm. In the proceeding lines, we have shown the corelation of sun with eye or wind with breath. To corroborate the above, let us refer to the following :

* Roger, A. K. "*A Students, History of Philosophy*".

** Burnet : *Greek Philosophy*, p. 9.

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Microcosm...a philosophical term designating man as being a "little world" in which the macrocosm or universe is reflected. The ancient idea of a world soul animating the universe had as a corolary in the idea of human body as a miniature universe animated by its own soul..... The supposed analogy between the whole and its parts served not only to develop a cosmology... but also.....belief in metaphysical relationship between man and the rest of nature.

(*Encyclopedia Brit* Vol. X P. 377. Bicentenary edition).

It is thus obvious that these early attempts to explain various phenomena on the basis of cosmic correspondence give rise to cosmobiological hymns.

But why this preponderance ? As noted above, in adcient Greece the character of the speculative acitivities was immensly determined by the development of a particular branch of science. In our case biological concepts predominate over analogies based on various crafts from which different branches of non-biological sciences develop. We do not find many examples of craft analogies in vedic literature. Let me cite a few of them :—

1. *WEAVER'S CRAFT :* In 3:6 of Br. Ar. Up the various components of the universe like world, sun, moon etc. are said to be woven Warp and Woof (i.e. specific directions of the threads in a loom).
2. *BARBAR'S CRAFT* : Again in 1:4:7 of Br. Ar. Up., we find the reference of razer's case : "He entered in here, even to the fingernail tips, as a razer would be hidden in a razor-case or fire in a fire holder".
3. *CARPENTER'S CRAFT* : Viśvakaraman Bhaubana enquires about the wood and tree from which this universe was designed.

(Rgveda. X.81.4).

4. *SMITH'S CRAFT* : Rgveda 10.72.2 refers to smithery:— Brahmanaspati like a smith did forge together all things here.
5. *CHARIOTMAKER'S CRAFT* : We have already mentioned it as per 2:5:15 of Br. Ar. Up.

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Only the persual of hymn 2:5 of Br. Ar. Up. as mentioned earlier will prove our point of the preponderence of biology over other categories. It consists of 15 parts; out of which eleven are connected with biological categories, one with craft, two with ethics and one with Atma and Brahma.

But in Greece, the position is different; here craft holds sway over other categories. Mason writes :—

"The analogies used by Miletian philosophers to explain the structure and workings of world differ from those employed in the creation stories of the Egyptions and Babyloneans.

The Greeks regarded neither organic procreation nor the magic. word of command of world building principles, relying more upon analogies based on craft processes..... Anaximender regarded the formation of the world as a sort of cooking process with fire as the active agent The inclusion of fire amongst four elements in itself indicates that philosophers were interested in the arts, for the use of fire was prerogative of the cook, metallurgist and petter".

(A history of science by Mason, S. F., p. 16).

Even in the neolithic society, craft processes, gave rise to philosophical speculations. Commenting on pettery, Childe writes :—

"To early man this change in quality of the material must have seemed a sort of magic transubstantiation—the conversion of mud or dust into stone. It may have prompted some philosophical questions as to the meaning of substance and sameness".

(*Man makes himself* by Childe, V. C. p. 77).

These early speculative pursuits tenaciously persisted in our philosophical discussions in a naive manner. "Even a cursory acquaintance with our philosophical literature" writes Chattopadhya, "gives one of the impressions of how petter's tool and weaver's loom and their ghat and pata defined in an important sense of mental horizons of our philosophers." Even the master craftsman was raised to the status of a deity namely Viśvakarmanas and we find the names of Viśvakarmanas in the list of protophilosophers. We have already mentioned the Viśvakarmana Bhaubana's allusion of wood by which this world is designed.

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Nevertheless, craft analogies are not dominant in our case. Unlike the Greeks, even when they are mentioned in our case, they are intimately connected with mythological rigmaroles. These hymns being essentially orally transmitted lores, cannot rise to the levels of pure science and philosophy. Such a situation is the essential feature of neolithic culture where craft lores are mingled with magic and mythology. Let us again refer to Childe :—

".....There grows up to be handed on a great body of craft lores... are inextricably mixed up what we should call useless magic. Each operation of every craft must be accompanied by the proper spells and prescribed ritual acts. All this body of rules, practical and magical, forms part of the craft tradition."

(Childe, *op. cit.* p. 81).

So it is not surprising that in India where neolithic society was not completely dissolved, many of the latter's features formidably persisted in the subsequent socio-economic formation also. One of the characteristics of this incomplete detrebalisation is the continuation of the blending of craft and agriculture. Such fusion leads to the ill development of tools and crafts and the precarious dependence of agriculture on rituals and cults. Obviously, it has far reaching consequences not only on the mode of production but also in the realm of ideas.

We have already mentioned that non-biological sciences developed mainly from the various crafts. Naturally, when crafts and tools are ill developed, various branches of science are also not properly evolved. Dr. Filliozat writes : The Indian science chiefly concentrated on astronomy, physiology; it neglected physics, geography, geology and zoology. It made great progress in plant knowledge; but less in order to understand plants than to list their properties for food, medicine...Although Indian science speculates rationally, seeks detailed knowledge, observes and forms explanatory hypothesis, rarely does it experiment except in psychology, where it made greatest progress; thanks to its technique of body mind control".*

*Encyclopedia Brittanica, Vol. XX, p. 8.

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The above observation confirms our view concerning the preponderence of biology over other branches of science. To Dr. Filliozat it is due to the technique of 'body mind control.' Despite subsequent spiritualisation, it stands for ascetism which is nothing but a variant of the fertility cult.

Let us be more explicit and find out the relation between body-mind control, asceticism and fertility cult. The former essentially aims at the restrain of sexual libido of a person. Why, again it is so needed. This is because of the number of primitive beliefs that human sex can influence agriculture and viceversa. By practising abstinence leading to asceticism, a man is actually storing energy which in turn influences the agricultural production. The cosmic corelation between man and nature constitutes one of the fundamental ingredients of primitive ideology leading to the immense influence of the phenomena of biological procreation over protophilosophical speculations. To elaborate further let us quote Frazer :—

"If a rudeman identifies himself, in a manner with nature, if he fails to distinguish the impulses and processes in himself from the methods which nature adopts to ensure the reproduction of plants and animals, he may leap to the two conclusions. Either he may in for that by Yielding to his apetite he will thereby assist in the multiplication of plants and animals; or he may imagine that the vigour which he refuses to expend in reproducing his own kind, will force as it were a store of energy where other creatory whether vegetables or animals will somehow benefit in propagating their species. Thus from the same crude philosophy the same primitive notions of natue and life, the savage may derive by different channels a rule either of profligacy or of asceticism."

(p. 38, *Golden Bough* (Abridged) by Frazer J. G.).

Thus from social anthropology, we learn that asceticism has a direct bearing on the productive activities involving agriculture and cattle breeding. Against the background of developed crafts and tools and primitive irrigation, fertility rites which include asceticism become important adjuncts to agriculture. In relation to Indian agriculture, nature is both bountiful, and uncertain. The former leads to rich harvest even

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with less developed technique and primitive irrigation. But the latter plays havoc with agriculture. That is why we find copious references to famine in ancient literature like epic, Buddhist scriptures, Dharmasastras etc. in ancient leterature. "The ealiest famine cry", writes Bose, "echoed in Rgveda reflects a patriarchal society with primitive irrigation afflicted by periodical draughts."

(*Social & rural economy of Northern India*, Vol. I. By Bose, A. N. P. 130)

Thus, such a precarious condition forced helpless man to evolve a series of magical notions which subsequently developed into a system of elaborate rituals. The situation reached to such an absurd limit that the following propiation of ACVins by Atharvana becomes a substitute for pesticide:

"Smite, Acvins, the borer the samanka, the rat; split their head; crush their ribs; lest they eat early barley shut up their mouth; then make fearless for the grain".

Atharva Veda (VI : 50:1) by Whitney, W. D.).

This, of course, does not mean that the ancient people dispensed with scientific techniques altogether. In the Ramayana, Rama expresses his hope to Bharata that 'Ayodhya' does not depend exclusively on rains ("Ramayana" II, 100.45). Similar advice was given by Narada to Yudhisthira in Mahabharat (11.5.77).

Thus, more dependence on irrigation than on rainfall, no doubt, signifies the transition from magic to science, nevertheless, the latter could not completely separate itself from the former. Even the Arthasastra– eminently a politco-economic–compendium recommends chanting of vedic matras (11:24) as an adjunct to irrigation.

(Bose, *op. cit.* p. 136)

Naturally, the dependence of agriculture on fertility cult (which includes asceticism) leads a man to take greater interest in his own body. Obviously, bodily manipulations, necessary to influence harvest, set into motion a number of experiments involving body and mind; this in turn, has wider repercussion on the growth of medical science, which ultimately influences philosophy also. In fact, Filliozat noted that the conceptions

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of ancient physicians played a great role in the general culture of India and particularly the philosophy. The example of magical rites influencing the growth of science can be seen in Egypt also. For example, the technique of mumification (a magical rite) of the dead Pharaos immensly helped in the growth of medical science.

(Gordon Childe, *Op. cit.* p. 133)

Thus, we are faced with a peculiar situation. Due to incomplete detribalization of neolithic society, craft and agriculture remained blended; naturally, craft and science remained ill developed. Hence, the agriculture was dependent on magical rites particularly the fertility cult. This in its turn, helped in the growth of medical science which greatly influenced the speculative activities. This explains the preponderence of the biological notions over craft analogies. The amalgam we find on the material plane (agriculture and craft with the fertility cult) reflects a similar situation on the higher ideological plane i. e. fusion of philosophy, science, mythology and religion.

Let us conclude with the following remarks of Walter Ruben : "..... In the Indian village community underdeveloped small agriculture and handicraft were linked together..... The autarc village was the base of despotism and religion in contrast to Greece where the peasant was a citizen just like the town people who were handicrafts men and traders. Thus in Greece democracy began and the power of religion was not so strong. Therefore, in Greece, technique and science flourished better than in India. But in the beginning (6-7th Century) the Indian despotism was very progressive (though inhuman) and favoured medicine and the then form of hylozoistic philosophy.

Gupta Clinics
Nayatola, Patna

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THE EVOLUTION OF PRIESTHOOD AMONG THE VEDIC PEOPLE

PRANAVA K. CHAUDHARY

Religious systems employ a variety of techniques for establishing the relationship between man and the supernatural. The growth of a religious elite may result in a reaction to priestly controls that emphasises direct communication with the deity and responsibility of the individual for his own salvation. The destruction of tribal culture was a logical outcome. For the Brahmana was sometimes without tribal status, at best enjoyed only an anomalous place in the traditional social organisation. This marginal position made it possible for him to associate with all tribes, Prof. D. D. Kosambi, like Max Weber before him, considers the incorporations of tribal elements into the dominant culture to be the major and fundamental fact of ancient Indian History.[1]

The Brāhmanas, ritual text of the Vedas[2] are our primary source of information of the later vedic period. By the time of the Brahmanas, caste relationships were clearly fixed, although caste development was not yet complete. The position of the priests as intermediaries between man and god was solidly established. Prajāpati, the lord of creation, now exalted above the gods and in a position of paramount authority. Prajapati is a link between earlier Indian religion and upnishads.

Of the two classes exercising power, the brahmans had the higher authority and were independent of the king. Mitra, who represented this priesthood at one time stood apart from varuna. It was Mitra who ensured success and was declared to be supreme. It followed that the brahmana was not subject to the temporal authority, but brahmana cooperation with the political class would aid the realisation of the aims of both.

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1. Kosambi—Introduction p. 25.
2. The Aiteraya Brahmana is a text of the RV, the Pancavenśa of the Sāmveda, the Satpatha Brāhmana is the exergetic part of the white Yajurveda.

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A passage in the very early Brihadaranyaka Upanishad[3] which forms the conclusion to the Shatapatha Brahmana states that in the beginning only the Brahma existed, but that he created in turn a superior form, the kshtra. "There is nothing higher than kshtra....(But) Brahmanhood is the source of kshatrahood. Therefore, even if the king attains supremacy he rests finally upon Brahmanhood as his own source. So, whoever injures him (i.e. brāhmana) attacks his own source.[4] The Priesthood is the conceiver, and the noble is the doer. So are the two united.[5] The priest, who officiates at the sacrifice is identified with Agni, the sacred fire that mediates between heaven and earth. The interdependence of priest and king, who is patron of the sacrifice implies a corresponding interdependence of kshatrya and priestly gods (Agnisoma, Indragni).

Although the brāhmana is almost always seen as superior to the kshtriya and the spiritual power dominant over the temporal. Brahma and kshatra are sometimes declared to be equal in authority. There are even rare hints that the kshatrya ruling power has ascendency over the brahmanas.[6]

The development of the concept of an immutable eternal law is probably the result of the brahman search or a means of getting around the executing power daṇda. The priests were charged with upholding dharmic law and order. Brahmana class was believed to be the immediate outgrowth of the fundamental creative principle responsible for the arrangement of society.

The first of the sutras, the Śrauta Sutras, were introduced to clarifly Brahmanas. Later come the Grhya sutras conceived with domestic religious riuals and the Dharmaśutras dealing with the broad area of human conduct the śutras are consisted of prose works which deal with the brief rules that were to be committed to memory. The śutras were intended to provide a kind of manual of ritualistic conduct, with obligations precisely defined each situations.

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3. Satapatha Brahmana 1, 4. 11, 1-4.
4. Aiteraya Brāhmana VII, 19;
5. Satapatha Brahmana IV 1.4.1-4.
6. Aiteraya Brahmana VIII 1.4, 9.6; Satpatha V, 4.4.15;

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In the śutras as in the Brahmanas, the autonomy of the brāhmana caste is maintained and its supremacy held. The Gautam Dharmaśūstra takes as its point of yantuse the transcendent role of the priests. In Sanskrit the word Brāhmana signifies the supreme being regarded as impersonal and divested of all qualities or actions. It is the greatest and holiest designation of divinity. It means the sacred texts, the vedas, a hymn of praise[7], a person who specialises the sacred texts and attends to the religious needs jnana.[8] But the word Brahmana denotes a particular sections of the vedic texts that which relates to charms, spells. Hence F. E. Pargitar holds that the original thing denoted by Brāhmana was the magical power whether incantation, charm or what not by which a man could exert influence over all natural and supernatural beings.[9] Thus it appears that Brāhmana signified some magical power and the persons who professed and practised it were known as Brāhmanas. The Atharvan songs were brahma, and the man who employed that was Brahmana the wizard or medicine man (Brahma-dhānas are classed with yātu-dhānas and brahmarākśāsas). So, the Atharvan books called this veda the Brahmaveda and claimed that it was the veda for the brāhmana.[10] They used the words in the earlier sense, and the other vedic books regarding the words from the words later point of view of reformed brāhmanism. It is called that in former times only a Vasistha could act as brāhmana (weber).

Four priests are necessary for performing a sacrifice, viz. Hotr, Adhvaryu, Udgātṛ and Brāhmana. The Rgvedic priest is called Hotr, who invokes the deities in sacrifice reciting verses from the Rgveda. The priest of the Yajurveda is termed Adhvaryu, his task is an ardous one as he is entrusted with the work of preparing the alter, digging the firepits, cooking the oblations like rice-pap, porridge corn etc. The Sāmveda priest is called Udgātr whose duty is to chant hymns from the Sāmveda to praise and please the gods. The fourth priest is the superintending priest of the sacrifice called Brahmana who is versed in all three vedas. Brahman is responsible for smooth conduction, safe completion and any

7. RV VII, 26, 1, ब्राह्मण इन्द्रोण यहि विद्वान् याहि विद्वान् वञ्चिस्तेहरय: सन्तु युक्ता ।
8. RV VII, 12, 6, यो रध्रस्थ चोहिता य: कृशत्ये यो ब्रह्मणो नाधामानस्य कोरे: ।
9. Pargiter—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition pp 319-20.
10. Macdonell p 189-194-5.

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flaw of the sacrifice. In course of time sacrifice became more and more complicated and sessional sacrifices termed sattras came into existence. It became impossible for four priests to perform all the rites, the number of priests swelled in number, three priests being given as assistants to each priest. Thus we find our Rgvedic priests, four Yajurvedic priests, for Sāmvedic priests and four Brahmana making sixteen in all. The four Rigvedic priests consist of Hotr. Maitrāvaruna, Acchāvāka and Gravastut; group of Yajurvedic priests comprises Adhvaryu, Pratiprasthātr, Neṣṭṛ and Onneṭṛ and Sāmavedic priests are Udgātr, Prastotr, Pratihatr and Subrahmanya while Brahmana, Brāhmaṇacehansi Agnidhra and Potr go to the composition of the group of brahmanas. "The RV was born of Agni, Yajurveda of Vāyu and SV of the sun. Prajāpati created the priest called Hotr from the RV, Adhvaryu from Y. V. Udāgtr from SV. From the essence of these three sacred lores brahmana was created.[11] The word Ritvik is the regular term for Sacrificial priest covering all the different kinds of priests employed at the sacrifice. All the priests must be brahmanas.

The introduction of the office of Brahmana heralds new era in the history of the sacrifice. The origin of the Brahmana priest is pre-Brahmana in age. The name of Brahmana as a priest occurs in the RV in the verse of the performing priests only of the soma ritual and not as the Supervising. Later on this Brahmana priest was designated as Brāhmanā cehamsin to distinguish him from the principal priest called Brahmana who supervised the work of other priests and whose office came into existence in the later Vedic Age.

Payment of sacrificial fee in kinds or coins is compulsory in every sacrifice. It is called Dakśīnā. The performance of a sacrifice is incomplete and futile without daksinā. The sacrifice goes to heaven and the fee which is a part of the sacrifice accompanies. If a sacrifice is financially handicapped he may not offer more gifts to the priests but in the words of Satapatha Brāhmāna 'he should pay according to his means; the Sacrifice must not go without the Sacrificial fee[12]. Regarding the distribution

11. J-25-7-RV–evāgnerajāyata, yajurvedo vāyoh, Sāmveda adityāt, sa çcaine haitra-makarot, yajusa adhvaryavam, Sāmnā udgitham tadetat trayyai vidyayai śukrau tena brahmat vama karot".

12. 11-1-4-4–"Yal saknyyat dadyāt naadaksinam haviḥ syāt.

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of the gifts amongst the officiating priests the following principle was observed in the age of the Brs. One half of the fee goes to the Superintending priest–Brahmana and the other half to the remaining priests observes the Aiteraya Brahmana[13]. Gifts other than sacrificial fees are also recorded in the Brs. and Upnishads offered by kings and rich patrons to the brahmins and learned sages.

Varying views have been held regarding the origin and the growth of the class of the priests. It appears that they have been based on the general idea about Sacrifice that came to be held. Thus Prof. Macdonell who believed the sacrifice to be saturated with magic, observes, "Even in the period of the Rgveda there already existed a priestly, class qualified by special knowledge and magical qualities to act for others in difficult and dangerous intercourse of men with gods and spirits." The class of priests was not a class of magicians as Macdonell has surmised for the obvious reason that Rgvedic sacrifice was not magical in character. Dr. Deshmukh has discussed the point at length and arrived at the conclusion.[14] "Since magic never prevailed among the IE's to a great extent, before at any rate the rise of religion in the form of belief in our worship of heavenly gods, there did not have to exist a separate class of hereditary magicians. There is no evidence to aruge that right from the beginning the class of the priests started to shape the Sacrifice in a way favourable to their predominance because the class of Singh priests was in a pretty mobile condition in the carly phase. The evolution of the class of the priests is essentially based on the evolution of the idea and practices of sacrifice and it is from this point of view that the introduction of the different categories of priests has to be noted with interest.[15]

The new priesthood influenced the formation of a society out of Aryan and Non-Aryan tribes. This was not deliberate, conscious, planned action, but the result of hunger. The aim was to make a livelihood. The long, rigid training in the vedas which gave the brahmins solidarity beyond the tribe, which helped them loosen tribal bonds to form society

13. 5-25-9, 'Ardhameva brahmana āsāndhamitaresāmṛtvijām.
14. Sacrifice in the Rigveda-Potdar pp 141-42.
15. Deshmukh p. 157.

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also made them unfit to handle plough or bow. There were too many of these new priests to live well by ritural service for tribe and clan chiefs. Poverty gave many of them a measure of sympathy with the poorer castes. They helped form a society better fitted to the new concept of property- a concept not shared by all tribesmen because it was not like the herds, the result of then common of their common effort, agrarian property[16] in accounts for the suprficial features of brahminism which distract attention from its role in a class Society. Society hereafter was divided sharply into classes.[17]

Seventeen types of priests officiated at princely sacrifices, the brahmana gradually climbed to the top and towards the end of the vedic period claimed half of the sacrificial fee, which had become richer in content.[18] In the age of the RV, when cattle-rearing was supplemented by agriculture, cattle constituted the common object of gift. But with the advance of agriculture surplus grain was made available for payment as tax to the king who passed good share of his wealth on to the brahmanas. But the relations between the priests and princes were not always cordial. The rituals strengthened the power of the priests, but they proved costly to the princes who had to pay the priests heavily and frequently.[19] The priests derived their income from both princes and peasants, but the princes and warrior nobles had to depend only on the peasants. Macdonell and Keith attribute these traditions to the brahmanas flattery of the princes.

Professor Suvira Jaiswal[20] has rightly defined in her article that the main function of the brahmana was that of the ideologue who helped in the stabilization of the varṇa as a hereditary basis and provided ritual justification or the appropriation of surplus, he was able to establish his superiority at least in theory. But in the view of Professor Jaiswal that this theoretical superiority could be retained only because the brahmanas as a part of the upper strata, came to play increasingly secular roles.

16. Kosambi—Introduction pp. 126.
17. Kosambi—Introduction pp. 12).
18. RS Sharma—Class formation and its material basis pp. 12.
19. Ibid—pp. 113.
20. Suvira Jaiswal—Caste in the Socio Economic Framework pp. 19.

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It is a well-known nature of traditional Indian society that the brahmanas holding lucrative and powerful secular assignments enjoyed a higher status than his priestly compse. Professor Romila Thaper[21] has drawn attention of status gradation among the brahmanas as result of the recruitment of social tribal priests, but this is only a part of explanation. The condemnation of the priest who commercialised his ritual services was largely due to the fact that there was a large section of brahmanas living off the land without endangering its ritual purity by undertaking physical labour which was to be done by the dependent peasantry or field labour of inferior castes.[22]

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21. R. Thaper—Social Mobility in Ancient India pp. 109.
22. RD Sanwal—Social stratifications in rural Kumaon pp. 112 ff cit. from S. Jaiswal's article.

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THE HUNZA VALLEY AND THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

B. N. MUKHERJEE

"The sacred rock of Hunza stands boldly in the middle of a small bowl like valley and is washed on its northern side by the gurgling Hunza river that breaks through a narrow gorge on the east to force itself into this valley".[1] It is situated in the Hunza valley (Kashmir) and not far from the main traditional highway from the Kashmir valley to Po-liu (Baltistan) to Gilgit, and thence to P'u-li (Tashkurghan) in the Tsung-ling or Pamir area (now in Sinkiang, China).[2] A traditional route from Gandhāra (Peshawar district) and Suvāstu (Swat) joins the above noted highway in the area of Gilgit.[3]

Recently several graffito-like inscriptions have been noticed on the sacred Hunza rock and few other rocks standing nearby. Several of them are in the Brāhmī script of the Gupta period. Following A. H. Dani, we can describe some of these as follows. We number them here for the sake of convenience in our discussion.

I. Inscriptions appearing at different places of the sacred rock (no. I).[4]

No. 1 : *saṁ....Śrī Vikramāditya jayati Śrī Chandra.* "The last word is written in very florid style, probably copying a signature".

No. 2 : *Vikramādi (tya).*

No. 3 : *Śrī-Chandra.*

No. 5 : *Śrī-Chandra.*

No. 6 : *Harisheṇa iha dharmachka (ṁ) pratishṭhita.*

No. 7 : *Harisheṇa iha.*

No. 8 : An inscription referring to Hansheṇa and a date (?).

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1. A. H. Dani. *Human Records on Karakoram Highway*, Islamabad, 1983, p. 76.
2. M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇ's Rājataraṇgini*, Vol. II, West Minister, 1900, p. 358.
3. The modern Karakorum Highway follows to a great extent the alignment of the old route (*HRKH*, map 3 and 4).
4. *HRKH*, pp. 80-83.

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No. 9 : (*saṁ*) *100 [+] 3 (?), Siṁha-saṁprāpta Kshema Śrī Nṛipendra.*

No. 10 : An inscription recording capture of Siha, Sihovarmā. Sihodharavarmā, Kāshyapa, Mayūra and his son in the years 103 and 104.

No. 11 : (close to no. 10) *Kshema Śrī Nṛipendra.*

No. 12 : (near no. 11) *Chandra-śrī Deva.*

II. Inscriptions at different places of rock no. II.[5]

No. 13 : *Śri Naripendra.*

No. 14 : An inscription furnishing the name *Harisheṇa.*

No. 15 : *Śrī-Chāndradevasya.*

No. 16 : (across a "human head, looking left, having sharp nose, round head, long eyes and two pig tails behind") *Śra Hranka Śrī Ya [*should be yu*] (d) dha Siṁ (ha).*

III. Inscriptions on a boulder near the Karakorum Highway in the Hunza area and so not very far from the sacred Hunza rock.[6]

No. 17 : *Śrī Chandrasya.*

No. 18 : *Siha-saṁprāpta Chandra-śrī Deva Vikramāditya.*

We have been able to examine the photograph of one of the above inscriptions (no. 6).[7] The palaeographic features of this epigraph certainly belong to the early Gupta period (4th century A. D.). So we may provisionally accept the suggestion that the records concerned are datable to the Gupta age.

Some of the above mentioned inscriptions refer to one Chandra-śrī or Śrī Chandra, who is also mentioned as Deva and Vikramāditya. The epithet *Deva*, signifying *inter alia* a king, "the god on earth", distinguishes the illustrious Chandra as a monarch. His title was Vikramāditya.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

7. This inscription appears above a sogdian epigraph. A photograph of the latter has been sent to us for editing it. The Brāhmī inscription above it is quite clear in the photograph.

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He is hailed as a conqueror in inscription no. 1. The last graffito (no. 18) describes him as *Siha-saṁprāpta*, i. e. *Siṁha-gained*, indicating his dominance or victory over a person called Siṁha. It is not certain whether the latter is to be identified with Śrī Hraṅka Y(u)ddha-siṁha, mentioned in inscription no. 15. But Siṁha was apparently the same person who was dominated or defeated by Kshema Srī Nṛipendra in the year 103 (inscription no. 9). Simha was subdued by Vikramāditya and Kshema Srī Nṛipendra at one and the same time or on different occasions.

The identification of the Vikramāditya in question is a problem. His name and title (śrī Chandra Vikamāditya) remind us of those of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta (II) Vikramāditya. Though, like Dr. Dani, it may be argued that the first was a local ruler,[8] there are several other factors which may tend to identify him with the Gupta monarch.

The only system of reckoning to which the years 103 and 104 mentioned in the inscriptions from North-Western India in Gupta characters can be referred is the Gupta Era of A. D. 319.[9] The advance of the imperial Guptas up to the northern Punjab area of the Indian subcontinent is attested by the "king at altar : enthroned goddess" type Gupta coins initiated by Samudragupta[10] on the basis of the coins of the successors of the imperials Kushāṇas in this region.[11] The name *Samudra* is found struck on a variety of coins of the group of rulers.[12] The ruler or rulers of the area subdued by Samudragupta might have indicated in the expression *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi-Saka-Muruṇḍaih.*[13] The rulers alluded to in this phrase, who must have been at least three in number, were described in the Allahabad inscription of Harishena as those who had surrendered themselves to Samudragupta and had requested "for the administration of their own districts and provinces through the Garuḍa

8. *HRKH*, p. 91.
9. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, New Delhi, 1981, p. 186.
10. A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Banaras, 1957, pl. II, 8f.
11. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 11 and 48-49.
12. *Numismatic Chronicle* 1893, p. 120, pl IX, no. 11.
13. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op cit.*, p. 213.

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badge".[14] This claim about the continuity of these rulers under the acknowledge authority of the Guptas, whose official seal displayed Garuḍa, may well be true at least about the chief or chiefs of the upper Punjab area. It may be added that the Kartṛipura (Kartarpur in the Jalandhar district or the area including the territory of Katuriaraj of Kumaon and Garhwal),[15] a tributary state of Samudragupta's empire,[16] lay either very near or at least not very far from the Upper Punjab. So it was physically possible for Samudragupta or his son Chandragupta II to extend the influence of the Guptas to the north of the Punjab, i. e. in the Kashmir area.

History of Kāśmīra of about the time of the early Imperial Guptas (4th century A. D.—early 5th century A. D.) as known from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is very vague and confused.[17] At least there is nothing to discount any hypothesis about the extension of influence of the Guptas into the area of the Kashmir valley and the region to the north of it. Finally, the name of Harisheṇa, which appears in a few of the inscriptions of the Gupta age in question. *Prima facice* there is no difficulty in identifying him with Harisheṇa, the Minister of War and Peace, Kumārāmātya and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka under Samudragupta.[18] He could have well served Samudragupta and his son.

All these data tend to identify the illustrious king Chandra Vikramāditya with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. It may be noted here that the personal name of the latter, like the former, was only Chandra (as it appears under the left arm of his representation on coins),[19] *Gupta* having been his family name.[20]

It should be noted that the graffito-like epigraphs may not be official records and may only have been inscribed by travellers and traders

14. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op cit*,, pp. 213 and 218.
15. A. S. Alteker and R. C. Majumdar. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* Benaras, reprint, 1954, pp. 130-131.
16. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit*, 213.
17. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I-III; B. Saxena, *Political History of Kashmir*, (*B. C.* 300–*A. D.* 1200), Lucknow, 1970, pp. 20-27.
18. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit*. p. 215.
19. *CGE*, pl. IV, nos 13–14.
20. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit*. p. 315.

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who moved through the routes from Gandhāra and Suvāstu on the one hand and the Kashmir valley on the other. The language of the record (often incorrect Sanskrit) also does not indicate them us official Gupta documents, known specimens of which are in good Sanskrit.[21] However, even if the epigraphs contain pieces of information gathered by traders and travellers, those, without having been coloured by official propaganda, may reveal truth better (in a way) than official documents.

It appears from inscription no. 18 that Śiṁha, perhaps a local ruler, was subdued by Chandra (=Chandragupta II). In this Gupta campaign Harisheṇa, the Minister of war and peace, perhaps accompanied Chandra (=Chandragupta II), just like another Minister of war and peace, Vīrasena, went to the Udayagiri area with the Gupta emperor, "who was desirous of conquering the whole earth[22] (actually the territory of Sakas of the Western India)[23]. Harishena seems to have established a Dharma Chakra in the Hunza valley (inscription no. 6).

Siṁha, as it appeaas from available data, was a local ruler at the time of his subjugation by the Guptas. He seems to have been allowed to govern his territory under the hegemony of the Guptas, since inscription no. 9 states that he was subdued by Kashema Srī Nṛipendra in the year 103. The latter was probably a governor or feudatory ruler of a territory including Hunza in the year 103 or A. D, 422-23, when Kumāragupta I was the Gupta emperor.

Inscription no. 10 indicates capture of Simha, Sihovarmā (=Siṁhavarmā), Sihodharavarmā (=Siṁhadharavarmā), Kāsyapa, Mayūra and his son in the Gupta years 103 and 104. Probably there was one or more than one revolt by a few local chiefs against the regional authorities acknowledging suzerainty of the Guptas. The revolt or revolts failed.

It appears from the above discussion that a territory in the Kashmir area including the Hunza valley accepted the authority of the Guptas from sometime of the reign of Chandragupta II to atleast sometime of the reign of Kumāragupta I. It was either a regular province of the empire or a tributary state.

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21. Ibid. pp. 212 f.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
23. A. S. Altekar and R. C. Majumder (editors), *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.

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Since the Sindhu or Indus flows through *inter alia* an area near Hunza, we may here discuss the evidence of the Meharauli pillar inscription about the crossing of that river by Chandra before conquering the Vāhlikas, or Bāhlikas[24]. The country of the Bāhlīkas or Bactria lay to the south of the Oxus. However, since Chandra of the Meharauli record conquered the Vāhlikas or Bāhlikas (i.e. Bāhlīkas) "after crossing (from the east) the seven months of the Indus",[25] the Vāhlikas or Bāhlikas (i.e. Bāhlīkas) in question should have been in the Baluchistan area to the west of the lower Indus. The tract of Jhalawan and Las Bela in Baluchistan was known at least in the 3rd century A. D. as Twgrn or Tukharan,[26] i.e. the land of the Tukhāras, who were also known as Bāhlīkas[27]. They could well have been alluded to in the Meharauli inscription of the 4th century. So if Chandragupta II is mentioned by his first name Chandra in the Meharauli inscription, as in a few Hunza records, he conquered a part of Baluchistan and obviously the lower Indus area (in Sind) which he traversed on his way to the land of the Vāhlikas or Bāhlīkas (Bāhlīkas).[28]

Thus the Meharauli record indicates Chandragupta II's conquest of an area of Sind and a part of Baluchistan. On the other hand, the Hunza records allude to his influence in the Kashmir area.

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24. D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.* p. 259. It appears from the reproductions of the Meharauli inscription that the first letter of the name concerned is a mishappen *ba* and not *va* (ibid, pl. XII).
25. *Ibid*, p. 259.
26. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas, A Study in Their Coinage and History*, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 47–48.
27. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 22f.
28. See above n. 25.

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INDIAN COLONISATION OF SOUTH EAST ASIA : A HISTORICAL FALLACY

VIJAY KUMAR THAKUR

The formation of Indianised states in the different countries of South East Asia is a well-known chapter of ancient Indian history. This development has been explained in terms of a number of diverse theories most of which are based on the supposed Indian enterprise alone[1]. But this is a historiographical myth and in order to do full justice to the inhabitants of the South East Asian region it must be pointed out at the very outset that the Malays were *par excellence* a sea going people and evidences are not lacking to show that they visited the ports of India and Ceylon[2] in the same manner as the Indians.

From the very beginning of the South East Asian studies certain tendencies and pre-conceived notions crept into the writings of the early historians. Right from the late 19th century, when European scholars initiated the intensive study of the antiquities of this area and began to realise the extent of the influence of Sanskritic culture upon the religion, art and architecture of the area, the tendency was to explain these developments as results of a movement of Indian expansion eastwards. These developments were explained in terms of Indian conditions; South-East Asia was at the receiving end and played a passive role. In due course Indian scholars jumped into the fray and made important contributions to the study of this area. They inherited the historiographical bias of their European predecessors and their work reflects an enthusiasm which was partly a result of the excitement of the west, but largely due to the nationalistic ardour that had become quite significant after 1904-05. Radha Kumud Mookerji's *Indian Shipping* published in 1912[3], is a case in point. F. D. K. Bosch referred to Mookerji's nationalistic visions of

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1. Cf. V. K. Thakur, "Indian Expansion in South East Asia : A Study in Economic Factors", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 28.
2. D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South East Asia* (1968), p. 13.
3. *Indian Shipping : A History of Seaborne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times* (1912).

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huge fleets of Indian adventurers, like Drakes and Cavendishes, crossing the sea to farther India and Indonesia, founding kingdoms, establishing colonies, expanding the trade with their mother-country, and in due course bringing over talented artists from Bengal, Kalinga and Gujrat to erect matchless monuments[4]. One wonders as to what flights of fantasy an enthusiast could ascend.

As a result of the nationalistic overtones the Greater India Society was founded in 1926, whose name is a sufficient indication of the nature of its approach to South East Asian studies. Now the Indian historians were determined to show to their imperialist rulers their own supposed imperialism of the past and thereby to sound the hollowness of the British theories of India's passive role in external trade in the past and her dominance by foreign powers from the early times. Naturally the members of the 'Society' saw the countries of South East Asia as 'Ancient Indian colonies'; indeed, R. C. Majumdar used this term in the titles of scholarly works on the early history of Java and Champa and explained the art and architecture of Java and Cambodia in terms of their Indian origin and fostered by the Indian rulers of these 'colonies'. The Society, no doubt, was instrumental in the publication of a number of scholarly research works, but at the same time it was also responsible for the creation of a number of historiographical myths some of which have shown an amazing power of persistence. P. N. Bose claims even Siam as an Indian "colony"[5], and in the Preface to the book, he comments on "the extent and greatness of that *Greater India*, which had been established outside India by the.... sons of India..."[6]. In a Foreward to the book, Dr. P. C. Bagchi claims, "The history of the Indian colonization of Indo-China and Malay Peninsula forms a glorious chapter of the history of India"[7]. Thus the countries which received elements of Indian civilization were described as Indian "colonies" and Indian historians beginning with R. K. Mookerjee also avidly accepted this characterisation.[8] K. A. Nilakantha Shastri even goes to the extent of comparing the ancient Greek colonists and the

4. *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (1961), p. 5.
5. *The Indian Colony in Siam* (1927).
6. *Ibid.*, Preface.
7. *Ibid.*, Foreward.
8. R. R. Moorkerjee, *The Fundamental Unity of India* (1914) pp. 128-32.

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Indians migrating to South East Asia. He argues that just as the ancient Greeks leaving for a colony used to carry some soil and fire from the metropolis for the purpose of establishing new home and hearth in the colony, so also, did the ancient Indians carry with them the cult of Śiva in the countries of their choice[9].

The nationalist historiography had, no doubt, a role to play before India attained independence but now it has lost its rationale. Therefore, it is high time we question the validity of the use of the term 'colony' in context with India's contacts with the countries of South East Asia. Melvin M. Knight gives a very vague definition of the term 'colony' which, according to him, "meant a transplanted fragment of a human society".[10] It is only in this wide and vague sense that this term may be applied to the Indianised states of South East Asia. A closer scrutiny, however, clearly demonstrates that none of the South East Asian countries satisfied any of the characteristic features, either political or economic, of a colony. Politically a colony should be peopled by a sizeable population of a particular state and it should owe allegiance to that state. But none of the supposed South East Asian 'colonies' can be demonstrated to be a settlement of the subjects of any particular Indian state. In fact, it will be historically wrong to hold that there ever took place any military conquest or annexation of these countries by any Indian prince[11] or even any massive exodus of people from India which might have provoked a large-scale immigration in these countries. Any immigration on a sizeable scale would have definitely affected the somatoscopic and somatometric features of the peoples of South East Asia as later happened in Cambodia. The Chinese settled in Cambodia in large numbers and miscegenation took

9. 'Agastya', *Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal-, Land-en volken-kunde*, Vol. 76 (1936), p. 503.
10. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* (Ed. Edwin R. A. Saligman, 1959), Vol. III, p. 653.
11. K. A. Nilakantha Shastri holds that the political power of the Pallava King Nandivarman III (A. D. 826-50) extended to parts of the west of the Malay peninsula at best for some years ('Takua-pa and its Tamil inscription', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXII, p. 30). But from the arguments of Shastri itself it becomes clear that this view is, to say the least, hypothetical.

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place on such a large scale that the physical features of the Khmers have undergone certain distinct changes.

Similarly, neither of these South East Asian countries can be described as owing allegiance in any specific and tangible form to any Indian state. The Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudragupta records that the king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon and the Kings of "all island" countries were "effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens; (giving) *garuḍa*-token (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (his commands)"[12]. D. C. Sircar thinks that "possibly the Hindu colonies of the Far-East have been indirectly referred to here"[13]. The reference to peoples of all the islands is sufficiently vague. It is, however, recorded in the Buddhist sources that, Meghavarṇa of Ceylon sent a mission to Samudragupta with rich presents and asked his permission to build a monastery at Bodh-Gaya, for the Buddhist monks of Ceylon. It was subsequently granted by him[14]. But the act of asking for permission was interpreted as the acknowledgement of the suzerainty of Samudragupta. This was certainly a deliberate distortion of the facts by the court panegyrist Hariseṇa who did not hesitate to record this false statement in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. This single instance makes it clear that reference to all islands was, to say the least, conventional and Sircar's statement is to be summarily dismissed.

Economically speaking too, the countries of South East Asia were not 'colonies'. R. C. Majumdar, a great protagonist of the theory of "colonisation", himself writes that the "colonies" were not regarded as source of exploitation for the benefit of conquering race.[15] A "colony" without any economic gain or, to be more precise, without any scope for economic exploitation, is no "colony" at all. Even in the field of foreign trade with the countries of South East Asia, India did not enjoy any monopoly. In fact, from as early as the first half of the 3rd century A. D. the Chinese were already in contact with these countries like Lin-yi

12. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 8.
13. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. (1942), pp. 258, fn. 2.
14. Cf. S. K. Maity, *The Imperial Guptas and Their Times* (1975), p. 32.
15. *Greater India* (1948), p. 42.

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(Champā) and Funan, evidently for reasons of trade. Thus, it seems that from the earliest phase the Indians and the Chinese faced each other in different countries of this region as competitors and in no period any attempt was made to demarcate the mutual spheres of influence.

Politically as well as economically, therefore, the term "colony" cannot be applied to the countries of South East Asia. But to justify the use of this term with regard to the countries of this region, Indologists in general and Indian historians in particular say that India extended her cultural conquest over these countries and as such they formed part of the cultural empire of India.[16] According to this school of historians, the people of these countries were uncultured, savages and with the arrival of the Indians there set in a process of acculturation. Thus, they will like us to believe that whatever we find in these countries is nothing but Indian civilization with little or no modification.[17] But the renascent people of South East Asia after gaining independence in the postworld war II period are not ready to accept these views. This typical attitude may be demonstrated from the review of the book *South East Asia in Transition* (Ed. B. R. Chatterji, 1965) published in *E'tudes Cambodgiennes* (No.6, April-June, 1966, pp. 32-33). The reviewer sarcastically summarises the theme of the book in the following sentences: "What South East Asia owes to India is infinitely less than what France, Spain or England owes to Rome which occupied and ruled these countries. Still the Italians never glorify themselves of their civilizing domination". The reviewer may not be completely objective, for he too seems to have been carried away by nationalist sentiments, but then he succeeds at driving the point home.

In fact, one can clearly perceive an autochthonous substratum in the classical cultures of the countries of South East Asia. Paul Mus

16. Their point of view is best reflected by Alfred Foucher, *L'Art greco-bouddhique au Ghandhara* (1918), p. 618. R. C. Majumdar also reflects a similar view when he says, "The Hindu colonists brought with them the whole framework of their culture and civilization and this was transplanted in its entirety among the people who had not yet emerged from the barbarism" (*op. cit.* p. 21).

17. R. C. Majumdar writes, "The Hindu Social institutions were adapted to the needs and habits of the people, and both religion and literature were transformed to a certain extent by the influence of the indigenous elements". (*Ibid*, p. 42).

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has shown that before the advent of the Indians the local people, instead of being barbarians, possessed a more or less stable culture.[18] Scholars have also pointed out the cultural uniformity of Pre-Āryan India, Indo-China, Indonesia and South China and have termed this culture zone as Austro-Asiatique.[19] This implies the cultural contact between India and South East Asia in Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian times indicating the existence of common cultural elements in India and South East Asia. As a result when in the historical period the Indian culture was introduced in South East Asia, it was not difficult for the people to accept it easily. As a consequence this process of cultural penetration did not result in any violent or abrupt break with the past, but simply led to a transformation of the various somewhat similar but distinct local cultures in the historical period. It can be argued therefore that the Indians provided the stimulus while the response in different parts of the region was varied according to the local adaptability or local culture and this probably explains the diversity of the Indianised cultures of South East Asia when they achieved their full growth. Thus, under Indian garb these remained essentially heritages of the earlier Austro-Asiatic culture with distinct social variations.

This reorientation in our approach to the study of South East Asia, however, should not minimise the role of Indian culture in that part, as is being done bo some recent writers. J. C. Van Leur, one of the first of such scholars, expressed the view that "though various forms of foreign culture and various world religions have successively exerted their influence on the region of Indonesia, the opinion is generally shared that these influences have remained weak despite centuries long operation. They did not bring any fundamental change in any part of Indonesian social and political order"[20]. He further adds, "the initiative for the coming of Indian civilization emanated from the Indonesian ruling group, or was at least an affair of both the Indonesian dynasties and the Indian hierocracy That cultural influence had nothing directly to do with

18. 'L' India Vue de Est', *Bulletin de l'E'cole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 382.
19. *Les e'tats hindonise's do Indo-Chine et de Indonesice* (1964), p. 27.
20. *Indonesian Trade and Society* (1955). p 95.

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trade"[21]. Then he goes on to partially contradict his own statement, "The Indian priesthood was called eastwards—certainly because of its wide renown for the magical, sacral legitimation of dynastic interest and the domestication of subject and probably for the organization of the ruler's territory into a state. Alongside the priesthood, Indian artifice came to the royal courts and the architectural activities of the rulers and the official religious activities of those overseas states alike show the unmistakable imprint of Indian civilization on Ceylon, Indonesia, Farther India, and Southern Indo-China"[22]. This was certainly a considerable achievement for the Indians even if their influence "remained weak". In this context, the role of economic ties between India and South East Asia in the development of their cultural relations cannot be minimised.

Thus, while the concept of "Indian colonisation of South East Asia" is a grave historiographical error and a recurrent historical fallacy, in the same breath it must be added that it would be equally erroneous to undermine the extent of Indian influences upon this region. To accept that such influences occurred and that they played a significant part in the development of the various cultures of this region is not, however, to endorse the more extreme claims of the Greater India school. For even if we accept the view of Sylvain Levi that India has produced its true master-pieces in foreign lands under foreign inspiration, adding that in architecture it is in distant Cambodia and Java that one must seek the two marvelleous products of Indian genius, Angkor Wat and Barabudur, we must recognise that these are not Indian monuments. Whatever their ultimate springs and whatever the source of the religious systems which they represent, these temples serve not Indian but Khmer and Javanese cultures and peoples respectively[23]. Coede's seems to be quite near the truth when he described the old civilization of Cambodia and Java as an Indian superstructure upon an indigenous substratum[24].

Department of History,
Patna University,
Patna—800005

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21. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-04.
23. Cf. Anthony Chistie, 'The Provenance and Chronology of the Early Indian Cultural Influences in South East Asia', *R. C. Majumdar Volume* (Ed. H. B. Sarkar, 1970), p. 1.
24. *Cf. Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, Vol. e, No. 2, pp. 368-77.

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Appendix

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Ratnākaraśānti's

CHANDORATNĀKARA

Edited by

JAGDISHWAR PANDEY

Published by

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

PATNA

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रत्नाकरशान्तिकृतः

छन्दोरत्नाकरः

श्रीजगदीश्वरपाण्डेयेन सम्पादितः

बिहार रिसर्च सोसाइटी
पाटलिपुत्रम्

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PREFACE

Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṁkrityāyana discovered many valuable palm-leaf Sanskrit mss. from Tibet. During his search for Sanskrit palm-leaf mss. in Tibet he found the auto-commentary of *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśāntipāda. Besides he also brought a set of *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* along with *Miscellaneous Series* containing 1619 Tibetan mss. and Xylographs in different subjects and deposited it in the Bihar Research Society, Patna. The Sanskrit Text of the *Chandoratnākara* occurs twice in the *bstan-hgyur* (*Tanjur*) and also in a versified Tibetan translation only.

Chandoratnākara was first published in 1890 by Georg Huth. It became out of print more than half a century ago. It also escaped the notice of eminent scholars in the field of metrics due to non-availability of *Chandoratnākara*.

In this present edition of *Chandoratnākara*. I have utilized Tibetan translations and Ratnākaraśānti's auto-commentary in original Sanskrit palm-leaf ms. The photograph of the same was brought by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṁkrityāyana from Tibet. I have also divided it into six chapters according to its subject matter. Further I have numbered the definitions falling in these six chapters and made necessary changes and corrections wherever required.

Recently Dr. Michael Hahn very kindly presented me his *Chandoratnākara's* edition in *Devanāgari* script on 25th October, 1986, published by Nepal Research Centre, P. O. Box 180, Kathmandu. I have also utilized his book for my edition.

I have given reproduction of the Derge edition's bi-lingual text and versified Tibetan translation which is more dependable than that of other editions.

I am greatful to the authorities of the Bihar Research Society, Patna, the custodians of the photo copies and Tibetan Xylographs of the Rāhula collection for allowing me to publish the work.

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I also acknowledge my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Gustav Roth who supplied me the xerox-copy of Dr. G. Huth's *Chandoratnākara's* edition (1890), which was not available here.

Last but not the least, I am grateful to Prof. P. N. Ojha, Honorary General Secretary, Prof. Upendra Thakur, Chief Editor, Sri Bireshwar Prasad Singh, Editor-in-charge, Tibetan Text, Gopi Raman Choudhary, Registrar and Lama Dorje Namgyal of the Bihar Research Society for their help in various ways in getting this monograph published.

JAGDISHWAR PANDEY

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INTRODUCTION

The science of Metrics was carried to perfection by the ancient Indians. Many of their contributions are available in print. Some are hidden in manuscripts while others have been lost. Buddhist authors have also made valuable contributions in the field of *Chandaḥśāstra* but unfortunatly there are only two Buddhist texts on metrics, namely the *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśāntipāda and the *Vṛttamālāstuti* of Jñānaśrīmitra. One more work on metric *Chando-viciti* by a Buddhist author Daṇḍin is known[1]. This indicates that there existed an original and independent school of metrics of the Buddhists.

The *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśānti and its auto-commentary occupy important place in the field of metrics. It is very popular among the Tibetan scholars even now. Ratnākaraśānti was one of the 84 *Siddhas* called *Kalikālasarvajña*. He was known to the Tibetans as *Ācārya Śānti* or *Śāntipā*. He learnt the *Sūtra* and the *Tantra* at Vikramaśīlā from *Jitāri* and others. Afterwards he was appointed by King Canaka to the post of *dvāra-paṇḍita* (gate-keeper) of the eastern gate of Vikramaśīla University. The following works of Ratnākaraśānti were known to scholars in Tibetan translation :—

2477 (Zi. 40b[1]–41a[1]) Sukhaduḥkhadvayaparityāgadṛṣṭi-nāma
1851 (Ti–202b[1]–325a[7]) Kusumāñjaliguhyasamājanibandha-nāma
1995 (Mi. 192b[5]) Vajrabhairavagaṇacakar-nāma
3118 (Pu. 217b[6]–219a[2]) So-sor-ḥbraṅ-maḥi-ḥkhov-lo-bri-baḥi-thabs
4072 (Hi 102a[5]–120b[1]) Madhyamakalamkaravitimadhyamapratipada-Siddhi-nāma
4076 (Hi 128b[1]–130b[1]) Prajñāpāramitābhāvanopadeśa
4078 (Hi. 131b[8]–133b[7]) Prajñāpāramitābhāvanopadeśa
4079 (Hi 133b[7]–162b[1]) Prajñāpāramitopadeśa
4085 (Hi. 223b[2]–231a[7]) Madhyamakālaṁkāropadeśa
1919 (Bi 124a[1]–172b[7]) Śrī-Kṛṣṇayamārimahātantrarājapañjikā-ratna-pradīpa-nāma
1245 (Na 189a[4]–194b[8]) Bhramahara-sādhana-nāma
1249 (Na 194b[6]–196a[8]) Sahajayogakrama-nāma

1. Bhoṭa-prakāśa, P. 198, University of Calcutta, 1939.

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1324 (Ta 265b[1]–271a[2]) Vajratārā-sādhana
1424 (Wa 153a[3]–171a[7]) Khasamana-nāma-ṭīkā
1935 (Mi. 58b[5]–64b[5]) Kṛṣṇayamārisādhanaprotphullakumuda-nāma
1643 (Ya 269b[4]–273b[4]) Mahāmāyāsādhana
1826 (Ci. 1b[1]–95a[6]) Piṇḍikṛtasādhana-vṛttiratnāvali-nāma
1871 (Ni. 50a[7]–130a[7]) Śrīguhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi-ṭīkā
2476 (Zi. 159b[1]–168b[7]) Abhiṣekanirukti.
2623 (Cu. 122a[5]–152b[1]) Śrī-Sarvarahasyanibandharahasyapradīpa-nāma
3126 (Pu. 225b[6]–228b[6]) Bsruṅ-ba lṅaḥi cho-ga
3490 (Mu. 139b[5]–144b[6]) Vajratārāsādhana
3712 (Tsu 100a[4]–104b[1]) Triyānavyavasthāna-nāma
3801 (Ta. 76a[5]–204a[3]) abhisamayālaṁkārakārikāvṛtti-Suddhamati-nāma
3803 (Tha. 1[b] –230a[7]) Ārya-Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitāpañjikā-Sarottamānāma
3935 (Ki. 215a[5]–334a[3]) Sūtrasamuccayabhāṣyaratnālokalaṅkāra-nāma
4259 (She. 306b[4]–309b[3]) Vijñaptīmātratāsiddhi-nāma
4260 (She. 309b[4]–314a[5]) Antarvyāpti
4304 (Se. 361a[1]–379a[7]) Chandoratnākara-nāma
4459 (Po. 270a[4]–275a[7]) Chandoratnākaranāma
4545 (173b[2]–175a[6]) Prajñāpāramitābhāvanopadeśa
4303 (Se. 351b[1]–360b[7]) Chandoratnākara-nāma
Bkah-haur and Bstan-hgyur
Published by Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai Japan 1934

From the discovery of the Sanskrit palm-leaf mss. in Tibet by Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṁkṛityāyana, some more valuable works of Ratnakaraśānti have come to light in original Sanskrit which were long lost. The followings are the works of Ratnākaraśānti which have been discovered by the Late Rāhula Sāṁkṛityāyana—

1. Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā pañjikā-Sāratama[1].
2. Nairātmya-Sādhana.
3. Hevajrasādhanapayikā
4. Chandoratnākara-svopajña-vṛtti

1. Publisded by K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna–1979

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GENERAL SECRETARY'S NOTE

I have great pleasure in introducing to the world of scholars a small but important book entitled *Chandoratnākara* of Ratnākaraśānti edited by Paṇḍita Jagdishwar Pandey, Research Fellow-Cum-Assistant Director, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

Ratnākaraśānti's *Chandoratnākara* holds an important place in the field of Metrics due to its conciseness, larity and logical structure. The original Saṃskṛta text was long lost but Tibetan Buddhist Scholars incorporated the original in Tibetan Script with its Tibetan translation. Fortunately Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana discovered a complete auto-commentary of *Chandoratnākara* in original Saṃskṛta. Sri Pandey has utilized the auto-commentary for his edition and has corrected some readings which were left in the earlier editions.

I hope that the present work will receive generous welcome from the world of scholars.

P. N. OJHA
General Secretary

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अध्याय–क्रमः

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[छन्दोरत्नाकरः]

[प्रथमोऽध्यायः]

ओं नमो वागीश्वराय[1] ॥

जिनाय मुनिसूर्याय परमज्योतिरात्मने ।
अन्तर्निशिविनिद्रा[2]णामन्तर्दिनकृते नमः ॥१॥

पद्यं[3] चतुष्पदी तच्च वृत्तजातिप्रभेदतो द्विविधम् ।
अक्षरसंख्यं वृत्तं मात्रासंख्या भवति जातिः ॥२॥

ह्रस्वः स्वरो लघुर्ऋजुः पादान्तेषु बहुलं गुरुर्वक्रः ।
पूर्वः स्वररहितव्यञ्जनाच्च दीर्घप्लुतौ चैव ॥३॥

भादिगुरुस्त्रिकमिष्टं जन्तर्गुरु सन्तगुरु मशेषगुरु ।
यादि लघु च रन्तर्लघु तन्तलघु नशेषलघ्विष्टम् ॥४॥

छन्दांसि विदुः षट्कैरारभ्यैकैकवृद्धिभिः पादैः ।
गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुब् बृहतीपंक्तिस्तथा त्रिष्टुप् ॥५॥

जगतीशक्वर्यष्टिधृतयः पृथक् केवला अतिपराश्च ।
शुद्धा प्राविसमभ्युत्परा च कृतिरिति षडष्टहयाः ॥६॥

सममर्द्धसमं विषमं चेति त्रिविधं प्रचक्षते वृत्तम् ।
तनुमध्यादिकमुपचित्रकादि वक्त्रादि तत् क्रमशः ॥७॥

स्थानं यतिरिष्टैः
अन्ते चरणानाम् ।
तद्वानुति भादिः
रवः लकः प्रतिपादम् ॥८॥

[इति रत्नाकरशान्तिकृते छन्दोरत्नाकरे प्रथमोऽध्यायः]

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१. ओं नमः सर्वज्ञाय in the Ms. २. मित्रा is not correct. In the Ms we find निद्रा which is the correct reading. ३. पद्यं in the Ms. and Derge edition also gives the same reading.

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[द्वितीयोऽध्यायः]

त्यौ चेत् **तनुमध्या** ॥१॥
कुमारललिता ज्सौ ग् ॥२॥
ग्लौः चतुः **समान्य**सौ हि ॥३॥
लगौ चतुः **प्रमाण्य**सौ ॥४॥
चित्रपदा यदि भौ गौ ॥५॥
मौ गौ चेत् सा **विद्युन्माला** ॥६॥
भात् तलगा **माणवकम्** ॥७॥
रान्नसौ यदि **हलमुखी** ॥८॥
भुजगशिशुसुता नौ मः ॥९॥
ज्ञेया **शुद्धविराण्** मसौ जगौ ॥१०॥
म्नौ याद् गः खलु **पणवः** ख्यातः ॥११॥
स्यान्**मयूरसारिणी** रजौ गौं ॥१२॥
रुक्मवती सा यत्र भमौ स्गौ ॥१३॥
ज्ञेया **मत्ता** मभसगसृष्टा ॥१४॥
ताज्जौ ग गितीय**मुपस्थिता** स्यात् ॥१५॥
स्याद् **इन्द्रवज्रा** यदि तौ जगौ गः ॥१६॥
उपेन्द्रवज्रा हि जतौ जगौ गः ॥१७॥
अनन्तरोद्भावितलक्षणाद्यौ
पादौ भवेतां विविधैर्विकल्पैः ।
यासामुभौ श्रव्ययतिप्रपञ्चौ
स्मृताः स्मृतीशै**रुपजातयस्ताः** ॥१८॥
दोधकमिच्छति भत्रितयाद् गौ ॥१९॥
मो वौ रौ वः **शालिनी** वेदलोकैः ॥२०॥
मो वः स्त्रौ वौ यदि **वातोर्मिमाला** ॥२१॥
मो वौ नौ वौ **भ्रमरविलसिता** ॥२२॥
रात् परे नरलगा **रथोद्धता** ॥२३॥
स्वागता रनभगैर्गुरुणा च ॥२४॥
न न स ग गिति च भवेद् **वृन्ता** ॥२५॥

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न न र ल गिति चैव **भद्रिका** ॥२६॥
श्येन्युदीरिता रजौ रलौ गुरुः ॥२७॥
जसौ च तगगाश्**चोपस्थितं** स्यात् ॥२८॥
चन्द्रवर्त्म चरयन्ति रनभसैः ॥२९॥
उशन्ति **वंशस्थ**मिदं जतौ जरौ ॥३०॥
स्यादिन्द्रवंशा खलु यत्र तौ जरौ ॥३१॥
पुट इह वसुवेदा नौ गवौवौ ॥३२॥
ऋतू जसु जसू **जलोद्धतगतिः** ॥३३॥
अथ **तोटक**मब्धिसकारकृतम् ॥३४॥
द्रुतविलम्बितमाह नभौ भरौ ॥३५॥
भुजङ्गप्रयातं चतुर्भिर्यकारैः ॥३६॥
कीर्त्तितैषा चतूरेफिका **स्रग्विणी** ॥३७॥
प्रमिताक्षरा सजससैः कथिता ॥३८॥
मग्वारेफौ वो **वैश्वदेवी** शराश्वैः ॥३९॥
मो वो न्यग्वा **जलधरमाला**ब्ध्यङ्कैः ॥४०॥
ननररघटिता च **मन्दाकिनी** ॥४१॥
वदति मुनि**र्यमुनां** नजौ जरौ ॥४२॥
इह **नवमालिनी** यदि नजौ भ्यौ ॥४३॥
त्र्याशाभिर्मुनजरवाः **प्रहर्षिणी** स्यात् ॥४४॥
जवौ नजौरिति **रुचिरा** चतुर्ग्रहैः ॥४५॥
मो वो भत्याः सैव यति**र्मत्तमयूरः** ॥४६॥
सजसाः सगौ च कथितः **कलहंशः** ॥४७॥
सजसा जगौ च यदि **मञ्जुभाषिणी** ॥४८॥
मग्वा नो नो मः शरनवभि**रसम्बाधा** ॥४९॥
न न व ज ज व च स्वरै**रपराजिता** ॥५०॥
प्रहरणकलिता न न व न न न व तैः ॥५१॥
ज्ञेयं **वसन्ततिलक**ं तभजा जगौ गः ॥५२॥
वसुधा स्लवा नपि च रौ च पञ्चग्रहैः ॥५३॥
गुरुनिधनमनुलघुरिह **शशिकला** ॥५४॥
स्रगियमपि च रसनवकविरमणा ॥५५॥

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वसुमुनियतिरिति **मणिगुणनिकरः** ॥५६॥

ननगवररवाः स्यु**र्मालिनी** त्वष्टलोकैः ॥५७॥

नजभजरैर्विराजितमिदं **समुद्रकम्** ॥५८॥

भ्रक्ननसा मुनिः ख**मृषभगजविलसितम्** ॥५९॥

नजभजरा गुरुश्च यदि तत्तदा कुसुम्भम् ॥६०॥

यमू नः सो भो ल्वौ रसहरविरामा **सिखरिणी** ॥६१॥

जसल्वनररा वसुग्रहयतिस्तु **पृथ्वी** मता ॥६२॥

दिङ्मुनि **वंशपत्रपतितं** भरनवननवैः ॥६३॥

नसुमवजजा वः स्वादाब्धिस्वरैर्ह**रिणी** मता ॥६४॥

मन्दाक्रान्ता मवन सररा वः समुद्रर्तुलोकैः ॥६५॥

नजभजजा लगौ च यदि **नर्कुटकं** तु तदा ॥६६॥

नजवनभू भवौ मुनिरसोदधि **कोकिलकम्** ॥६७॥

मग्वा न् सू रौ वः **कुसुमितलतावेल्लिता**क्षर्तुलोकैः ॥६८॥

इह ननरचतुष्कसृष्टं तु **नाराच**माचक्षते ॥६९॥

यमू न्सू रेफौ वः षड्ऋतुतुरगै**र्मेघविस्फूर्जिता** स्याद् ॥७०॥

अर्काश्वैर्यदि मः सजौ सुनतवाः **शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्** ॥७१॥

सप्ताश्वस्वादभिन्ना मरवननवताः सुश्चेत् **सुवदना** ॥७२॥

वृत्तमीदृशं तू नामतो रजौ रजौ रजौ गुरुर्लघुश्च ॥७३॥

म्रौ वो नौ वश्च रौ वस्त्रिभिरिति विरतिः सप्तकैः **स्रग्धरा** स्यात् ॥७४॥

यत्र भरौ नवौ जसजसा दशोष्णगुविराम**भद्रक**मिदम् ॥७५॥

हररविभिन्न**मश्वललितं** नजौ च भलवा जसौ च जसु च ॥७६॥

मत्ताक्रीडं वस्वक्षाशा यदि म म च ग व च नलक्र नननवाः ॥७७॥

स्यादिह **तन्वी** भ ग वथ ननवा भौ न्यु शरस्वरतरणिविरामा ॥७८॥

क्रौञ्चपदा भग्वा भगवा नौ ल्क न न व इषुशरवसुमुनिविरतिः ॥७९॥

मौ ग्वौ नौ ल्कौ सुर्जौ वः स्याद् वसुमदनदहनमुनिभि**र्भुजङ्गविजृम्भितम्** ॥८०॥

म्नौ नुर्द्विर्न नु स ग विति नवरसरसकरणविरति**रपवाहः** स्यात् ॥८१॥

प्रथमक इह **दण्डकश्चण्डवृष्टिप्रयातो** भवेन्नद्वयेनाथ रैः सप्तभिः ॥८२॥

प्रतिपदमिह रेफवृद्धाः स्युरर्णार्णंवव्याल**जीमूतमालाकरोद्दामशङ्खादयः** ॥८३॥

प्रचिता इह नयुगाद् यैस्तथा **चण्डवृष्टिप्रयातादयो** यैर्यथा **दण्डको** रैः ॥८४॥

॥ समवृत्तानि ॥

[इति रत्नाकरशान्तिकृते छन्दोरत्नाकरे द्वितीयोऽध्यायः]

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[तृतीयोऽध्यायः]

उपचित्रकमाहुरयुग्मयुक्
सौ सलगा यदि भत्रितयाद् गौ ॥१॥
भत्रितयाद् यदि गौ **द्रुतमध्या**
यदि पुनरेव भवन्ति न ज ज्यौ ॥२॥
यदि सत्रितयं गुरुयुक्तं
वेगवती यदि भत्रितयाद् गौ ॥३॥
यस्यां तजरेफगा अयुग्मं
युग्मं **मद्रविराण्** मसौ जगौ गः ॥४॥
विषमं समं यदि सजौ स्गौ
केतुमती भरेफनगगाश्च ॥५॥
आख्यानकी स्याद् यदि तौ जगौ ग-
स्त्वयुक्पदं युक् तु जतौ जगौ गः ॥६॥
जतौ जगौ ग्यत्र च तौ जगौ ग
आख्यानकी सा **विपरीतपूर्वा** ॥७॥
यदि स त्रितयाद् भवतो लगौ
नभभराश्च तदा **हरिणीप्लुता** ॥८॥
यदि ननरलगा नजौ जरौ
यदि च त**दापरवक्त्र**मिष्यते ॥९॥
अयुगिह यदि नौ रयौ च युग्मे
नजजरगाः कथयन्ति **पुष्पिताग्रम्** ॥१०॥
रेफजौ रजौ तथा जरौ ज्रगश्च
यवध्वनेर्मतुप्स्त्रया समाभिधाना ॥११॥
दशदशवसुलघु च यदि विषममितरदपि क दशदशदशलघुकम् ।
गुरुनिधनमुभयमपि विहितललितपदविसृति यदि भवति भवति **शिखा** ॥१२॥
समविषमचरणपरिगदितनिजनिलयविनिमयविहितदलविरचना ।
नियतमियमिह भवति जगति **कुटिलपदनिगडनसदृशसमभिधा** ॥१३॥

॥ अर्धसमवृत्तानि ॥

[इति रत्नाकरशान्तिकृते छन्दोरत्नाकरे तृतीयोऽध्यायः]

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[चतुर्थोऽध्यायः]

अष्टाक्षरेषु पादेषु नाद्यात् स्नौ योम्बुधेर्**वक्त्रम्** ॥१॥
युक्पादयोर्जकारेण वक्त्रं **पथ्येति** कीर्तितम् ॥२॥
जेनायुजोरुदाहृता **विपरीता**दिरेषास्मिन् ॥३॥
वक्त्रं तदेव **चपला** नकारेणायुजोर्ज्ञेया ॥४॥
लघुसप्तमयुग्मा या **विपुला** सा मता मुनेः ॥५॥
सैवतस्य सा सर्वतः ॥६॥
भेनाम्बुधेस्त**द्विपुला** ॥७॥
रेफेण चैवं ततोऽन्या ॥८॥
नकारेणापि च तथा ॥९॥
एवं **त**कारेणापि वा ॥१०॥
दृष्टा **म**कारेणाप्येवं ॥११॥
अन्यदतो हि **वितानम्** ॥१२॥
नाद्यात् स्न सर्वपादेषु, जोऽम्बुधेर्युग्मपादयोः ।
अयुग्मयोर्यथाशोभमिति प्रायः प्रयोगदृक् ॥१३॥

॥ **वक्त्रप्रभेदाः** ॥

प्रथमोऽष्टाक्षरः पाद-
श्चतुर्भिरतिवर्द्धिताः परेऽमुष्मात् ।
क्रमशो यत्र तदेतन्नानाविन्यासशोभि
सललितपदपदवीकं **पदचतुरूर्ध्वं** बुधाः प्राहुः ॥१४॥
इह पदचतुरूर्ध्वे
गगनिधननिखिललघुपादः ।
यदि मुदमुपनयति जगति **युत आणा**
समुपहितसललितयतिगतिरथ भवति **पीडः** ॥१५॥
यदि निकटमिह चरणमाद्यः
समतिपतति पादः ।
परिकृतपरवसतिरथ वसति मध्ये
त्रयमितरदचलितनिजनिलयमिति **कलिका** स्यात् ॥१६॥

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यदि चरणयुगमतिसमीपं
प्रथमकथित इह समतिपतति पादः ।
तदितरचरणानां
त्रितयमविचलितनिजवसति भवति **लवली** सा ॥१७॥

त्रयमितरदविचलितमेव
प्रथमक इह समतिपतति यदि पादः ।
बहुविधविहितललित यतिरभिरतिजननाय
नियत**ममृतधारा** ॥१८॥

॥ **चतुरूर्ध्वप्रभेदाः** ॥

पुर एव चेत् सजसलानि
नसजगुरुकाण्यनन्तरम् ।
यद्यथ भनजलगाः स्युरथ
सजसा जगौ च भवतीय**मुद्गता** ॥१९॥

त्रयमुद्गतासदृशमेव
भवति हि तृतीयमन्यथा ।
जायते रनभगग्रथितं
कथयन्ति **सौरभकमे**तदीदृशम् ॥२०॥

त्रितयं नयोरथ सयोश्च
भवति चरणे तृतीयके ।
प्रसृत पदरचनया ललितं
ललितं हि नाम कविभिस्तदिष्यते ॥२१॥

॥ **उद्गताप्रभेदाः** ॥

पादे चेत्प्रथमे मसौ जभौ गुरुणी च
स्युरथो सनजरगाः परं च नौ सः ।
अथ नथुतननजयाः
प्रचुपितमिदंमुदितमुपस्थितपूर्वम् ॥२२॥

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पादे स्युर्यदि नौ सनौ नसौ च तृतीये
कवयस्तदभिगदन्ति **वर्धमानम्** ।
प्रचुपितसदृशकमन्यदिह भवति सकलं
प्रतिनियतचरणगतलक्ष्मविधानम् ॥२३॥

अस्मिन्नेव यदा तृतीयके तजरेफाः
प्रथमे च विरतिरार्षभं वदन्ति ।
नच्छुद्धविराड्विशेषणं
प्रचुपितगणसममपरं त्रितयं चेत् ॥२४॥

॥ **प्रचुपितप्रभेदाः** ॥
॥ विषमवृत्तानि ॥

[इति रत्नाकरशान्तिकृते छन्दोरत्नाकरे चतुर्थोऽध्यायः]

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[पञ्चमोऽध्यायः]

उक्ता वृत्तविकल्पा, इत ऊर्ध्वं **जातयो**ऽभिधातव्याः ।
न व्यञ्जनेन मात्रा, लघुनैका भवति गुरुणा द्वे ॥१॥

पञ्चभजसा गुरुयुगं, लघुकचतुष्कं गणाश्चतुर्मात्राः ।
ते चाः खोऽपि चतुर्लः, क एकमात्रो द्विमात्रो दः ॥२॥

विषमेषु जरहिताश्चेद्, दले दलेऽष्टौ गणा भवत्**यार्या** ।
पश्चार्द्धे कः षष्ठो, दोऽष्टम उभयत्र चाः शेषाः ॥३॥

पूर्वार्द्धे षष्ठो जः, खो वा खे त्वाद्यलघुनि भवति यतिः ।
षष्ठः खि परेऽन्तयतिस्तुर्योऽप्यथ भवति चरमदले ॥४॥

चैस्तृभिरयुग्मपादौ, यदा समाप्तौ तदा भवेत् **पथ्या** ।
एको विनिष्ठितो न यदि तैरयुग्मस्तदा **विपुला** ॥५॥

गुरुमध्यवर्त्तिनौ च, द्वितीयतुर्यौ गणौ जकाराख्यौ ।
अर्द्धद्वये भवेतां, भवेत् तदा **सर्वतश्चपला** ॥६॥

पूर्वार्द्ध एव चेत्केवले भवेल्लक्षणं तु चपलायाः ।
न स्यात् पुनरपरार्धे, **मुखचपला**सौ तदा भवति ॥७॥

निर्दिष्टं चपलाया लक्षणमपहाय यत्र पूर्वार्द्धम् ।
पश्चार्द्धमेकमाश्रित्य वर्तते **जघनचपला** सा ॥८॥

स्यादुभयोरपि दलयोः, षष्ठगणो यत्र जः खकारो वा ।
पूर्वार्द्धवच्च शेषः प्रतिनियमो भवति भवति सा **गीतिः** ॥९॥

यस्याः क एव दलयोरुभयोरपि भवति षष्ठगणः ।
अपरार्द्धवच्च शेषो नियमस्तामाहु**रुपगीतिम्** ॥१०॥

पूर्वार्द्धे षष्ठः स्यात् को यत्र जखौ तु पश्चार्द्धे ।
शेषः प्रतिनियमो दलविपर्ययाद् भवति भवति **सोद्गीतिः** ॥११॥

यस्यां दले दलेऽष्टौ चाख्याः षष्ठो गणस्तुजो वा खो वा ।
पूर्वार्द्धवच्च शेषः, प्रतिनियमो भवति भवात **साऽर्यागीतिः** ॥१२॥

॥ **आर्याजातयः** ॥

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दत्रयमयुजे मुखे युजोर्दचतुष्कं रलगास्तु शेषतः ।
वैतालीयं तदुच्यते लघुषट्कं न निरन्तरं युजोः ॥१३॥

वैतालीयोपमं मुखं चेद्, **औपच्छन्दसिकं** रयौ तु वृष्टे ॥१४॥

आपातलिका भगगन्ता, मुखमिह वैतालीयसमानम् ॥१५॥

युग्ममुखे दात्परौ जदौ **प्राच्यवृत्ति**रवशिष्टमाद्यवत् ॥१६॥

उदीच्यवृत्तिर्जदौ यदा मुखमयुजोः परिशिष्टमाद्यवत् ॥१७॥

उदीच्यवृत्तेरयुग्मभाक् प्राच्यवृत्तिरयुगभाक् **प्रवृत्तकम्** ॥१८॥

स्यात्प्रवृत्तकयु**जापरान्तिका** ॥१९॥

अयुक्पदश**चारुहासिनी** ॥२०॥

॥ वैतालीयजातयः ॥

अगुरु**रचलधृति**रुदधिचि पदि पदि ॥२१॥

गन्ते **मात्रासमकं** लि दलात् ॥२२॥

भो यदि च द्वितया**दुपचित्रा** ॥२३॥

चात्खो ज एव वा **विश्लोकः** ॥२४॥

खो जो वा **वानवासिकार्द्धात्** ॥२५॥

चाख्याद् यदि सद्वितयं **चित्रा** ॥२६॥

समनन्तरनिर्गदितलक्षणभाङ्
मात्रासमादिपादाकुलकम् ।
अविदितवृत्तपरिमापरिगतं
मुनिनाभ्यधायि **पादाकुलकम्** ॥२७॥

प्रतिदलमुपहितदशदशदशलघुरवसितिविरचितगुरु**रतिरुचिरा** ॥२८॥

अष्टावष्टौ चार्द्धे यस्या गाः स्युः सोक्तान**ङ्गक्रीडा** ।
सकलमपरमपि सलिलनिधिगुणितवसुलघुकमुपरिघटितपदविसृति ॥२९॥
चदकदकत्रिचा जगिति **खण्ड**मजा भरहितमनादिमे ॥३०॥

॥ मात्रासमकजातयः ॥

[इति रत्नाकरशान्तिकृते छन्दोरत्नाकरे पञ्चमोऽध्यायः]

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[षष्टोऽध्यायः]

सर्वगुरु वृत्तमादौ ज्येष्ठगुरोर्लघुरधः परे सदृशाः ।
पूर्वे गाः **प्रस्तार**स्तावदयं सर्वलघु यावत् ॥१॥

॥ पैङ्गलः प्रस्तारः ॥

गुपरि लघुः प्रस्तारे पङ्क्तिर्द्विगुणायता प्रतिच्छन्दः ।
गुरुलघुभिर्द्विगुणगणैरेकैका वर्द्धते क्रमशः ॥२॥

॥ अयमस्मदीयः प्रस्तारः ॥

एतावतिथं वृत्तं, किमिति न्यस्यैतदा फलाद् दलयेत् ।
विषमं सैकं दलयेद् ग इह् समे लः फलति **नष्टम्** ॥३॥

वृत्तमिदं कथितमिहेत्युपरि लिखैकाद्यनुक्रमद्विगुणम् ।
तत्र तु लघूर्ध्वपिण्डे सैके तावतिथ**मुद्दिष्टम्** ॥४॥

रूपं न्यस्योत्तिष्ठेदक्षरसंख्यासमोपरिक्षेपैः ।
क्रमखर्वैरुत्थानैर्वृत्तमलघ्वेकलघ्वादि ॥५॥

॥ पैङ्गली लघुक्रिया ॥

उत्क्षिप्य रूपमाद्यमकृतेऽपि संख्यां लिखेत्ततोऽधःस्थैः ।
स्वस्वाधरसममिश्रैर्वृत्तमलघ्वेकलघ्वादि ॥६॥

॥ इयमस्मदीया लघुक्रिया ॥

का **संख्या** वृत्तानामक्षरवाराणि यमगुणं रूपम् ।
उद्दिष्टाङ्केष्वन्तो द्विगुणो लघुकर्मपिण्डश्च ॥७॥

संख्यैव वर्णगुणिता तत्तस्तदर्धं ततोऽप्युभयपिण्डः ।
आदौ **वर्णा** मध्ये **गुरवो लघवस्तदनुमात्राः** ॥८॥

अध्वा तिर्यगधश्च द्विगुणैकोनानि वर्णवृत्तानि ।
तुल्या गुरुलघूनां भूमिस्तत्रान्तराणां च ॥९॥

अनुपूर्वं **प्रस्तारो नष्टोद्दिष्टे लघुक्रिया** चैव ।
संख्या तथाध्वयोगो वृत्तेषु प्रत्ययाः षडिमे ॥१०॥

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लघुभिर्वर्णा रहिता लघुरहितानां दलं च मात्राणाम् ।
मात्राश्च वर्णरहिता यथैव तावन्त इह **गुरवः** ॥११॥

द्विगुणगुरुणा च मात्रा मात्राभिर्विरहिता द्विगुणवर्णाः ।
गुरुविरहिताश्च वर्णा यथैव तावन्त इह **लघवः** ॥१२॥

गुरुलघुपिण्डो यावान्मात्रा गुरुविरहिताश्च यावन्तः ।
मात्रालघुपिण्डदलं यावत्तावन्त इह **वर्णाः** ॥१३॥

लघवो द्विगुणगुरुयुता द्विगुणा वर्णा विवर्जिता लघुभिः ।
गुरुमिश्रिताश्च वर्णा यथैव तावत्य इह **मात्राः** ॥१४॥

पुण्यमजायत यन्मे जिनस्य विद्यामिमां प्रसादयतः ।
तत्परमार्थे परमां जगतो विद्यां प्रसादयतु ॥१५॥

[इति रत्नाकरशान्तिकृते छन्दोरत्नाकरे षष्ठोऽध्यायः]

॥ कृतिरियं कलिकालसर्वज्ञरत्नाकरशान्तिपादानाम् ॥
॥ लिखितमिदं शाक्यभिक्षुलोकचक्षूरत्नधर्मपालभद्रेण ॥

॥ शुभमस्तु सर्वजगताम् ॥

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